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THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

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THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE NEXT STEP.

TUESDAY, December 8, 1868, will long be a memorable day in the annals of the Church of England; not so much for what was on that day done, as for what we have been taught by the manner of doing it.

On that day, the large room in Freemasons' Tavern was engaged for a special general meeting of the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The object of the meeting, as finally defined in the notices issued by the Committee, was, to deal with their proposition, that a grant should be made by the Society of £2,000 for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the diocese of Natal, and that the disposal of this grant should lie with the Standing Committee of the Society.

To this proposition it was announced that an amendment would be moved, to the effect that the administration of the grant should rest with the Bishops of Capetown and Graham's Town.

Now it will be observed, that in the Committee's proposition, as well as in the amendment, the Bishop of Natal is passed over. And it may be added, that every one fully knew the reason for such omission, and that there was not the shadow of a suspicion on any one's mind that the Standing Committee had any design of consulting him, or of playing into his hands. The fact simply was, that for the purposes

of that day's meeting, the Bishop of Natal was out of court. The difficult legal point, whether his deposition by the Bishop of Capetown were or were not valid,—and any decisions which on that point may have been come to, lay altogether out of the view of the meeting. The question was, whether the administration of the Society's grant, under the difficult circumstances of that diocese, should lie with a body responsible to the Society and not committed to any action adverse to the law, or with two South African Bishops, who by their own act stood thus committed, and who, as matter of public notoriety, were about to appoint a new and legally unauthorized Bishop over the diocese.

In other words, it was a question of upholding law and authority as against a revolutionary and schismatical movement. There could be little doubt that to affirm the amendment would have been to strengthen the hands of the invading Bishop,—over and above the committing the Society to approval of the Bishop of Capetown's assumption of deposing power as against the law of the realm.

The carrying of the amendment would thus have placed the Society in a false position as the organ of a Church established by the State: and might have justified the withdrawal from her list of members of all those who wished to be loyal to the conditions of the union of Church and State, as long as that union may subsist. But such a withdrawal was on all accounts to be deprecated; and not the least because the supporters of the amendment were known not to be united *pro hac vice* only, but to be an organized and restless body of men, bent on the promotion of certain objects in the Church, and, with that view, eager to get the great Church societies into their power.

In thus stating the matter at issue, I must not be supposed to imply that these considerations were clearly before the minds of the greater part of the partizans on either side. Or if they were, there must be superadded to them, in individual cases, all the stirring motives of religious ardour and party zeal.

Of these by far the larger amount was, of course, on the aggressive side. Indeed, the two parties hardly differed more in character and object, than in degrees of readiness for a trial of strength of this kind. On the one side were compact organization and unvarying uniformity; on the other, the total absence of both. The upholders of the amendment came to the meeting with their object in view, and determined to succeed: the others, even in spite of plain instructions circulated in the meeting, hardly knew wherefore they were come together, and might even, by misadventure in voting, throw their strength on the opposite side.

This difference was striking, even before the day, and in casual meetings with ordinary men. Those on the one side had surrendered their judgment, and were about to act as instructed by their leaders.

saw gestures which he could not otherwise interpret than by inferring that hard blows were being given. Such utterances as could be distinguished, indicated that the cause of the tumult was the exclusion of certain gentlemen who had not taken the precaution to come early enough to find room in the hall. The nuisance was finally abated by the forcible closing of the doors by certain stalwart helmeted policemen. Even then, the outsiders did their best to obstruct the proceedings by kicking on the closed panels. Ere long, however, they either grew weary, or were removed by the police.

Such was the inauspicious beginning. As the meeting proceeded, one was led to form a lower and lower estimate of the intelligence of at least the more noisy part of it. Notorious facts, such as those of the various judgments delivered in the courts, were met, as often as alluded to, by frantic yells of "No! no! no!" It was obvious, that on such a set of opponents, all attempt at fair statement or argument was simply wasted.

It is not our purpose to criticize minutely the speeches delivered. It may suffice to say, that the general feeling with regard to those of the mover and seconder of the Standing Committee's resolution was, that they would have been far more effective, had they been much shorter, and had they confined themselves to the main point at issue. On that, the Committee were invulnerable: and it only wanted pointed and judicious statement. Whereas both Mr. Humphry and Mr. Gedge travelled out of the record,—the former into very delicate and dangerous matters,—and sorely tried the patience of a by no means long-suffering audience. But whatever mistake may have thus been committed was fairly outdone by the mover and seconder of the amendment. Whenever we have a conflict to wage, may heaven send us such opponents! By both, though not in the same degree by both, the utterly false issue was raised of sympathy or non-sympathy with the doctrines of Bishop Colenso. This was their only weapon: and they trusted to drive it home by the use of strong impassioned words, and then to take the vote.

What influence such a course might have had on the result, it is of course impossible to say. The present writer can testify that there were some in his neighbourhood who seemed to be swaying hither and thither as to their vote; but it is hardly probable that the number of such waverers was at all considerable. However this may have turned out, the vote was not to be thus taken. The firmness and ability of one member of the Standing Committee enabled the party of order to put themselves right with the audience before a division was come to.

It would be futile to attempt a description of the scene when Dr. Miller essayed to address the meeting. Having been in my time somewhat accustomed to handling church bells, I could only compare

the din to that in a bell-chamber when a full peal is ringing, and when the loudest cry into your friend's ear is inaudible. The "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" tumult will ever henceforth have for me a reality which it had not before. It was perhaps to be regretted that Dr. Miller should have so far lost his balance, as to take his hat and coat and escape across the platform: the act, all in dumb show as it was, had not a dignified aspect. Still, it brought matters to a crisis. There was a momentary lull, which enabled the chairman to put in his threat of leaving the chair; and thus a hearing being once secured, Dr. Miller carried the audience with him in his eloquent and indignant repudiation, for himself and the whole Evangelical party, of the foul charge which had been brought against them.

The issue of the trial of strength is well known. The amendment was rejected by 765 to 674.

And now occurred one of the most characteristic incidents of the meeting. The collection of the votes had taken a considerable time, and had to all appearance been most completely done. Before counting them, the Archbishop distinctly asked whether there were any present who had not voted? The question was answered by one gentleman, whose "vote No. 1" had been torn off from his card in the *mêlée*, coming up, and having his vote received. There was no other response, though at the moment there was stillness in the hall. But when it turned out that the aggressives had been beaten, they had recourse to the not very creditable shift of declaring that there were numbers in the room who had not voted. This was received with indignant derision: and upon a new amendment being attempted after numbers had left, the storm arose again: the eager and ungoverned on both sides taking part in it: the one to gain and the other to prevent a hearing for Archdeacon Denison speaking for a new issue being raised.

It is fair to state, that in thus acting, he alienated a considerable portion of his own followers. Remarks were heard from them to the effect that the question had been fairly tried, and could not now be raised in a new form. And to this it was owing that, when at last the original resolution of the Committee was put by the chairman to a show of hands, it was carried by at least four to one. Even then the announcement from the chair was met with eager cries from the irrepressible *claqueurs* of the Bishop of Capetown,—“Divide, divide!” To these the chairman very properly paid no regard. The words of the Archbishop's blessing never fell more incongruously on angry passions, than at that dismissal. Every thinking man must have left that hall, knowing that the prelude, not to peace that passeth all understanding, but to strife which would pass all anticipation, had been that day performed.

It is impossible that a party, burning with zeal for a definite object,

unscrupulous as to the means of attaining it, complete and ready in organization, should long brook their first considerable defeat. "The next step" ought now to be in every one's mind. And because this is so,—and not in order to chronicle a scene so simply disgraceful to the Anglican Church,—I have ventured to offer a few remarks on the lessons to be learnt from that Tuesday's meeting.

First, the whole has been full of instruction to the great body of English Churchmen. For once, their voice has been fairly heard, and their will has prevailed. But no result was ever worse provided for—none ever so little expected. The victory, such as it was, was entirely undeserved. Almost by chance, the audacity of the aggressors had overstepped its usual bounds, and the gathering of friends of truth and justice was larger than usual. We owed the victory more to our adversaries than to ourselves.

Their next move, whatever it be, will be ably and craftily determined on. If they can manage, by subtle counsel and apparent concession, to crumble away any members from our uncertain margin,—if any way can be devised to raise fallacious issues in men's minds, and thus to detach them from us, we may be sure that no device of this kind will be spared. To reverse our majority, which was none too large,—to place themselves in the ascendant again, as they have proved to be in every public struggle but this last,—to attain this end is their main present object. And they will attain it, unless we change our habits and modes of action.

Sitting at home and praying to Hercules will not do any longer. It is our temptation. We are men of peace, worried into strife; and whenever there is a lull, we relapse back into peace again. But the present lull is only the centre of the storm. A few weeks and it will be upon us again: and unless we look better to our gear than we have hitherto done, it will be too much for us.

What then do I want? To what practical point is this tending? To a word exceedingly unwelcome to men of common sense, to men of parochial energies, to men of social tendencies, to men of modesty and retirement:—to this word—ORGANIZE.

It must be done, or *actum est de ecclesiâ Anglicanâ*. Of the manner of doing it, we may speak on another occasion. It must be done: and when we say this, preliminary difficulties loom up before us and would fain deter us from our aim. But they shall not.

One enormous difficulty is, the unaccountable sympathy shewn by the sound and loyal High Churchmen for the innovating and disloyal. Thinking themselves perhaps to stand too deeply committed to certain principles still enunciated by these latter,—or finding themselves driven to extremes by the wicked slanders of the worthless secular organs of Evangelicalism, they have become accustomed to dissimulate the danger impending, and to look more kindly upon

those who are cutting away the ground from under them, than upon their Evangelical brethren, who are doing their best to maintain it.

That these likewise are not without fault in the matter, we shall presently endeavour to shew. But we may fairly say, If the sound and loyal High Churchmen, if men of the stamp of the new Bishop of Lincoln, would heartily give their hand to the Evangelicals, and leave in them no doubt of the thoroughness of their defensive alliance against the innovators, these latter would at once appear before the Church in a very different light. By an unnatural combination, it is the sound High Churchmanship of England which at present introduces and fosters these overturners of England's Church.

And on the other hand, before we can organize the alliance to any effect, the Evangelicals too must make some sacrifices. Of their body of doctrine, they need not, they may not, sacrifice one single thesis. In this matter they are irrefragable. The proofs of this are the same now, as when Paul addressed the Romans, as when Augustine reasoned in Africa, as when Luther fought for the faith at Worms. Not this, not any of it, may be compromised. But they may safely learn to modify their tenderness and timidity in the custody of it; their suspicion of those sound and Christian men whose terminology, pointing to the same truths, takes not the very form of theirs. Above all, they may, and they must learn to disavow and put from them the weapons of private defamation and slander by which they are contented to suffer their ostensible organs to undermine the work of the Church. Far be it from the present writer to underrate the service which has been done by these very journals in some cases, by wholesome vigilance, and in the spirit of charity. But all who are familiar with their columns know that such vigilance, so directed, is a rare exception to their usual habits. We need only instance the mendacious persecution of the Bishop of Ely, as one of the latest, but by no means one of the worst examples of that which we are deprecating.

With respect to this, all Churchmen deeply feel that there must be a change, before there can be any hearty alliance in defence of the common faith. Whether by a public disavowal of this doing evil that good may come,—or by wholesome pressure resulting in the amendment of the practice, the orthodox and loyal High Churchmen must have a warranty that their allies have ceased to work with the devil's weapons. Let the published opinions, let the patent conduct, of individuals be visited with fair criticism in the spirit of courtesy and Christian allowance; let every approach of false doctrine be the subject of vigilant warning; but let Christian charity, and not diabolical malice, be the medium through which such notices are conveyed.

Again, the Evangelical party, in order to the end at which we are aiming, must awake from their torpor in reference to Church agencies. I have before remarked, that nothing short of infatuation

can account for the contempt with which they treat the whole subject of Convocation. Of course all know that "it can enact nothing:" the favourite dictum in which their scorn expresses itself. It is, let it be granted, nothing but a venerable debating society. But be it what it may, it is at present a very powerful engine for the enemy's work. It is, what the opinion, right or wrong, of multitudes of Churchmen makes it. And its decisions, by default simply of that party, who despise it, carry weight in the direction of all that they would wish to see discouraged. The party must learn to look about them, instead of bantering at their clerical meetings, before we can have that organization which is absolutely required for the safety of the Church.

Any consideration, how such a defensive organization can be brought about, must take into account the other lesson to be learned from the meeting of December 8th.

Two most undesirable practices presented themselves for reprobation on that occasion. The first, that so momentous a Church issue should have rested with a voluntary society, constituted for purposes quite unconnected with it; the second, that such voluntary society should have to appeal, in the last resort, to the aggregate of its subscribers in meeting assembled.

The former of these is, in the present constitution of the Church of England, unavoidable. While a Church has no special governing body, the most momentous issues must be ruled by accidental and inadequate decisions.

But the other inconvenience is surely not beyond remedy. The constitutions of this, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, cannot long remain as they are. The supervision of the executive Committee by a monthly board is as bad an arrangement as it is possible to conceive. It gives a premium to the tumultuary element, and virtually puts the Societies under the power of those most noxious of men, busy talkers, always on their legs, and hinderers of all real good. Besides, look at the arrangement as it is now likely to work, in the presence of the great Church struggles of our time. Supposing an interest to have been excited by the great meeting of the 8th, which may double the numbers at the next trial of strength, where is to be our place of meeting? Possibly Exeter Hall. But if the interest goes on increasing, then where?

It is obvious that the constitution of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge must be remodelled. It must be governed by a representative body, elected from time to time by the subscribers. The votes at such election might be taken in the various dioceses; and thus the additional advantage would be gained of liberating the Society from the enormously unfair preponderance of London influence. As things are at present, the metropolitan members are

certain to be a vast majority of any meeting that can be summoned. London is sure to be the focus of agitation of the innovating party; and thus they gain an exaggerated importance, by having the place of meeting close at their doors.

But of all devices, let the Society eschew that of voting-papers, which seem to me a premium on blind party zeal. The country clergyman sitting in his study, and reading his one newspaper, is, in the greater number of cases, quite unfitted to give an intelligent vote on great and difficult questions. He is far too often the victim of the loudest cuckoo cry, and has not given the real subject in dispute a moment's thought. A false issue, confidently raised in very formidable words, so as to shake a timid parson in his shoes, would bring in the voting-papers by thousands. But let the same timid parson have five minutes of such a speech as Dr. Miller's the other day, and he casts his fear away, and votes for the right. How many such instances occurred on the 8th, of course, it is impossible to say: that some did, I have the means of knowing.

If an additional reason were wanted for a speedy reform of our great Societies, a cogent one might be found in the necessity of abating such public nuisances as the late meeting in Freemasons' Hall. Nothing can be conceived more damaging to the Church of England than such scenes as were there enacted. That men, knowing no better how to order themselves and curb their passions, should be intrusted with the fortunes of the Church at a great and perilous crisis, is deplorable enough: but that to such men should be committed the guidance of parishes, with all its need for calmness and balance of temper, all its requirements of abstinence from pettiness and partizanship, is indeed a reflection filling the mind with dismay. Has this lamentable want of self-government arisen from the fact, that our clergy are left in too despotic positions, and thus made into blusterers and tyrants? Do they want curbing by some co-ordinate local authority? Is the Church to look for the balance-wheel of her machine North of the Tweed, or East of the Rhine?

These, and such as these, are very grave questions, which will want entertaining and settling, if we in England are ever brought under the penumbra of disestablishment, as our fellow-churchmen in Ireland are now being brought.

It will at all events then be some consolation, if the foundations are to be broken up and re-laid, that an opportunity will be given, for the first time since the Reformation, of curing some of the radical defects of our clerical system, and this among them.

This, however, is not our present work, whatever may be in store for us then. One pressing duty is upon us now.

"Quos ego . . . sed motos præstat componere fluctus."

HENRY ALFORD.



“LA LANTERNE.”

PROBABLY there has not been of late years any instance in which a writer and a periodical have been so summarily suppressed by a government as that of M. Rochefort and his publication, *La Lanterne*, by that of France. So zealously did the police agents carry out the instructions given them to seize it wherever it could be found, that it is said a complete set of the earlier numbers could not be obtained in Paris, outside the police department, at any price. So great has been the interest excited by the publication, that the unusual spectacle has presented itself of copies of a foreign publication being vended in the streets of the city of London, though these were probably merely copies of the recent numbers issued in Belgium, and therefore having little interest for Englishmen, who only care to know what it was that caused such intense excitement among the Parisians, and the wrath of the French Government.

By the exertions and influence of an agent in Paris, we have been supplied with all the numbers printed in France, and of these we propose to give such a complete analysis as will suffice to give a clear idea of the character of the writings which the Government of France will not tolerate, and the ability of M. Rochefort as a satirist.

In the introduction to the first number he gives an account of the reasons which led to the issue of his publication. He says :—

“France contains thirty-six millions of subjects, without reckoning subjects of discontent ; and I owe it to the public, which has so often

testified its sympathy with me, (the deuce take me if I know why,) before exhibiting myself in the character of *cavalier seul* in the political cotillon, to offer some explanation of the circumstances which led to the foundation of *La Lanterne*.

"On a cold winter morning I suddenly found myself without a journal to which I could confide my thoughts on the subject of our great men. I still possessed the privilege of discussing the organization of the Society of Skaters, or of adding up the average number of carriages with springs which pass up the Champs Elysées between four and six o'clock daily, but in consideration of the unheard-of violence of my polemics, I was forbidden to make any allusion to M. Rouher, unless it were to laud his disinterestedness, or to name M. Pinard except to praise his lofty stature.

"Some foreign journals pretended that it had been hinted to M. Ville-messant that if he suffered me to go about without a muzzle, *Figaro* would pay for his imprudence with its life. I never believed a word of all these pretended injunctions, the consequences of which might have been so dangerous to those who uttered them. Suppose, for instance, I wrote the following letter to Baron Rothschild:—'If, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock this evening, you do not deposit in the Rue Lafitte, under the eleventh paving-stone on the left, entering from the boulevard, the sum of fifty-five thousand francs in current bank-notes, before the end of the week your house, office, cash-box, and you yourself will be no better than a corpse.' It is quite clear that if I sent such a letter I should be proceeded against for attempting to extort money by threats of violence, an offence provided for by Articles 305 to 308 of the penal code. Now imagine a minister sending for an editor and addressing him thus:—'You have on your staff a writer of whom I don't approve. I admit that he has not attacked the circulation of velocipedes in the public streets, but still I don't approve of him, and if you continue to allow him to politicalize in your paper, do not be surprised if you shortly see it die a sudden death.' M. Pinard has been too long a procureur-général not to be aware that such a proceeding would be a breach of the enactments above specified; and I should be wanting in my duty as a citizen, if such a statement as that made in the foreign press were well founded, if I did not proceed against the minister in accordance with the law. It is true that before I could do so I must apply for the authorization of the Council of State, and the touching unanimity with which they would have refused my application brings tears of emotion into my eyes.

"It was then that under the influence of a spirit of vertigo—will heaven pardon me? I don't believe it—I became culpable of a frightful pleasantry. I sent for a sheet of ministerial paper, and I wrote to him of the interior to ask his permission to found a political journal. I crammed my petition with eulogistic phrases; 'respectful devotion,' 'the honour of your answer,' I even believe I used the word 'Excellence'—I think so, but I don't dare to affirm it. My calculation was shameful, but it was simple enough. They will refuse me, I thought; I shall relate my misfortune to my literary comrades, who will repeat it in their respective journals, and thus I shall have a host of readers ready to take the periodical I shall start as soon as the law on the press has been voted."

No sooner had he sent in his application than the following reflection occurred to him:—

"The minister had it in his power to sink me for evermore: he had only to grant my application immediately, and certain journalists would have said, 'There, now, M. Rochefort, who prides himself on his independence, does not stand so badly with the Government as he would have us believe, or he would not so readily have obtained the authorization he asked for.'

From an insinuation like this to being called a *mouchard* is but a step, and everybody knows that when a man is stigmatized by such an appellation nothing on earth will cleanse him from it. Even if he were to be executed for his opinions, there would be people who would declare that they had seen the executioner slip his last quarter's salary into his hand as he helped him on to the scaffold. If the minister is as intelligent as his friends declare him to be, I am lost. He will reply by a polite 'Yes,' and if to this monosyllable he adds the privilege of publishing the Law announcements, the only resource left to me will be to blow my brains out.

"Several of my friends to whom I made known my perplexity assured me that M. Pinard was much too clever to drop into the trap I had set for him. Fortunately they were mistaken; M. Pinard may be clever, but of a certainty he is not too clever; for after several days of terrible suspense I received a letter from him containing a formal refusal,—I was saved."

To prove that interdictions generally profit the person to whom they are applied more than the government which issues them, he reasons thus in a supposititious address to M. Pinard:—

"Do you really believe that the authorization you refused me has not been more injurious to the interests you professed to defend than the appearance of *La Lanterne* two months earlier would have been? It is in vain that you tell me that an obscure paragraph writer must be conceited to suppose that anything he can say can have any influence on public opinion. I know I am a paragraph writer, and I admit I am obscure, but it is you who, by according me the honours of persecution, led others and myself to believe that I am not. If my paper is insignificant, why did you so carefully oppose its publication? If it were otherwise, why did you not mitigate it by a contemptuous authorization? The moral of this apologue in which I am obliged to speak of myself in order that I may have the pleasure of speaking of you, is that arbitrary power is a weapon with so many edges that he who holds it is continually cutting his fingers. Previous to the recent Press Law you had absolute and uncontrolled power over journals, and when I gave you an opportunity of using it in the case of an insignificant little publication, you had not the wit to avail yourself of it."

Referring to the absurd extent to which the term the "old parties" was pushed by way of a bar to the grant of certain concessions to public liberty, he says:—

"When I went to the Minister of the Interior's to ascertain the probable fate of my application to establish *La Lanterne*, I was received by the chief employé, who accused me of being an avowed enemy of the existing state of things, and a supporter of the renowned *anciens partis*. There was the less foundation for this charge that I am profoundly Bonapartist; only I must be allowed to select my own hero among the dynasty. Among the Legitimists some prefer Louis XVIII., others Louis XVI., and the sympathies of others rest on the head of Charles X. As a Bonapartist, I prefer Napoleon II., as I have a perfect right to do, and I can justify my preference. To me he is the very ideal of a monarch. Nobody will deny that he reigned, inasmuch as his successor styles himself Napoleon III. What a reign was his! my friends, what a reign! Not a single levy of imposts, no useless wars, nor the taxation consequent thereon; not one of those distant expeditions in which six hundred millions of francs are expended in reclaiming fifteen francs, no devouring civil list, no ministers heaping function on function at salaries of a hundred thousand francs each; there you have my model of a sovereign."

And then he cries, in a pretended fit of admiration:—

"Oh yes, Napoleon II., I love and admire thee without qualification! Who now will venture to say I am not a Bonapartist?"

Having thus defined his political opinions, he remarks on the assumption by the members of the Government of a monopoly of all fine sentiments (which he suggests is the reason why there are none left for others), such as honour, loyalty, devotion, &c.; but, he adds—

"There is one thing they are absolutely devoid of, and that is a sense of humour. The slightest pleasantry excites at the most a jaundiced smile. The tenaciousness with which they regard everything from a serious point of view is really wonderful. If a journalist writes that since the Mexican disaster and the completion of German unity, France has fallen to the third rank among the European powers, our statesmen say less than nothing; but if you have the impertinence to say M. Rouher has an impediment in his speech, or that M. Pinard, having resolved to procure the dismissal of M. Saint-Paul, the chief official of his office, has been completely defeated in his attempt, these gentlemen draw themselves up and preserve their acidity for months afterwards."

The well-known Archbishop Bonnechose, whose energetic attack on medical men on account of their materialistic opinions in matters of religion must be pretty widely known, comes in for his share of notice:—

"M. de Bonnechose is an archbishop, and, necessarily, has a horror of doctors. Why, I should find it difficult to tell. But it seems that when an archbishop exhibits a partiality for medical men, he is regarded with unfavourable eyes by those who surround him. If M. de Bonnechose were sick, he would probably call one or more doctors to his bedside; but when he occupies the tribune he tears them to tatters. Every person has his own way of looking at things. M. de Bonnechose, then, dislikes doctors, and he took the opportunity of a statement made by Dr. See, at the opening of his course of lectures, to enlighten the Senate on the subjects of his antipathy. For three consecutive hours did he inveigh against them, and this with such violence, that the flashes of his eloquence, darting from the Senate Chamber, struck a child who was playing in the gardens of the Luxembourg, and (strange effect of lightning) changed him into a green lizard. So many anathemas did he launch in this memorable sitting, that the dealers in them retired on that evening with as good as fifteen thousand a year each. To this tempest the guardians of our public liberties responded from the depths of their moleskin seats by murmured 'Very wells,' which surged against the steps of the tribune like the rolling of the sea on the shingle. It was a grand spectacle."

"The next day it was proved that Dr. See had never said what he was charged with having said, and which had given occasion for the archbishop's three hours' discourse; and so numerous were the appeals made to him to rectify his misstatement, that he addressed a letter to the Senate, in which he acknowledged that he had been misinformed, but he threw the blame on a certain M. Machelard, who said, that they said, that Dr. See had said, &c. &c.; that Machelard was evidently a man whose statements wanted looking into, but that he, Archbishop Bonnechose, continued to merit all the honour due to his great talents and his exalted character. . . .

For an orator of the calibre of Archbishop Bonnechose, it seems to me that he acted much too lightly. If Dr. See, in consequence of his tirade, had been stripped of his professorship, would the Government have felt itself obliged to reinstate him, and to have announced in the first column of the *Moniteur* that there had been a misunderstanding? The Senate had put itself to a great expense of indignation on erroneous information several times already; notably in the case of Colonel Lopez, whom M. Troplong, from the height of his presidential chair, had denounced as a traitor, who had betrayed his master, Maximilian, to the enemy during his sleep, for twenty-five thousand francs. The senators bounded in their seats like a troop of gazelles; they there and then degraded Lopez from the dignity of a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and it was only when that unfortunate colonel had full five hundred thousand feet of infamy resting on his head, that they learned that he was guiltless of the treason charged against him, and that he could not have betrayed Maximilian during his sleep, seeing that he was captured on horseback at the head of a regiment.

"The simplest equity would have suggested that, as the error had been discovered, Colonel Lopez's decoration would have been restored to him; but No—to declare that so much good indignation had been wasted, would have provoked so much hilarity, as would have been incompatible with the dignity of the defenders of our public liberties: it would have been too whimsical a close to one of the saddest expeditions of our epoch. Lopez remains, therefore, degraded; for which I am told, by the way, he does not much care. The Senate, in fact, gives way much too readily to these outbursts of indignation and enthusiasm. Not long ago, when the subject of an army of 1,200,000 men, and nine years' service, was under discussion, one of the members of this august assembly, at a loss for further demonstrations, cried, in a burst of patriotism, 'What young French girl would not refuse to give her hand to a man who had declined to serve in the national guard mobile?' 'There is not one!' responded a hundred voices. . . . Gentlemen Senators, do you really believe what you said, or do you take us for idiots? Mind, I don't say we are not, but I respectfully put the question to you. . . . Ah! my lords and masters, may Heaven grant you long lives, for you can hardly conceive how posterity will laugh at your expense."

There is some ground for the ridicule with which he treats the change in the tone of the upper classes:—

"All the journals have been telling us that the Abbé Bauer made a great sensation by a sermon he delivered at a soirée given by Madame de Mayendorff. See now how tastes change. Two years ago the greatest ladies disputed among themselves who should have Theresa, whom they urged by dint of earrings to sing *le Chemin du Moulin* and the *Gardeuse d'Ours*; now they invite the Abbé Bauer to preach sermons. If I was the Abbé Bauer, at the next ball given by the Austrian or Russian embassy, I would carry a dying man under my arm, and administer extreme unction between two *contredanses*. I believe a death mass between midnight and one o'clock in the morning would be a desirable substitute for a piece of music on the piano."

The Emperor Napoleon could not have been greatly pleased by his comments on the announcement of the Prince of Montenegro with reference to his Civil List:—

"The reigning Prince of Montenegro has just been guilty of an act which deserves to be denounced with indignation by every crowned head, and

even with all the legs belonging to the afore-mentioned heads. He has refused the ten thousand ducats which were offered to him by the Montenegrin Parliament as a civil list; he would not accept more than half, and he added, the monster,—‘If it should prove that even diminished by one half, this sum is too heavy, I will propose a further reduction.’ Must a man be a Montenegrin to express such ridiculous ideas? If he had only passed a few years on French soil, this is what he would have said:—‘Montenegrins! the sum you have offered me is in reality too great. I accept it only on one condition: that it is doubled.’

Another class of Government officials of whom he has something to say not calculated to give them satisfaction, is the Inspectors-general, whose duty it is to preside at the different agricultural shows held in the departments:—

“Among the many comical sinecures inscribed on the budget, I don’t know one more so than that of Inspector-general of Agricultural Exhibitions. A personage, whose name escapes me, receives twenty thousand francs a year to eat *pâtés de foie gras*, and see displays of fireworks. It is true that along with his *foie gras* he has to swallow so much intolerable talk, that, all things considered, I am disposed to recommend that his salary shall be raised to twenty-five thousand francs a year, with the privilege of stuffing his ears with cotton.

“I don’t know of anything more amusing than these sham fêtes of nature. Functionaries in black dress-coats, who, in matters agricultural, are not, to speak metaphorically, capable of distinguishing between a green haricot and an elephant, are placed in juxtaposition with threshing machines and steam ploughs. The black dress-coat congratulates the maker on his threshing machine or his plough; a dinner for seventy-two is served, to which is invariably invited an honest farmer to enliven the guests by the simplicity of his remarks, and his astonishment when he drinks champagne that seems to be boiling, and which he finds to be nearly as cold as ice.”

An anonymous writer sent him a letter charging him with a systematic opposition to the Government for a purpose it was not difficult to divine. To this he replies, after some satirical remarks on the writer:—

“My opposition is systematic, I know; but one must be just, the admiration of the *Constitutionnel* is not less so. But as long as several of our dignitaries continue systematically to pocket from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand francs a year—so long as M. Rouher continues systematically to maintain that the Mexican expedition was the grandest thought of the reign (not of Maximilian’s reign, of course)—so long as things go on systematically bad, I shall continue to repeat that they don’t go well. . . . There is one condition, however, on which I will abandon my systematic opposition, out of gratitude to a reader who has so systematically perused my productions, and that is when M. Dreolle, of the *Patrie*, abandoning his systematic flattery, shall declare in an article of at least two columns in length, that the Government spends too much money, and that the system of official candidates is particularly detestable.”

To the frequency of his attacks on individuals may be ascribed the bitter hostility he excited. Thus, speaking of another man who had in some way roused his ire, after referring to the descent of the tongues of fire on the heads of the apostles, which gave them the power of speaking in all languages, he continues:—

"Eighteen centuries and a half later Father Grétry, their successor, took his seat in one of the chairs of the Academy. Ever since then I have doubted the truth of this miracle, seeing that a thirteenth has not descended on his head to enable him to speak his own."

The number of *La Lanterne* from which we have taken the preceding extracts was seized in the Kiosks, and M. Rochefort, very naturally, wants to know the motive for such a puerile proceeding:—

"I have been told," he says, "that the worst of my crimes was having slightly scratched, in my last number, the antiquity of M. de Maupas' nobility, and the no less ancient nobility of M. de Persigny. The ambition of these two representatives of the French aristocracy is, it seems, to march abreast of the Trémouilles and the Rohan Chabots. It is not in my power to abate their pretensions, but I have a perfect right to point them out. If I have said that which is not true, in relating that M. de Persigny had been maltreated in the Chamber of Peers in the matter of the title of viscount, which he had presented to himself by a decree signed with his own hand, let that minister of ancient descent proceed against me for calumny; if I have said nothing but the truth, why do they seize my publication in the Kiosk? But another seizure of *La Lanterne* will not alter the fact that M. de Persigny decorated himself with a title which does not figure in his baptismal certificate, nor that his imaginary viscounty was converted into a real dukedom by a concurrence of unforeseen circumstances. Neither can we forget the answer that this exalted personage, to whom I render homage as duke after having greatly laughed at him as viscount, gave before the same Chamber of Peers referred to above when under examination in the Boulogne affair. 'And,' asked the President, 'what would you have done if the officer at whose head you pointed the gun had resisted?' 'I should have shot him,' replied M. de Persigny. And this is the sensitive man who has preached a crusade in favour of the respect due to private life, yet it seems to me that he was prepared in the instance just mentioned to go a deal further into that of others. Now he sends letters to the newspapers inculcating moderation, decorum, and self-restraint. I am quite aware that M. de Persigny has long since ignored his past life. It is an old practice among men who have sown a large quantity of wild oats, as soon as they get into office, and are receiving their hundred thousand crowns, to say in mournful accents, 'I repudiate my past career.' Nothing is more easy. I have no doubt that any criminal condemned to death would be happy in exchange for life, not only to reprobate his own past career, but that of five or six of his friends. It is quite open to M. de Persigny to believe that he owes his exalted position to his great political ability, but it costs quite enough to those who have to pay him for filling it, to give them the right to ask him if the letters he addressed to the newspapers are worth the money."

Though he professes to believe that it was for these reasons it was seized, in his heart he probably believed that it was on account of the references in that number to the husband of Queen Hortense and to the present Empress of France. As regards the spirit and substance of what he says with respect to the former, it is as follows:—

"I never can or shall understand why, in these days of the very libertinism of servility, as Tacitus says, when we are continually hearing in official spheres of Queen Hortense, nobody ever thinks of saying a kindly word about her husband, King Louis of Holland. We have been deafened for

years by the repetitions on the street organs of 'Partant pour la Syrie,' and I am quite aware of the interest taken by electors in the knowledge of the fact that before starting—

'Le jeune et brave Dunois
Allait prier Marie
De bénir ses exploits,'

but why doesn't somebody bring forward some of the musical compositions of King Louis, and why are not some of the civil and military honours lavished on his wife's poetry accorded to him? There is never an exhibition of painting in which several representations of Queen Hortense do not figure under various disguises, whereas there has not been a shadow of a portrait of her husband. There is something in all this which evidently calls for a *communiqué*."

The reference to the Empress in the following paragraph is sufficiently clear:—

"We are informed that the Emperor of China, who has hardly reached his fourteenth year, has just selected an empress from among a batch of his subjects; the reflection he may have made was perhaps this,—'I am going to marry a woman of whom I know nothing. Her education may be defective, but the less she knows of reading, the less likelihood there is of her interference in affairs of government to propagate crinoline, processions, and priests, who to some extent are like women, since they wear petticoats and garter their stockings above the knee.'"

The following dialogue, with which he winds up the work of the day when the above was written, is not bad. He says he heard it in a *café*:—

"Waiter! *La France*."

"Sir, when it is free."

"I shall have to wait a long time then," was the answer."

There is something cynical and very painful in the hardihood with which he demonstrates that for most of the unmarried women in Paris, who have no resource but their work, immorality is a necessity to enable them to live. Going one day into the work-room of a bookbinder, in which a large number of women were engaged in stitching and folding the pages of publications, he asked the forewoman how much they earned daily. "Some who are very quick earn a little more, but the average earnings are thirty-five sous a day," was the reply. "But," he answered, "it is utterly impossible that they can live on such a sum." "Oh," responded the woman, "some of them live at home, but most of them have a lover who helps them;" and this reply was made in the simplest manner, as though it were such a self-evident necessity that they must receive such aid, that there was no room for moral reprobation.

He is satirical on the subject of the amnesty granted by the Emperor of Russia to the Poles in Siberia, which, in eating-house phraseology, he calls an amnesty for one; and which he analyses thus:—"To share in this amnesty, it is necessary—1, to be a Pole;

2, to have been in Siberia upwards of three years ; 3, to be under twenty years of age : from which," he continues, " we may infer that Russia deports Poles in their infancy. Do they deport nurses to suckle these exiles ? "

Speaking of the absurd extent to which the Ministers carry their objection to the mention of certain names and things, he says, in reference to the application of M. Charles Boissière to be allowed to deliver a course of lectures on dramatic literature, and the permission granted to him on condition that he did not mention the name of Victor Hugo, he says :—

" The person who is least affected by this ostracism is Victor Hugo himself, who, perched on his rock, may well laugh ; it is M. Boissière himself who has reason to complain, for how on earth can a man lecture on dramatic literature without mentioning the name of the only man who has written dramas ? It is the mania of our governing authorities to pass the india-rubber over the men and things who embarrass or disquiet them. It is some time since they began to withdraw from circulation the money which bore the effigies of preceding sovereigns ; yet there is no occasion to be alarmed on account of Louis-Philippe, inasmuch as he has been dead a long time. This sovereign had the simplicity to place on the column in the Place Vendôme a legendary Napoleon, with the little three-cornered hat and the well-known grey overcoat. I am not suspected of any partiality for this great captain, whose sole military genius consisted in taking France when it had attained its greatest dimensions, and resigning it diminished by a sixth, but of all the representations we have of him that certainly was the most popular. Yet rather than leave on its pedestal this statue which, in spite of everything, was associated with the recollection of the Orleans family, after having relegated it to a village where it serves as a mile mark, they replaced it by a comical bronze statue which may represent either a Roman emperor, or a washerwoman who is about to wash her linen (*sale en famille*). Last year I was going up the grand staircase at Versailles with a child, when he dropped his balloon, and on leaning over the staircase to watch where it went to, I got a glimpse into a narrow court, in which I saw, with its nose against a wall, and carefully screened from observation, the equestrian statue of the Duke of Orleans, which stood so long in the centre of the courtyard of the Louvre. Heaven knows if I am an Orleanist, but such proceedings exhibit such paltriness in ideas and such littleness of mind that one cannot help laughing when one hears official orators repeat a hundred times a day that the Government is strong."

On the inquiry of a correspondent, who wants to know the reason why men who frequent bathing establishments are locked in, so that they cannot get out without ringing for the attendant, and that, moreover, if a bather were suddenly taken ill, he would have time to be drowned three times over before an attendant could come to his assistance ; whereas nothing could be easier than to turn a handle and call for help if it were required,—he remarks :—

" This sequestration has always appeared to me incomprehensible. At first I thought it had been instituted as a safeguard of French modesty, which, as everybody knows, is of a superior quality to every other. No doubt it was feared that some absent-minded bathers might quit the establishment without remembering to put their clothes on first, and only dis-

cover their omission when they found themselves on the Boulevard des Italiens. But on thinking the matter over more deeply, it occurred to me the real reason was an exaggerated suspicion of his customers on the part of the proprietor of the baths; who, he feared, might arrogate to themselves the right of departing with his linen. Doubtless he would be much grieved if he found you lying dead at the bottom of your bath, but he would bear up better against your loss than against the loss of his towels. That is human nature."

The same correspondent also inquires, why it is that the baptismal certificate of a legitimate child should be charged two francs, while that of an illegitimate child it was proposed to acknowledge cost seven francs and a half. After much speculation as to the why and wherefore of this difference, he continues:—

"For my part, I am all the more surprised at the disfavour in which natural children are held that France never before had so many illegitimate children filling exalted positions as now. It is true we have been considering the case of natural children acknowledged, which most of these are not."

Englishwomen may be gratified by learning that they are just now in high esteem at Paris. "A young lady," he says, "is not really in the fashionable world unless it can be said of her, 'She was educated at an English Boarding School.' Moral: the first duty of a Frenchwoman in these days is to be born in England of Scotch parents." "Voilà pour les femmes comme il faut; pour les femmes comme il ne faut pas" there is the same predilection in favour of our countrywomen: but the less we repeat of what he says on this subject the better.

Dramatic authors or adapters may be gratified or otherwise, according to the stand-point from which they look at it, at learning that English plays are also in the ascendant, and French dramatists now do to them what they have so long been doing to the theatrical literature of France.* Another notice of the theatres and matters pertaining to them is in reference to Madlle. Leininger's book, entitled "*Nos Misères au Théâtre*."

"Considering," he says, "that the authoress went on the stage at fifteen, and that ever since that time she has driven her carriage, it is probable that she refers to such vexations as these: When a sister actress has thirty-five lines to her part, while she has only thirty-three. For my part, I think it is the authors who have most reason to complain of these petty vexations. 'You make me die at the end. What can be more stupid?' says one at the close of the rehearsal. 'Besides,' she adds, 'I don't know how to die; and I should certainly burst into a fit of laughter. Why not alter the *dénouement*?' At another time it is the duenna who expresses her astonishment that you should have made her the mother of Mdle. Pierson, instead of making her her sister-in-law, which would in no way have diminished the interest of the drama. 'Tantôt c'est une forte amoureuse qui vous fait sommation d'avoir à lui ajouter une scène de viol, où elle excelle, et qui déclare qu'à moins d'une scène de viol, elle refuse le rôle.' . . . I re-

* A piece has just been brought out at the Porte St. Martin entitled "Fanny Lear." It is based on the "Memoirs of Harriet Wilson" and her conduct, and is expected to have a long run.

member an instance of an actress who could only be persuaded to die at the conclusion of a piece by the assurance that the votes of the people in the galleries, as well as in the stalls, had been taken, and that they were unanimously in favour of a melancholy termination. At Paris they smother Desdemona as Shakspeare directs, but in the provinces they perform *Othello* with a double *dénouement*. At the moment when Desdemona is becoming black in the face, Iago enters and exclaims, 'She is not guilty!' and thereby saves her life."

Everything furnishes him with an opportunity of attacking the policy of the French Government and clergy. A play in the form of a Review was brought out at the Theatre Royal in Florence, of which he says:—

"The Catholic journals exclaim loudly against the *Review*. The first tableau represents the office of a newspaper, with a placard bearing the inscription in gigantic characters, 'The last Pope in the Sepulchre.' The second tableau retraces all the checks France has received in its policy. This must be the longest of all. The third exhibits French priests in the guise of ravens crossing Italy on their way to Rome with St. Peter's pence. The *Monde* says, 'Every evening 2,000 spectators have the wretched courage to applaud this spectacle.' But, 2,000 spectators every evening gives 200,000 at the hundredth representation. In other words, all Florence is of opinion that the Pope and the priests are the pests of Italy. A more universal suffrage than this, and one less falsified, could not, it seems to me, be obtained. If, instead of applauding this spectacle, the spectators had hissed it, would not the religious journals have treated us day by day with some such remarks as these: 'Well, bilious materialists, are you now convinced that the people repel your doctrines, seeing that they come every evening to hoot the diatribes directed against the successor of St. Peter?' The said journals, moreover, express their astonishment that pieces of such a kind should be tolerated in a theatre attended by the King or his ministers nearly every evening. The reason is obvious enough: in Italy they have liberty, and here we have it not."

Under the head of "Latest News" on the day following that on which the above was written, he relates:—

"The centenary of General Hoche, which we announced was to be celebrated by an official banquet, an address of the *maire*, and a representation of the *Lion amoureux* at the Versailles Theatre, in which that hero was to fill a character, has been countermanded by order of the Minister of the Interior. Hoche seized in the Kiosks by M. Pinard! what a capital subject for a vaudeville! The great ambition of this able orator, who measures 8½ feet in height, and 5 inches in width, appears to be to overthrow the colossus of the revolution. This is the mania of all little men, who are incessantly exclaiming, 'I am not very tall, but I am very strong. Just feel my biceps.' Is it the Republic or the army that M. Pinard seeks to degrade in the person of General Hoche. If it is the Republic, it is ridiculous. If it is the army, let him beware. Everybody will say that he has an old grudge against it, solely because he is not tall enough to form part of it."

The Algerian authorities have been charged with many things, and especially with having impeded the efforts of the clergy to convert the natives; but M. Rochefort published a charge of an opposite kind, which is conveyed in the form of a letter from a

colonist, and which must have had some influence in bringing about the seizure of his publication,—not the less if it told the truth. The charge amounts to this: that sundry fields of grain having been burnt, various natives were seized, and of those about a dozen were executed; that it was ultimately discovered that the fires were not incendiary, but were caused by the intense heat. In his reply to his correspondent he says, that France, which in former days executed so many persons for witchcraft, had an equal right to condemn a few on the score of spontaneous combustion in these. Moreover, it had acted wisely, as it always does; for by their execution then, they were saved from dying of starvation since.

If he has any political opinions, perhaps they may be gathered from the paragraph relating to the seizure of the Orleans property; it is very possible, however, that the subject was only laid hold of as furnishing a text on which to attack the Government.

"The Queen of Spain, it seems, is making advances to the grandson of Don Carlos, offering to restore his grandfather's fortune to him on condition of his acknowledging her as the legitimate Queen of the Iberian peninsula. It is a pity that, having taken Neuilly from the Orleans family, the French Government should have sold three parts of it, otherwise it might have followed the Queen's example, and proposed to the Count de Paris to restore this domain to him on condition of his recognising Napoleon III. as his lawful sovereign: which would, moreover, have saved the trouble of withdrawing currency from the five-franc pieces bearing the effigy of Louis-Philippe. Possibly there may still be a way of reconciling difficulties: namely, by retaking Neuilly from those who purchased it, just as the rightful owners were despoiled. If these persons should object to such a free-and-easy proceeding, they might be told with severity, 'What! princes of the blood suffered themselves to be despoiled without saying a word, and you permit yourselves to make an outcry! Truly you must have a high idea of your importance.'"

Apropos of the subscription opened in aid of Parmentier's niece, on the ground of her uncle having introduced the potato into France, he remarks:—

"Ah! if Parmentier, instead of merely setting a famine-stricken people on their legs, had invented a new breechloader, he might have died a millionaire, and his niece would not have been left to starve under a Government which calls itself democratic."

Here is a rather puzzling query. *La France* announced that the Keeper of the Seals had requested the public prosecutors to send in reports of the state of public feeling in the Departments. He says:—

"Seeing that our lords and masters assure us at every sitting of the Chamber, that the country is with them, they must know the state of public feeling already, and the inquiry is needless. If they do not know it, why do they affirm the contrary? Neither can I understand why public prosecutors should have been selected for such a task. . . . The demand for these reports is significant. When a Government asks for reports of the state of public feeling, it is a sign that the state of its own is becoming alarming."

Some time ago there were reports published in the newspapers of disturbances having been caused by the appearance of ladies of a certain character in public, clad in robes which had peculiarities about them displeasing to what are termed honest people. Probably it was in consequence of this that the keepers of the gates at the garden of the Tuilleries received order not to admit ladies, during the performance of the military band, whose garments were likely to distract the attention of the listeners. In reference to this order he writes:—"If, instead of to mere grenadiers, the duty had devolved on ambassadors, I know some who must have refused admission to their own wives."

There is a French play in which a certain King of Siam is supposed to be listening to the reading of a piece by an author, who, on reaching a certain part, tells the King that the audience ought to show it was amused; upon which the King turns to his courtiers, and exclaims, "You hear that, gentlemen? If there is a man among you who does not testify his amusement, he shall be impaled." With such a provocative to mirth, it was not likely that the actors would lack the encouragement to be derived from an exhibition of hilarity. M. Rochefort affects to think that a similar unanimity is secured by similar means in the Chamber of Deputies in Egypt, by the proclamation of the Viceroy, that those who support the Government should seat themselves on the right, and those who were opposed to it on the left. On this text he goes on to say:—

"I like this Egyptian frankness. In France more circumlocution is employed. I never heard that M. Eugène Pelletan or M. Ernest Picard had been handed over to the executioner at the conclusion of an opposition speech; the Executive contented itself with simply declaring that the generality of Paris electors being in a state of mental alienation, the members last elected should be regarded as deputies from a lunatic asylum. A certain Morny or De Morny (biographers are not agreed as to his social status), asserted that if Paris was the head of France, the provinces were its heart; and, with the happy inspiration of a man who wrote vaudevilles in his intervals of statesmanship, he added, 'Which proves that our country has a bad head but a good heart.' The joke had a prodigious success. Several members of the right died of laughter in the course of the night, and one enthusiast moved privately in the Government office that this profound reflection should be recited every evening between the acts at the Théâtre Français. . . . It is a pity that it is not in harmony with French customs to extinguish opposition by such decisive means as sewing recalcitrant deputies in a sack and throwing them into the Nile. The Government having been thus relieved of an opposition which distresses it so visibly, I can imagine some such scene as this taking place in the chamber:—

"*M. Rouher*.—Gentlemen, we have need of a fund for local roads; but as it is the fate of a fund to become exhausted, it is the duty of peoples to replenish it. (Hear, hear. Good.) I have therefore the honour of depositing on the desk of our honourable president the project of a loan of three milliards. (Great applause.)

"*M. Schneider* (the President).—There is no opposition? (Cries of no, no, from all sides.)

"A Member, speaking from his seat.—Pardon, gentlemen and dear colleagues, I have one observation to make. (Murmurs. Divide, divide!) Gentlemen, your murmurs will not prevent me from fulfilling my duty to the end. Yes, gentlemen, even if it cost me my life's blood, I should say it in the face of all Europe: I am of opinion that three milliards is far too little. I propose to increase the loan to five milliards.

"M. Rouher.—I accept the proposition of the honourable gentleman. (Bravo, bravo!)

"M. Schneider.—Those who are in favour of adopting the project of law for raising a loan of five milliards for the formation of local roads will deposit a white ticket in the urn; those who are opposed to it will deposit a blue ticket. (Great excitement. Members engage in animated discussions during the scrutiny.)

"M. Schneider.—I am about to state the result of the division. Voters 246—

In favour of the loan . . .	246
Against	0

The Chamber has adopted it. And now, gentlemen, after the settlement of this trivial matter, we will proceed with our business.

"M. Gilletout.—I ask leave to speak. A journalist published an announcement that Madame S— wore a crimson-coloured dress at the Paris races. This was an invasion of the sanctity of private life. I demand the execution of that man within the precincts of the weighing-room. (Certainly. Very good, very good.)"

Speaking of the decorations of the Legion of Honour, he says:—

"The sun has hardly entered the Lion; there are six good weeks between this and the 15th August, and I have already seen in the morning mists wandering white cravats, and from the manner in which certain button-holes have stared at me, that they are preparing for the struggle. I am told that it takes from forty-five to fifty days to complete the great chase that leads to the capture of the red riband. . . . If this is the case, it shows that there is a fortune to be made by opening an establishment for the instruction of persons who engage in this chase, which might bear on its front the inscription—'The art of procuring a decoration taught in twenty-five lessons. Persons are taught here the steps to be taken, the meanesses to be committed, and the humiliations to be undergone. Pupils will be carefully instructed how to set forth their incontestable claims to public acknowledgment. They will also be supplied with the names and addresses of the Excellences on whose staircases they will have to wait, and the *cafés* where it will be advisable for them to go and speak well of the Government. They will also be kept informed of the manner in which to manipulate certain influences; the ignorance of which has caused many resolute candidates to fail.' All I can say of my own knowledge of this matter is that I hardly ever yet met a man, newly-decorated, who did not say, as he shook me by the hand, 'That which especially pleases me in my nomination is that it has dropped upon me as though it had fallen from the clouds. I no more expected it than of becoming an archbishop. It was not until yesterday, as I ran my eye down the list, that I had an idea of anything of the kind. You may imagine I was surprised when I saw my own name on the list.' What cowardly beings men are! Never once had I the courage to say that his astonishment was very singular, since, during the preceding two months he had done nothing but zebra Paris from one minister's office to another. Besides which he had signed with his own hand a request in effect to have the right of adorning his breast with the

star of the brave ; inasmuch as since some incorrigible disturbers had refused to accept the decoration when presented, the Government, to save itself from similar annoyances, had made it a condition that the request should be made in writing. . . . The English and Americans, who are sensible people, have escaped this decorative mania, which rages among inferior nations. The Chinese have the green button for their hats ; the Black Feet Indians have their blue collars ; and the French have their red ribands. I should have expected better things of the Black Feet."

Regarding the practice of the French ministry of presenting a budget of moderate amount, and then swelling it by another for supplementary credits, he says :—

" M. Thiers has often compared a State to the master of a house. Do you think, dear readers, that you or I would long keep a servant who had one book for the fillet of beef, another for the breast of mutton, a third for the radishes, a fourth for the artichokes, and while we were in the act of going through her thorny accounts, should suddenly exclaim in a tone of surprise, as though it were an insignificant matter which had nearly escaped her recollection :—' I forgot to mention to Monsieur that one day, being in want of money to pay for a pot of mustard, I borrowed five hundred francs of the fruiterer.'

" Such is the picture of our budgets. First they show you one for thirty-three francs, and when every visage is radiant with satisfaction, the Government brings up from the depths of its portfolio twenty-two others which, added to the first, make up a total of eighteen hundred millions.

" As types of absence of mind we have the man who, having entered his chambers during a shower, put his umbrella carefully between the sheets, and himself into a corner to dry. Also that other individual who, having washed his hands, poured the dirty water on his couch and threw himself into the gutter outside his window. But these are trivial instances of forgetfulness in comparison with that of M. Magne the other day, who, when speaking of the budget, being asked for an explanation with respect to the four milliards absorbed since 1852, answered, ' I shall come to that presently.' But he did not come to it, for, having finished his speech, he descended from the tribune without saying another word about it. I like this large way of keeping accounts. I can imagine, with feelings akin to admiration, a cashier closing his books at the end of the day, and saying to himself as he did so, ' It is very strange ! It seems to me that my accounts don't add up correctly to-day. . . . Ah ! I remember now, I omitted to add up the column of milliards.'

" I know that in the estimation of the grand signors who govern us four milliards are a trifling matter, and I can very well conceive M. Magne nailing the interrupter to his seat by replying, ' One must be in great straits for a subject of opposition to start such a very little hare in the middle of a serious discussion. If we are to pause over such trivialities we shall never finish. What is four milliards, I want to know ? Hardly forty times a hundred millions. The other morning I breakfasted at the restaurant. When they brought me my bill, I saw that it contained an error of four milliards. I might have had the error rectified ; I preferred to leave it for the waiter !' The Chamber is often content with explanations quite as worthless."

Paragraphs like the following probably had more to do with the suppression of the *Lanterne* than any of the writer's attacks on the Government as a body :—

"The lawful heir of King Theodore is named Alamayon, a name which signifies 'He has seen the world.' What a pity it is that we don't follow the practice of giving names that have a signification applicable to the bearer; the name of Pinard might then be transformed into one signifying 'Little, but a rampager;' Count Persigny would become, 'Eat and do nothing!' M. Magne, 'After me the end of the world;' and M. Rouher, 'The Empire is the Loan.'"

The following will show how sharply he must have looked out for texts on which to hook an attack on the head of the Government:—

"Do you know the subject of the musical composition proposed for the competitions for the prize of Rome? I don't know if I ought. . . . At any rate I indulge myself in the belief that the audacious professors who proposed it will be condemned to fifteen months of Sainte Pélagie, in the quarter assigned to political prisoners, for inciting to hatred against a regular government. *Ma foi*, I will run the risk; here is that appeal to the worst of passions:—*Daniel surprising Belshazzar in the midst of his impious feast.*

"Really, the irony is too severe. I ask men of order, is it in good taste at a crisis like that we are passing through, to thrust forward so conspicuously the famous inscription, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. [*Interpretation for those whose memories are not good: 'God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians.'*] I can understand the right of criticising and contending against the Government; but between that and gratuitously insulting it by such transparent and perfidious allusions there is an abyss that I should never dream of crossing. And when one considers that the professors in question are paid out of the funds of the State, one is fairly stupefied by such deep ingratitude."

Referring to the censorship in France, he describes a state of things which would be considered as worse than objectionable in England. The particular case which gave rise to his observations was that of Robert Hall; who, deeming himself aggrieved by the conduct of an individual, sent two friends to ask for an explanation; whom the person in question refused to have anything to do with, on the ground that their principal was a man to whose writings the official stamp authorising their free circulation had been refused, and therefore not a man he would fight a duel with. He says, in substance, the public ought to know that in France every writer is in the position of a person under accusation. . . . But as they do not dare to bring a man before a police tribunal on such grounds, they send him, or rather his works, before a tribunal which, in theatrical matters, is termed Board of Censorship; in the case of books, Colportage Commission. Sometimes the decision of the Commission is favourable; that is, it allows the publication to be sold at all the railway stations: at other times it confines the circulation to Paris—a proceeding which cannot fail to cast a stigma on the author. But the very persons who are entrusted with the power of deciding the fate of a book are themselves authors, and are said to be as willing

to condemn the works of other men as they are to accord the official stamp to their own.

"We hear from Servia that Prince Milano has been elected. He is only fourteen years of age, but it does not follow that he will commit more blunders than a man of sixty would. In fact, I would lay a wager that he will be guilty of fewer blunders than most kings, for the simple reason that he cannot be guilty of more. We hear too, that there was no opposition, the Regency having taken the precaution of placing two thousand troops round the chamber in which the deputies were sitting—a delicate attention that was, no doubt, fully appreciated by those gentlemen, inasmuch as it gave them the power of voting with that independence which usually attends an election conducted under the pressure of bayonets. . . . I have a vague recollection of another country in which a sovereign was elected under precisely similar circumstances. It would hardly be imagined what large majorities may be obtained by these means.

"I was quite aware that the position of official candidate was a situation, but I had no idea until recently that it was the subject of a petty kind of jobbery. I learn that several favourites of the Government are negotiating their chances of election against sinecures of one sort or another. I should never have thought of such an expedient, which is something quite novel, and shows how far in these days patriotism is carried. If I dared to mix myself up in such State affairs, I would advise that the candidatures should be sold by public auction, and in this wise:—'Look here, gentlemen, here is an exceedingly choice article. M. Clodomir has been presented by the Minister of the Interior to one of our most devoted departments as the official candidate; but not feeling himself strong enough to undergo the storms of public life, he has decided on selling it—is there any person who bids eighty thousand francs for it?'

"*Un Auvergnat*.—I bid three francs for it. I have always had a longing to be a deputy.

"*Auctioneer*.—I beg to call your attention, gentlemen, to the fact that the purchaser will not have to incur any expenses on account of placards and such things. Everything is done at the expense of the State. . . . If I were speaking to you of the opposition candidate I should tell you quite a different tale.

"*A voice*.—Is the election guaranteed?

"*Auctioneer*.—It is certain. Not one of the voters knows how to read.

"*The voice*.—I bid eighty thousand francs for it.

"*Auctioneer*.—Personne ne demande à voir . . . non ? vu ? . . . bien vu ? . . . pas de regrets ? . . . Sold for eighty thousand francs."

The following, if true, is worth recording as a specimen of the exaggerated zeal of supporters of the Napoleonic dynasty. He says:—

"I have just received information which deserves to be recorded for its historical interest, in reference to toasts given at a dinner. The authorities naturally began by drinking the health of Napoleon III. A functionary eager for promotion then drank to Napoleon IV., which in the language of the Court passes for a protestation in favour of the dynasty, but which to me appears a gross insult, since, before giving the son his title of succession to the throne, it would be in good taste at least to wait until the father had vacated it. If a courtier under Louis XVIII., instead of drinking to the health of the Count d'Artois, had proposed a toast to Charles X., he would probably have received a peremptory order to depart forthwith to his

country house, and to stay there five or six months. But in this blessed epoch platitudes are carried to such an extreme that they sometimes become seditious. Another guest, unwilling to be outdone, rose immediately afterwards, glass in hand, and proposed the following toast:—"I second the proposal of our honourable guest. But Napoleon IV. will have a child. . . ."

"Yes! yes!" resounded from all sides.

"It will be a boy."

"No doubt of it."

"And the day will come when he will succeed to his father."

"Of course! certainly!"

"Gentlemen, I drink to Napoleon V."

"At ten minutes before two o'clock in the morning, writes my correspondent, they were drinking the health of Napoleon XXXII."

Having been present at a debate in the Chamber on the postal service with Corsica, he was greatly surprised that a more able orator had not been selected to defend the proceeding of the Government in accepting the highest tender in preference to that of the company which offered to perform it for three millions less, the stability of both being equal. In reply to his inquiry as to who the orator was he was told: "He is a godson of Queen Hortense." "Go ahead! it is the turn of the godson now," is his remark. A correspondent subsequently suggests that the reason of the preference might have been that the company to which the contract was given had named its vessels *Roi Jérôme*, *Comte Bacciocchi*, *Prince Napoléon*, *Prince Pierre Bonaparte*, *Impératrice Eugénie*, &c.

He never allows an opportunity of a hit at the finances to escape him. Alfred Verlière, who had been imprisoned on account of an offence against the Press Law, and connection with a secret society, after completing the term of his imprisonment on the first score, was removed to the "infinitely more unhealthy quarter devoted to prisoners condemned on account of political offences. They tell me it was for the sake of regularity. Singular country, in which there is so much regularity in the prisons and so little in the finances!"

The publication of false intelligence is, we need scarcely say, punishable by laws specially enacted with a view to its prevention. That this does not prevent the spread of false reports by individuals every spectator on the Bourse knows quite well. Apropos of the condemnation of the *Courier de Lyon* on this account, he says:—

"I venture with all timidity to suggest that the *Constitutionnel* should be proceeded against on the same grounds. It recently announced that the chief of the State the day after a bilious headache had passed five hours on horseback, which was sufficient to indicate that he was entirely recovered. It turns out that it was not five but only two hours that the head of the said State remained on horseback. If, in consequence of the statement made by the *Constitutionnel*, persons were induced to make purchases in the funds, and that there was a fall on the announcement of the truth, it is quite clear that the losses of these persons is due to the journal in question. To announce that the health of a sovereign is good when it is not good, is just as hurtful to public credit as to publish the contrary. Why is it then

that in the latter case offenders are punished with imprisonment or fine, and in the former, rewarded with the post of prefect? People fond of scandal may say that there are many persons who, if they had to choose between the two, would prefer the punishment to the reward."

The seventh number of *La Lanterne* contains a reference to himself in the form of a paragraph, which seems to have been addressed to the *Inflexible* by, as he terms him, a ticket-of-leave man. It is curious to remark, however, that while the paragraph appears on page 417, the succeeding page, which is on the other side of the same leaf, is numbered 420, and it is evident that matter has been omitted. The paragraph runs as follows:—

"Here is a simple fact which will be fully developed in the *Inflexible*. We put this simple question to M. Henri de Rochefort. Does he know the journalist of the press termed *petite*, to whom, in the month of November last, the Chancellerie refused permission to wear a foreign cross on account of his having been twice condemned for swindling?"

In reference to this paragraph, he says: "Among the fifty journalists he has insulted, I was the only one that . . ." and here follows the omission we spoke of. Something of the nature of what is omitted may be gathered from what appears on turning over the leaf:—

"This printer, who was half a head taller than I am, looked upon this proposition as highly comical, and seemed greatly surprised that an honest man who had been outraged should desire to wash out the insult. In order to make him take a more serious view of the matter, and to give force to my arguments, I struck him on both cheeks. Instead of inducing him to give me the satisfaction I demanded, he announced his intention of bringing an action against me for an assault on his long person, which would be an act of gross stupidity on his part, seeing that the first question the magistrate would ask would be this—'Have you ever been convicted?' and I should have the opportunity of replying—'Never sir, except of having once served as a witness in a duel, for which I was fined twenty-five francs.' As regards the writer of the paragraph, instead of indicting him for libel, when, in virtue of a law I never could understand, he would not be allowed to produce proof of the truth of the charge, I will bring a civil action against him, which will give him an opportunity of doing so, and at the same time enable me to bring forward evidence to rebut it, and to expose the character of the gentleman.—Then, O strong Government! you will be greatly advanced when I shall have shown in what infamous dens you do not disdain to recruit your defenders, and that I would no more receive foreign decorations than I would consent to receive your own."

On the subject of Government candidates, he says:—

"I can imagine myself present at a conference between a much-envied prefect and the official candidate for election to the Legislative Corps: the following is probably something like what I should hear:—

"*Préfet to the candidate.*—Will you supply me with some information for the circular I must send to my subordinates respecting you? Let us see. Have you any pictures in your house?

"*Candidate.*—Three; one of which is an engraving of Mazeppa. I have also one of Ivanhoe, but they have hung it up in the nurse's bedroom.

"*Préfet*.—Good. I shall say that in you the arts and artists have an enlightened protector. Have you taken your degree at the University?

"*Candidate*.—No; but in 1833 I was inclined to go up for examination at the Ecole Polytechnique.

"*Préfet*.—Come, that is something. We will write that your special studies in the exact sciences gives the certainty that not a sou will be expended in France without your having made a vigorous examination into the reason why it is demanded. Between ourselves, do you give much to the poor?

"*Candidate*.—I once sent twenty-five francs to a wild-beast tamer at a menagerie, whose arm had been bitten off by a panther.

"*Préfet*.—Compassionate and generous; never has an unfortunate individual found him indifferent. His purse is as open as his heart. The wretched know it well, and exclaim as he goes by, 'Behold our father!'"

Garnier-Pages, whose ability is nearly as well-known in England as in France, having made some remarks displeasing to the Government, *La Patrie* observed that the age of the venerable M. Garnier-Pages deprived his arguments of all value, and that the time had arrived when he ought to retire into private life; whereupon M. Rochefort asks: "When the Emperor has attained the same age as M. Garnier-Pages, will *La Patrie* demand that he shall cede his place to another?"

In his eagerness to condemn the brutality of one of the members of a confraternity, organised for the purpose of giving religious with secular teaching, he applauds the speech of Jules Favre for the prosecution; and especially that part of it in which he asserts that neither schoolmasters nor parents have the right to strike a child; and, in doing so, he gives us credit for that to which we are, unfortunately, not entitled. It is the sole instance in which he exhibits any trace of gentleness. He says:—

"I am told that *La Lanterne* is much read among the working classes, and it is to them I appeal, and beg them to discontinue the practice of using violence towards their children. They themselves having been subjected to such treatment in their childhood, continue the same system of blows to their own offspring, which has been practised from time immemorial. Let them, nevertheless, be thoroughly convinced that one of the causes of the physical, moral, and political decline of our unfortunate country is the lack of reason and dignity in the education of the children of workmen. The effect of blows is either to make them rebellious or stupid. To tell a child not to fight, and then to strike him, is equivalent to telling him not to steal and at the same time breaking open the drawers of a desk in his presence. The French workman is the only one who retains this odious mode of correction. The Germans and English have long since renounced the practice."

Prévôt Paradol, it appears, has published a book under the title of "*La France Nouvelle*," concerning which he says:—

"I have just been reading Prévôt Paradol's new and interesting book without once breaking off; and I enjoyed it all the more that, before the issue of '*La France Nouvelle*,' we knew only *Nouvelle France*, which is a barrack."

M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction, in the course of an address, complained of the neglect of literature in the present day, in consequence of the extent to which newspapers had superseded books.

"M. Duruy charges politics with stupifying men. . . . If he were speaking of the influence politics have exercised on the brains of the Government orators, his colleagues, I might perhaps be able to understand him; I might even add, that I have made the same observation myself; but I should never have thought that he would have expressed himself with such frankness of ministers who, after all, sit on the same benches with him."

One of the bitterest things he writes, which also applies to men of all nations, is relative to Viennet's death-bed conversion, and the glorification of the Catholics in consequence:—

"After having lived as an excommunicated freemason, it appears that in his last hours he abjured frankness and freemasonry to die in the arms of the religion to which we are indebted for Cardinal Dubois and the second Roman expedition. I really don't see what religion has to pride itself upon particularly in the fact that a man of fourscore and eleven years, whose brain was in that state of torpor which precedes death, should give it his approval. If I were told that an old lady, seventy-eight years of age, had suddenly become enamoured of me, and offered me her hand with all its wrinkles and dependencies, I certainly should not boast of it in the newspapers."

Rural postmen in France, it seems, have quite as much reason to complain as the poet postman, Edward Capern, in this country, who, after describing in real poetry the pleasures of a rural postman's life, suddenly pauses, and with a bitterness that takes one quite aback, says that the rural postman's is a blessed life,—

"If sweating big drops 'neath a burning sun,
And shivering 'mid sleet and snow;
If drenched to the skin with rain be fun,
And can a joy bestow;"

and all this for a very few shillings in return for very long daily walks. Under the date of July 23, M. Rochefort says:—

"M. Stephen Liegeard, whose intentions are evidently better than the poetry in which he invests them, proposes an addition of a hundred and twenty francs a year to the pay of the rural postmen. The deputy of the Moselle relates that one of these unfortunate pedestrians had to walk forty kilometres a day for a salary of five hundred francs a year, and that on this sum he had to maintain a wife and four children, all of whom were blessed with extraordinarily good appetites. In the midst of the emotion excited by this deputy's statement a man was found to declare that this wage was ample, and that there was no ground whatever for adding a centime to the pay of rural postmen. This man was M. Busson-Billault, son-in-law of a minister who in his lifetime pocketed one hundred thousand francs a year as President of the Council, and another hundred thousand as a member of the Privy Council."

His bitter hatred of the Minister of the Interior manifests itself at every opportunity. In one of the latest of the numbers of *La Lanterne* published in France, he says:—

"Hitherto I have regarded the Minister of the Interior (M. Pinard) as a sort of solicitor-general who had gone astray in the labyrinth of politics, like a Polignac, less his courage and convictions, incapable of anything beyond drawing up ordonnances (*de non-lieu*). The triumphant answer he gave to M. Lanjuinais on the subject of lunatics has radically modified my opinion with respect to this functionary. M. Lanjuinais had appealed very energetically in the Corps Législatif against the sequestration of an old soldier named Hamon, who had been shut up in the asylum at Bicêtre as afflicted with insanity, the proof of it being grounded on the fact that in the course of three months he had made seventy-two applications for the Cross of Honour on account of his participation in the Strasbourg affair. What could M. Lanjuinais be thinking of to ask the Government why they arrested such a man as a madman? If those who shared in that affair were not madmen, then it would be only right to throw wide open the gates of Charenton Lunatic Asylum at once. I have seen people hold their sides as they described this ridiculous affair, in which a band of men, clad in fantastic costume, amused themselves in the streets during a quarter of an hour in the performance of choregraphic evolutions, to which attention was called by the beating of a drum. So extremely theatrical was the whole affair, that the director of the Strasbourg theatre, attracted by the noise to the window, exclaimed, on seeing the troop pass by, 'Go ahead! more competition! Here is another circus coming to take up its quarters in the town.'

"If the honourable deputy of the Left (Lanjuinais) desires to be sincere, he will acknowledge that never was insanity more evident. Instead, then, of complaining that one of the actors in this buffoonery had been shut up at Bicêtre, it would have been more logical to have inquired on what ground those who were concerned with him had not been treated in a similar manner."

Complaints have often been made, and with great justice, too, of the manner in which French magistrates examine criminals. No Englishman who reads the reports of trials in the French courts can avoid feeling indignant at the shameful way in which they distort the statements of prisoners, and seek to entrap them into making contradictory answers, which are often no contradictions at all, but very easy of explanation. In a recent trial the counsel referred to the case of the woman Doise, who was imprisoned for many months, and at last confessed herself to be guilty, in order to be released from the hardships to which she was subjected. On her trial she declared herself to be innocent, and the reasons which had induced her to declare herself guilty. The result of the trial was that the jury acquitted her. Will it be credited that, as *La Lanterne* asserts, the judge before whom the counsel made the citation alluded to, thus spoke of the woman who had been twice tried, and pronounced innocent of any knowledge or of any participation in the crime—"This great criminal, this female parricide, was only pronounced innocent in a certain degree? It is quite true that she did not commit the crime herself, but she planned it, and induced her lover to execute it. She was, therefore, an aider and abettor of the crime; consequently, there was no judicial error in the case." Imagine a judge in an English court dismissing a prisoner who had just been

pronounced innocent by a jury in this wise—"The jury has acquitted you of the murder with which you were charged, so you are at liberty to depart; but don't do anything like it again." Something distantly akin to this does sometimes happen, as when a prisoner is released with a caution; but this, though sufficiently reprehensible, is far from affirming that the offender was guilty of the crime charged against him.

Whatever M. Rochefort's motive may have been, his good feeling in the case of Madame Hartmann cannot be questioned. Her husband was one of the fire brigade, and was killed in the performance of his duty at the fire at the Halles, leaving his wife and three little children destitute. He says:—

"When a writer of vaudeville wants to get up a laugh among the audience he generally succeeds by sending a fireman on the stage with his helmet on the back of his head, a pair of trousers too short for him, and forthwith the spectators begin to laugh. It never seems to occur to authors that the same effect might be produced by sending a marshal on the stage who should pull out his staff and scratch his head therewith. Why is this? Is it because the marshal has the reputation of having slain Austrians, while the fireman has only saved French lives? For my part, I confess that the only arm of the military service that has my sympathy and respect is that of the brave enemies of fire; and I am astonished that, when so much is being done to improve fire-arms, nothing is done to improve the fire-engines. *La Lanterne* will be much obliged to Madame Hartmann, the widow of the man who so bravely sacrificed himself, if she will be good enough to accept the five hundred francs I hold at her disposal for the benefit of her children; unless she prefers to send her address, of which I am ignorant."

Referring to the Napoleon correspondence, he says:—

"The twenty-fourth volume of the 'Correspondence of Napoleon I.' has just been published. You who are still under the influence of the 'noble radiance of the diadem' read those letters, and if after that you are not completely cured, it must be because your respectful monomania is radically incurable. You will learn in this course of Machiavellian politics, how kisses are sent to sovereigns whom it is proposed to dethrone immediately afterwards, and how officious journalists are treated by the monarchs whom they have the simplicity to serve. You will there see, too, to what fantastic tricks the epilepsy of absolute power may lead a human being. There, there is the correspondence of a man to whom the term 'great' has been applied. What must those monarchs have been who earned the *soubriquet* of 'little'?"

With respect to the announcement that the Government was greatly occupied with the consideration of the Œcumenical Council to be held at Rome next year, he says:—

"I should have thought that 1869 promised other subjects of pre-occupation of more importance than an Œcumenical Council. The inquietude of the Government bears a distant resemblance to that of the criminal condemned to death, who, as they were setting out for the scaffold, complained of his hair being cut off on the ground that it might cause him to catch cold in his head."

The following, which also concerns the Papal Government, could not have been pleasing to the Emperor Napoleon or his family:—

"This problem, it seems, has been issued for solution in one of our principal colleges for the annual competition. 'Given a field of eight thousand square mètres, the height of the poplars that border it, and the number of green haricots that have been gathered in it, to find out the motives of Prince Napoleon's journey.'

"After many sleepless nights, several mathematicians believe they have solved it, and the solution they give is that it was connected with the official candidature of Cardinal Bonaparte to the first vacancy of the Papal throne.

"Napoleon I. having imprisoned Pope Pius VII., with the threat of shooting him as if he were a simple Duke of Enghien, if he ventured to issue a bull, it is quite natural that a Bonaparte should be nominated as the successor of St. Peter; but I should rather like to know how the nephew is to express himself with respect to the conduct of his uncle; but for whose glory he would probably be now an obscure individual in Corsica. Many difficulties would present themselves in drawing up his address on ascending the throne. As nephew, would he say to his clergy, 'I respect him, and owe everything to him; as Pope, I devote him to everlasting fire; as temporal sovereign, I shall make it my duty to model my policy on his admirable despotism; as spiritual sovereign, I excommunicate him and his to the thirty-seventh generation?'

"For my part, I cannot refrain from hoping that the Romans may have at their head a man whose name alone is a guarantee of grandeur and success. Possibly he will show them how they must go to work to augment a public debt to the extent of four milliards of francs; how they should proceed to confer favours on a nation, and change it into an enemy. Finally, after having been content with an army of four hundred thousand men to make a great war, they take twelve hundred thousand to make a little one."

If the Emperor Napoleon really addressed such a letter as that M. Rochefort alludes to in the following paragraph, recent events must have shown Queen Isabella the folly of which she was guilty in not acting on the advice:—

"We are told that the Emperor Napoleon has just addressed an autograph letter to the Queen of Spain, to ask her to act with leniency at the present juncture. If the statement is true, the Emperor was not put to much pains in drawing it up; he had only to copy the letter which the Queen of Spain probably wrote to him under analogous circumstances, of which, as you know, he took no heed."

Referring to a statement of the correspondent of the *Nord* relative to a conversation at the Tuileries (so named, he says, because it is from thence the tiles fall on the public), on the subject of the assassination of the Prince of Servia, and what the Emperor is reported to have said, namely, that—

"If I were assassinated, it might well be that it would tend more to the consolidation of my dynasty than the prolongation of my days would do. The man who commits, or induces another to commit, an assassination from political motives, who constitutes himself judge and executioner, invariably produces an effect contrary to his wishes. It is the chastisement of his crime"—he takes advantage of the opportunity to make another attack on M. de Persigny. He says:—

"Very excellent and well-expressed opinions, in which I so thoroughly coincide with his Imperial Majesty, that I have not been able to this moment

to comprehend why he has loaded M. de Persigny, and men like him, with appointments, country houses, and honours, who defended, after the row at Boulogne, the theory of political assassination. I may add that the chastisement for such offences is not so inevitable as might be supposed, since the said M. de Persigny's sole political service was the attempt he meditated on the life of an officer on that occasion."

Respecting the charge of being too violent in his attacks on the government, he says:—

"As to my pretended violence, I have numerous examples to justify it; notably, that of a journalist who has since become Emperor, by circumstances independent of my will, who wrote thus in the prints in his locality:—'By this false policy, the French Cabinet has drawn upon it, and justly, the suspicion of France and of foreign countries. It has re-awakened hatreds and jealousies which had become extinct. . . . You have compromised the future of France by isolating it in Europe, and by exhausting the resources of the country by warlike preparations, which have not even the excuse of war for its aim. You have excited divisions at home, and abroad you have united our enemies in the same sentiment of distrust and hatred. You are not men of peace, for you seek incessantly for opportunities of expending French blood. France will demand an account from you of the men whose blood has been so gloriously but uselessly shed in all your barren expeditions.'—Louis Napoleon, *Progrès du Pas-de-Calais* of the 5th November, 1844.

"I appeal to all the great bodies and all the great minds of the State, to say if I have ever written anything comparable in violence to these lines; which might be readily believed to have been written in 1868, so exceedingly well do they apply to the present state of things."

According to his statement, the treatment to which he was subjected reflects great discredit on the police authorities, and far more on those who set them in action. However offensive his writing must have been to those whom he attacked, there was not matter in them on which to found a charge of defamation, nor even to insure his condemnation on the very elastic charge of inciting contempt of public functionaries. In order to put an effectual stop to his publication, a man who, he says, was once condemned to ten years' imprisonment in a penitentiary, and who had subsequently become a police agent, was set on to libel him. This man charged him with living with a woman of a grade lower than that of the demi-monde; and, finding that had no effect, he charged him with having been twice convicted and deprived of his civil rights, to which Rochefort replied that he had only once been condemned, and that was for provoking a man to fight a duel. Next, he was charged with being a bastard; but, he says, he treated this outrage on the memory of his dear departed mother with contempt, knowing the foul source from whence it issued. But his wrath overcame his prudence when he learned that a libel on him was in preparation, which was to be communicated to his daughter, a little girl less than eleven years of age, who was at a boarding school. Calling a cab, he jumped into

it, drove to the publisher, and demanded satisfaction; but the man, with a sneering laugh, refused to meet him, whereupon he struck him with his open hands on both cheeks. He had hardly done this before he discerned that he had fallen into the trap set for him. Cited before the police tribunal for the assault, he was convicted and sentenced to four months' imprisonment, and ordered to pay a fine. He appealed against the sentence—not, he tells us, because he had the least expectation that a second court would reverse the decision of the first, but because he wished to save himself the possible humiliation of being pardoned on the 15th August. That the sentence on him was one of unusual severity may be inferred from the statement that another writer, for a precisely similar offence, was merely ordered to pay a fine of one franc and one franc costs. Instead of undergoing his sentence, he managed to make his way into Belgium, doubtless to the gratification of the French government, which was thereby rid of his presence. Had he undergone the imprisonment, he might, at the end of that term, have renewed his attacks on all the individuals who had had any share in causing it; and, considering that before it *La Lanterne* had been bought at prices far above that at which he issued it, and that the sale was about one hundred thousand, it may be easily imagined that the sale would have been limited only by the printer's capabilities on its renewed publication. It may, perhaps, be thought that, having made his escape to Belgium, he might have continued the publication there; and so he did, and attempts were made to smuggle it into France. The police, however, were on the alert, and several persons were seized with some hundreds of the publication in their possession. By the French law all these persons were liable to imprisonment, and imprisoned they were accordingly for various terms, and the numbers of *La Lanterne* found in their possession were confiscated. The counsel for the prisoners raised some objections which seem very plausible: he urged that, inasmuch as the government still retained the caution money that had to be deposited before the first number could be issued, and that the *Lanterne* had never been condemned, it was still a French publication entitled to free circulation, and that the mere fact that it was not printed by a French printer was not sufficient reason for depriving it of the privilege. The court took no heed of his objections, and the result of the trial was what we have just stated. This refers to only one batch of prisoners, but others have been arrested who have been treated with equal severity; one of whom—and we mention his case as showing the high prices that must be obtained for copies of the publication—was arrested for having twenty-five numbers in his possession, for each of which he had paid one franc and a half, the price at which it was published being only forty centimes.

The French are described as an impulsive people, and there may be nothing to excite disquietude in the court or the cabinet in the circumstance that there is hardly a single article which is not denominated *à la Lanterne*, and wherever it is impracticable to give it the form of that well-known adjunct of every picture of Diogenes, it assumes the colour of the cover, which is a bright scarlet. Countless numbers of little lanterns are sold as match-boxes, tobacco-boxes, pipes, ornaments for watch-guards, and so forth. This popularity, however, will probably soon die out from lack of fuel to keep it up. It is obvious that, ingenious as the devices may be that are adopted to smuggle the publications into France, not the least amusing of which is that described by the *Siècle*, which asserts that they were enclosed in busts of the Napoleons, the number must be comparatively small that find their way into that country. On the other hand, there have sprung from it a host of publications professing to tread in its footsteps.

As a fitting conclusion to the extracts from his writings, we append a description of M. Rochefort's personal appearance and character, written by a French journalist, who is better known than liked in this country, but who has a considerable reputation in his own :—

“He is as thin as Brutus and Cassius, the lean individuals whose leanness occasioned so much disquietude to Cæsar. Haughty in bearing; terse, pointed, and satirical in language, he not only hates his adversaries, but he despises, strikes, and crushes them unceasingly; he does not name, but he indicates them. Thoroughly unforgiving, he extends his hatred from his enemies to their families of every degree of consanguinity, even from the first to the seventh generation, and beyond. He is occasionally humorous, but it is after the manner of Swift, who proposed to the Irish to eat their children in order that they might economise their expenses to enable them to pay the taxes levied on the nation by the English. He is courageous and impetuous, and always ready to defend with his sword what he has written with his pen. He has three great qualities,—wit, rectitude, and courage. It is to be wished that he had a little more of the milk of human kindness in his composition, and that he would not regard all his enemies as rascals. Such as he is, however, he has caused his writings to be read throughout France, Belgium, Germany, and the United States. He imposes respect on those even who do not like him; and compels men to hearken to him.”

Of the reason why M. Rochefort so suddenly obtained his popularity, the same writer adds in effect :—“France is alarmed by the enormous expenditure, and wants self-government. A little earlier, and this satirist would have been stifled by the torpor which prevailed; a little time hence, and he might have passed unnoticed in the midst of the turbulence of a free press. The moment when he entered the strife was therefore favourable to a writer who showed himself utterly fearless of consequences; and his voice penetrated almost immediately through the length and breadth of the land.”

GEORGE LUMLEY.



J. H. NEWMAN AS PREACHER.

Parochial and Plain Sermons. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D.,
formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. In Eight Volumes. New
Edition. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1868.

MORE than thirty-five years have passed since the origin of the movement of which these sermons express the highest aim and aspiration. To many of their readers they will come almost as a voice from the dead; so complete seems to be the separation between those who remain in the English Church and the little band of distinguished men who, having lent their strength to urge the movement forward, followed it onward, though still reluctantly, into the distant region to which its enemies had always predicted, and its friends had always denied, that it would lead them.

Indeed, a new world of thought and feeling has come into existence since the days to which these sermons originally belonged. Even those who pride themselves on never learning anything from their own age, have not been able to escape or to resist its influence. None of us knows how much he has been taught by the experience of half a lifetime, until he comes now and then upon some imperishable record of the feelings of the bygone time. Such a record these sermons are. The principles which they assume, the prepossessions to which they appeal or which they seek to remove, have all become dissolved together in the seething furnace of an agitated quarter of a century; and in that furnace have either been evaporated and disappeared, or have come forth from it differently combined, transmuted into new forms, in which the old can scarcely be recognised.

It is seldom that sermons which, after great popularity, have once ceased to be generally read, win their way back again into the hands of the world of general readers, as these remarkable sermons are doing. For many years they have been almost unattainable, except at what may be called a famine price. Their author has withdrawn them from the market, and fortunate possessors of early editions have treasured them; but the younger generation have known them rather as a tradition of their elders than as an accessible model for imitation or guide in thought. Now at length they are awakened from their slumber of twenty years, and all who will may know what was that teaching from St. Mary's pulpit, thirty years ago, which touched innumerable hearts, deeply influenced many lives, and left its impress on the history of the English Church, and even on the mind of the English people.

Nothing is more remarkable than the way in which Dr. Newman has kept his hold upon the affectionate regard of his countrymen through so many eventful years. Always in antagonism with them, he has yet always had with them a sympathy which lay deeper than the antagonism. He cares, even in his present isolation, for their good opinion; he appreciates, in a way which his new friends scarcely understand, the noble qualities of the race from which he springs. He is an Englishman still, even as an Oratorian. He is not ashamed or afraid to own that he prefers the English to the Italian type of Roman Catholic devotion and character; and while true and faithful in his allegiance to what he believes to be the rightful authority of the See of Rome, is not its slave or sycophant, like some of whom better things might once have been hoped.

It is the reward of this English patriotism that his countrymen cannot cease respecting and loving him. Even those who feel most deeply the errors of the system which he has embraced, and who cannot deny that even on *his* noble nature it has exercised in some respects a deteriorating influence, regard every deflection not with anger, but in sorrow; and claim, with joy and pride, some part left them still in the intellect and heart of John Henry Newman.

One grave suspicion long remained in the popular mind, which, while it lived there, kept the natural good-will of Englishmen from flowing freely. Those who looked on the movement from without, at first perhaps with a hope which gradually changed into doubt and fear; who watched its varying phases with perplexity; who noticed, first with suspicion and then with a not unnatural indignation, how the obvious inferences from its assumed premises were at first disclaimed, then admitted as possibly true, and in a few years accepted and proclaimed as parts of the Catholic faith,—and how, again, the vehement protests and fierce invectives of early days

against the Roman form of the "Catholic" system, were gradually softened, and then suppressed, and then exchanged for homage;—such men could scarcely help imagining that the doctrine of reserve had been carried to the length of disingenuousness in the practice of those who put it forward as an admitted principle of Christian action. It was believed, even by many who had wished to think no evil of them, that the leaders of the Tractarian party had held all along a secret belief far in advance of their public teaching, and had not scrupled to seek a gradual acceptance for it in the English Church, by using language rather to disguise than to express their own convictions.

The publication of the "*Apologia*" effectually dispelled a suspicion which none who recognised the laws which always govern the progress of opinion and the growth of systems would have allowed themselves to entertain. The man who was the very brain and heart of the movement has given us its inner history as truthfully as such a history can be given. Some amount of self-deception is perhaps inevitable, when we try to recall the thoughts and feelings of years long past, between which and our present thoughts and feelings great intervening changes have put a gulf which can scarcely be crossed. A mind so exquisitely susceptible as Dr. Newman's of influence from association, from sympathy, from antagonism; so subtle in its apprehension, so perpetually varying its attitude towards the past and the present, is peculiarly liable to unconscious and unintentional misrepresentation. But no candid reader of the "*Apologia*" can doubt that its author has done all he could to delineate himself and his associates in the movement candidly and fairly. And the result has been to vindicate completely the integrity and truthfulness of a mind and life, on which it is painful to think that even excusable prejudices should have ever cast a shade of suspicion.

Dr. Newman's sermons are too closely connected with the movement of which he was the presiding genius to be estimated without reference to it. It would, indeed, be doing the greatest injustice to the preacher to suppose his sermons to have been either the manifestoes of a party, or the systematic development of a theory. They are, first and above all, sermons in the true meaning of the word. That is, they are the spoken addresses of a clergyman to the people committed to his charge upon the great subjects of his ministry. Their intention is always practical. But they are also something more. Being what he was, and placed where he was, Dr. Newman could not be simply the pastor of his parish. He seems to have wished and tried to be so, as far as possible; but the circumstances of his position rendered the attempt a failure. Somehow, he tells us in the "*Apologia*," what he planned for the parish always resulted in something for the members of the University. As we read the sermons

we can scarcely wonder that they were more attractive to the younger gentry than to the tradespeople of the city. The quiet voice and unimpassioned manner, the line of thought quite away from the beaten path, the whole bearing of the man who so evidently lived in a world far away from their own, were ill-suited perhaps to impress, certainly to attract, any ordinary congregation of the middle class. But all these things, and much besides, fascinated the impressible minds of intellectual young men. They were yearning for a religious influence more in sympathy with their own tastes and prejudices than those which had sufficed the previous age. The Evangelical school was but feebly represented in Oxford; its heroes had died out; its once vigorous, if rather narrow theology, had become a tradition with its remaining representatives, sometimes tamed into an almost inanimate propriety, here and there exaggerated into extravagance. The really great achievements of the school were of a former day; its ordinary field of soberly useful activity lay elsewhere, in busier cities than Oxford, or in manufacturing villages. The revival of vigour in the Evangelical school which the last thirty years have witnessed could not have been foreseen five or ten years earlier. It began, and was in part called forth by antagonism to the rising Oxford school, which furnished the party with a new *raison d'être*. Still less were the minds of the younger generation of Oxford men inclined to be satisfied with the embodiment of religion which offered itself as hitherto the only alternative, in the persons of Dr. Whately and a little knot of his admirers. Excellent as some of them were, the men of the "Oriental" school of thought were too hardly and drily intellectual to put forth much religious influence. Even their philosophy seemed but shallow to every one but themselves. What they saw they saw with intense clearness, and they were fully convinced that any man who thought he saw anything else was a visionary. But others felt that their view of almost every question was vitiated by the omission of many of its most important elements, and that this was lamentably true of their attempt to construct a theology from elements visible by the light of common sense, and shaped by a very superficial interpretation of the Bible.

Just as this want was most keenly felt by the rising generation came the great conflict of the first Reform Bill, and the commencement of a fierce attack on the established position of the Church in England. Churchmen began to ask anxiously, "If the movement succeeds in destroying the Establishment, will the Church remain essentially what she is, or will she be merely thenceforth one of many sects, having no claim except upon those who may happen to prefer her forms of service to others?" We know now that those fears were premature; but they were not groundless, and certainly not unnatural.

Men whose hearts and minds clung to the Anglican Church, bound to it by all the associations of the past and by affections rooted in their very nature, longed for a teaching which should be distinctively of the Church, and give them, as they hoped, an unchangeable basis on which to vindicate her claim to their allegiance. On such men, at such a time, the spell put forth by such a mind and heart as J. H. Newman's must have been inexpressibly powerful. Week by week, during those early years of the movement, were heard from the pulpit of St. Mary's the sermons which are gathered into these volumes. To understand them fully, we must go back, if we can, into the time of their delivery. We must imagine, if we are not fortunate enough to remember, the living preacher, and the impressive hearers, knit to each other by the closest sympathy. We must try to conceive the charm of that countenance, so marked with the deep lines of thought; the figure bowed with study, the whole air and manner as of one who lived in a higher world, and yet when he came down into this common world of ours, had the kindest sympathy with its inhabitants, and longed and strove to lift them above it into the purer air in which he himself dwelt. The deep seriousness; the affectionate anxiety for the good of the hearer; the warm colouring of poetic imagination thrown quite unconsciously over the whole; the deep thought, sometimes expressed in pellucid language, sometimes suggested rather than expressed; the glimpses opened of much beyond what was distinctly disclosed; must have made such sermons intensely interesting to any audience composed of intellectual men. But when we add to this the sympathy already existing between the hearers and the preacher at that moment, we begin to understand how they must have been thrilled by the vehement invective, and the subtle argument, and the withering sarcasm, which were aimed by turns (when occasion seemed to require) at the supposed errors of the prevalent religion of the day, whether in its Evangelical, its Latitudinarian, or its (traditionally so-called) High Church development. Religious men, who wanted something more spiritual than the last two systems gave, and more reverential toward antiquity and Church order than the first, seemed to have found all their desire, and followed Newman and his less gifted associates with an intensity of devotion which those at a distance from Oxford scarcely understood, but which was in the circumstances perfectly natural. Many, no doubt, there were, who gained from those sermons what has been to them the treasure of a life-time. Some owed to them even their own selves.

The effect of all must have been wonderfully enhanced by the great preacher's apparent unconsciousness of his powers, and the entire absence of any studied oratory. The few really great preachers

of the previous ten years, Chalmers, and Rose, and Melvill, were orators, consciously and avowedly. Newman, (like Irving, during his brilliant early days in London,) if he was an orator, was one by the mere impulse of genius, and was always something else first; he was poet, prophet, saint, you might have said, far more than orator.

People who read the sermons now for the first time, can scarcely appreciate the effect produced by their simplicity and naturalness of diction when they were first delivered or read. Like Arnold in this, if in few other points, Newman spoke on sacred things usually in the language of common life—plain, even familiar often, but always transparent, always such as to convey the speaker's meaning to the hearer's mind, often such as to enlist imagination and feeling in the service of the speaker. The absence of studied order, the preacher being what he was, kept interest only more intensely alive. The sermon was like a stream, which seemed to wind "at its own sweet will," coming whence you knew not, going whither exactly you knew not; now lingering in some deep pool; now flowing swift and clear through bright fields; now shady with overhanging wood and rock, but always bearing you with it toward the eternal ocean.

As time went on a change seemed to come over the great preacher's spirit. The bright hope and eager buoyancy of the early days of the movement had given place to disappointment, doubt, and fear. It had become evident that the English Church, as a whole, was suspicious of the movement, and was growing rapidly more and more unfriendly to it. Rulers stood coldly aloof, or reprobated its development. It became evident that its progress had already left the main body of the Anglican communion far behind. That dark misgiving, so vividly described in the "Apologia," had already crossed the leader's mind;—that fear that one day he should find the only legitimate development of his own principles to involve the duty of submission to the See of Rome. That suspicion had not yet become a conviction; years passed in battling vainly with the doubt; but events were rapidly teaching him that the Church of his birth was under influences very adverse to its acceptance of the theology and the polity set forth in the "Tracts for the Times." Thenceforth the preacher and the sermons became the objects of a still deeper interest. An intensely tragic earnestness became more and more their characteristic. An indescribable solemnity, a tenderness, a sadness hung about them, scarcely varied but by outbursts of almost passionate vehemence, when the popular religion of the day presented itself to him in contrast with his conceptions of that piety which had ripened in the early Church, and of which it seemed to him already, though speaking little of his inward convictions, that Rome alone even attempted to gather in the latter harvest.

Such is the impression left now as a memory of that distant past on the Oxford men of a generation of which a large part has already passed from earth, and the survivors are approaching the appointed term of working life. Widely as these may be separated from each other, the recollection of St. Mary's in those early years is a mysterious bond of union.

But it is time to enter on the harder portion of the critic's task. The history of their origin gives these sermons a peculiar, an adventitious interest, quite apart from their worth as compositions, or as specimens of Christian teaching. On that point enough has been said. But it is necessary, however difficult it may be, to estimate them also in the two remaining aspects which have now been indicated.

Regarded simply as compositions, we think that they may disappoint those who read them now for the first time, with tastes and expectations formed by the sermons of more recent preachers. In truth, Newman and Arnold formed the preachers who have in their turn taught the present generation what to expect in a sermon meant to live. We are scarcely aware how much we owe to the great men who broke through the conventionalities which fettered the preacher of forty or fifty years ago. The sermon of that day (if it aimed at composition) was almost as much made by rule as the theme or copy of verses which the school-boy of the same time had to produce. It had its exordium and statement, and discussion and peroration; or its heads of doctrine, and its practical application; according to the preacher's school of thought, or the supposed character of his audience. It was written in a certain stately and sonorous English, modelled on Johnson's and Robertson's; or in a technical language largely tinged by the influence of the Puritan and Nonconformist preachers of the seventeenth century. Arnold and Newman taught men by example that it was possible and right to speak from the pulpit in pure and transparent English chosen from the current language of men living in the world and dealing with the world. The poetry with which the nature of each was full, elevated and gave beauty to their language, but never made it cease to be simple, natural, forcible, purpose-like. As in their style, so in their choice and treatment of subjects, they broke through conventional limits. Arnold spoke to boys as boys, of their own faults and difficulties; illustrating both from the Bible felt as a living word, the utterance of a living and present Saviour, who knew them and all their ways, loved and cared for them, and was ever ready to sympathize with and help them. Newman spoke to men living, more or less, the intellectual, theological life of the Oxford of his day (theological to a degree scarcely conceivable by those without); using equal but most different gifts from Arnold's, and using them for a very different

audience, but with equal reality, earnestness, and simplicity of desire to instruct, direct, and animate them for good. It was in this, far more than in any fitness of their sermons to be used as models, that they served their generation. As writers and publishers of sermons, they gave the tone and spirit to innumerable preachers; influencing often those most who were least inclined to accept their theology or to imitate their preaching. And now, consciously, we sometimes wonder *why* their sermons so thrilled those who listened to them and read them thirty years since. We forget that, if simplicity, naturalness, and directness of address are common qualities of good sermons now, they were not always so, and are so now very much through the influence of Newman's and Arnold's example.

It follows almost necessarily from what has been said that Dr. Newman's sermons are not in all respects safe or even possible models for other men to copy. They are not, like F. W. Robertson's, as perfect in form and arrangement as they are thoughtful and suggestive of thought. Their magic lies not in the work itself, so much as in the personal qualities of the workman. They could not have been produced except by himself; nor by him, just such as they are, except at one special time and place. What other men should learn from them is, not how to construct and arrange sermons which shall be perfect in form, but how to feel the deep and solemn importance of their work in its bearings on eternity; and how to utter, in all simplicity and earnestness, the truths which they have first learnt to believe and feel for themselves. They are eminently suggestive of thought, and of the way of uttering it; but as models for sermon-writing would probably be less useful to common minds than some by less highly gifted men.

Perhaps the least successful of Newman's sermons are those which deal with the characters and incidents of the Old Testament. One would hardly have expected this; for Dr. Newman has many of the historian's gifts, and can sometimes conceive and represent a living character with wonderful insight and reality: witness his sketches of Gregory, Basil, and Augustine, in the "Church of the Fathers." But in dealing with Scripture characters he seems to our generation—familiar as it is with Maurice's and Stanley's vigorous delineations—afraid to give free scope to his powers of historical conception. His sermons on such subjects are apt to be essentially unhistoric. That is, the characters are not conceived as they were or may have been in themselves, but are made simply subservient to some religious or ecclesiastical principle which is (sometimes by a very artificial process) made to be exemplified in them. As instances of this may be mentioned those on Balaam, "Obedience without Love"

(vol. iv. Sermon ii.); on Saul (vol. iii. Sermon iii.); and on Korah (vol. iv. Sermon xviii.).

It is peculiarly difficult to give any adequate impression of the power and beauty of the sermons by selecting passages from them. The two following are chosen as highly characteristic of their author.

The first is taken from vol. iv. Sermon xvii. "Christ Manifested in Remembrance."

"And hence, perchance, it is that years that are past bear in retrospect so much of fragrance with them, though at the time perhaps we saw little in them to take pleasure in them, or rather we did not—could not—realize that we *were* receiving pleasure, though we received it. We received pleasure because we were in the presence of God, but we knew it not; we knew not what we received. We did not bring home to ourselves or reflect upon the pleasure we were receiving; but afterwards, when enjoyment is past, reflection comes in. We feel at the time; but recognise and reason afterwards. Such, I say, is the sweetness and softness with which days long passed away fall upon the memory and strike us. The most ordinary years, when we seemed to be living for nothing, these shine forth to us in their very regularity and orderly course. What was sameness at the time is now stability; what was dulness is now a soothing calm; what seemed unprofitable has now its treasure in itself; what was but monotony is now harmony; all is pleasing and comfortable, and we regard it always with affection. Nay, even sorrowful times (which at first sight is wonderful) are thus softened and illuminated afterwards; yet why should they not be so, since then, more than at other times, our Lord is present when He seems leaving his own to desolateness and orphanhood? The planting of Christ's cross in the heart is sharp and trying; but the stately tree rears itself aloft, and has fair branches and rich fruit, and is good to look upon. And if all this be true, even of sad or of ordinary times, much more does it hold good of seasons of religious obedience and comfort.

"Such are the feelings with which men often look back on their childhood, when any accident brings it vividly before them. Some relic or token of that early time, some spot, or some book, or a scent, or a sound, brings them back in memory to the first year of their discipleship, and they then see, what they could not know at the time, that God's presence went up with them and gave them rest. Nay, even now, perhaps, they are unable to discern fully what it was which made that time so bright and glorious. They are full of tender, affectionate thoughts towards those first years, but they do not know why. They think it is those very years which they yearn after, whereas it is the presence of God, which (as we now see) was then over them, which attracts them. They think that they would be angels and would see God; they would be immortal beings, crowned with amaranth, robed in white, and with palms in their hands, before His throne."

Our second extract shall be from the remarkable sermon on "The Invisible World," in the same volume. Its length scarcely needs any apology.

"Such is the hidden kingdom of God; and as it is now hidden, so in due time it shall be revealed. Men think that they are lords of the world, and may do as they will. They think the earth their property, and its move-

ments in their power ; whereas it has other lords besides them, and is the scene of a higher conflict than they are capable of conceiving. It contains Christ's little ones whom they despise and His angels whom they disbelieve ; and these at length shall take possession of it and be manifested. At present 'all things' to appearance 'continue as they were from the beginning of the creation,' and scoffers ask, 'Where is the promise of His coming?' But at the appointed time there will be a 'manifestation of the sons of God,' and the hidden saints 'shall shine out as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' When the angels appeared to the shepherds it was a sudden appearance—'Suddenly there was with the angels a multitude of the heavenly host.' How wonderful a sight! The night had before that seemed just like any other night, as the evening on which Jacob saw the vision seemed like any other evening. They were keeping watch over their sheep ; they were watching the night as it passed. The stars moved on : it was midnight. They had no idea of such a thing when the angel appeared. Such are the power and virtue hidden in things which are seen, and at God's will they are manifested. They were manifested for a moment to Jacob, for a moment to Elisha's servant, for a moment to the shepherds. They will be manifested for ever when Christ comes at the Last Day 'in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.' Then the world will fade away, and the other world will shine forth.

"Let these be your thoughts, my brethren, especially in the spring season, when the whole face of nature is so rich and beautiful. Once only in the year, yet once, does the world which we see show forth its hidden powers and in a manner manifest itself. Then the leaves come out, and the blossoms on the fruit trees and flowers, and the grass and corn spring up. There is a sudden rush and burst outwardly of that hidden life which God has lodged in the material world. Well, that shows you, as by a sample, what it can do at God's command when He gives the word. This earth which now buds forth in leaves and blossoms, will one day burst forth into a new world of light and glory, in which we shall see saints and angels dwelling. Who would think, except from his experience of former springs all through his life,—who could conceive, two or three months before,—that it was possible for the face of nature, which then seemed so lifeless, should become so splendid and varied? How different is a tree, how different is a prospect, when leaves are on it and off it. How unlikely it would seem, before the event, that the dry and naked branches should suddenly be clothed with what is so bright and so refreshing? Yet, in God's good time, leaves come on the trees. The season may delay, but come it will at last. So it is with the coming of that Eternal Spring for which all Christians are waiting. Come it will, though it delay ; yet, though it tarry, let us wait for it, 'because it will surely come, it will not tarry.' Therefore we say, day by day, 'Thy kingdom come,' which means, O Lord, show Thyself ; manifest Thyself. Thou that sittest between the cherubim, show Thyself ; stir up Thy strength and come and help us! The earth that we see does not satisfy us ; it is but a beginning, it is but a promise of something beyond it ; even when it is gayest, with all its blossoms on, and shows most touchingly what lies in it, yet it is not enough. We know much more lies hid in it than we see. A world of saints and angels, a glorious world—the palace of God, the mountain of the Lord of Hosts, the heavenly Jerusalem, the throne of God and Christ. All these wonders, everlasting, all-precious, mysterious, and incomprehensible, lie hid in what we see. What we see is the outward shell of an eternal kingdom, and on that kingdom we fix the eye of our faith. Shine forth, O Lord, as when, on Thy Nativity, Thine angels visited the shepherds ; let Thy glory blossom forth as bloom and

foliage on the trees; change with Thy mighty power this visible world into that Divine world which as yet we see not; destroy what we see, that it may pass and be transformed into what we believe. Bright as is the sun, and the sky, and the clouds; green as are the leaves and the fields; sweet as is the singing of the birds; we know that they are not all, and we will not take up with a part for the whole. They proceed from a centre of love and goodness, which is God himself; but they are not his fulness; they speak of heaven, but they are not heaven; they are but as stray beams and dim reflections of His image; they are but crumbs from the table. We are looking for the coming of the Day of God, when all this outward world, fair though it be, shall perish; when the heavens shall be burnt and the earth shall melt away. We can bear the loss, for we know it will be but the removing of a veil. We know that to remove the world that is seen will be the manifestation of the world that is not seen. We know that what we see is as a screen hiding from us God and Christ and His saints and angels; and we earnestly desire and pray for the dissolution of all that we see from our longing after that which we do not see.

"O blessed they, indeed, who are destined for the sight of those wonders in which they now stand, at which they now look, but which they do not recognise! Blessed they who shall at length behold what as yet mortal eye hath not seen and faith only enjoys! Those wonderful things of the new world are even now as they shall be then. They are immortal and eternal; and the souls who shall there be made conscious of them will see them in their calmness and their majesty where they ever have been. But who can express the surprise and rapture which will come upon those who then at last apprehend them for the first time, and to whose perceptions they are new! Who can imagine, by a stretch of fancy, the feelings of those who, having died in faith, wake up to enjoyment! The life then begun we know will last for ever; yet surely, if memory be to us then what it is now, that will be a day much to be observed unto the Lord through all the ages of eternity. We may increase, indeed, for ever in knowledge and in love, still that first waking from the dead—the day at once of our birth and our espousals—will ever be endeared and hallowed in our thoughts. When we find, after long rest, gifted with fresh powers, vigorous with the seed of eternal life within us, able to love God as we wish, conscious that all trouble, sorrow, pain, anxiety, bereavement, is over for ever, blessed in the full affection of those earthly friends whom we loved so poorly, and could protect so feebly, while they were with us in the flesh; and, above all, visited by the immediate, visible, ineffable presence of God Almighty with his only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and his co-equal, co-eternal Spirit, that great sight, in which is the fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore, what deep, incommunicable, unimaginable thoughts will be then upon us! What depths will be stirred up within us! What secret harmonies awakened of which human nature seemed incapable! Earthly words are indeed all worthless to minister to such high anticipations: let us close our eyes and keep silence.

"All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it; surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the Word of our God shall stand for ever."

We come, then, lastly, to the most important of the aspects in which sermons must be considered—their worth as attempts to utter Christ's gospel and apply it to use. This is not the place for dis-

cussing the truth or falsehood of the system which Dr. Newman laboured to construct and animate. He himself felt at last that it had broken down in the construction. Others have tried to complete and buttress the edifice which the great architect had abandoned in despair. But his sermons belong almost wholly to the years during which it was his full belief, notwithstanding occasional misgivings, that he had discovered in the teaching of the great Anglican divines of the seventeenth century the germ at least of a theology which would give him a firm standing-ground on which to resist alike the Romanist and the ultra-Protestant, and to cultivate a piety more truly answering to the Christian ideal than that which had grown up under the influence of either of the rival systems. We may believe that the system, taken as a whole, misrepresented Christianity; that it omitted important elements of truth, exaggerated and distorted others; and when driven to its natural, if not inevitable conclusions, became almost indistinguishable from that of Rome. But it would be very unjust to deny that it had also its own special elements of truth to contribute to the Christian treasury. Even when it spoke only half truths, as it usually did, it was yet very often a protest against prevailing and mischievous error. Moreover, in the men who gave it birth, and in their writings, there was much which did not come from the system, but from the Christianity which they possessed before they began to form their system. No one can read these sermons without feeling how much in Dr. Newman came from his early religious training in an ultra-Protestant school, and from the deep experience of inward religious life which he has so touchingly described* as begun even in his boyhood, and never since wholly suspended. Nor is it possible to study his writings without deep sympathy with their aim, even when we reject their conclusions.

The question, then, which we have now to consider, putting aside the controversial discussion of Dr. Newman's theology as not our present business, is, What is the value of his sermons for those who do not accept his system? Many of them are almost wholly unaffected by it. In many others it appears only in an incidental allusion or casual remark, the removal of which would leave the substance of the sermon unchanged. It is only here and there that we find a sermon which distinctly enunciates, or is so founded upon, some doctrine peculiar to the system as to be wholly vitiated for those who think the system false. The great man who constructs a system is seldom as much its slave as his disciples are. He knows something of its weak points as well as of its strong ones, and is half-conscious that *all* truth is not comprehended within its limits. Of few great

* "History of my Religious Opinions," p. 4.

theologians is this truer than of Dr. Newman. Our answer to the question above must be given as concisely as possible.

The sermons are penetrated everywhere with that deep sense of the reality and importance of the eternal world which lies at the foundation of all preaching worthy the name. The speaker is pre-eminently one who "rests in the thought of two, and two only, absolutely and luminously self-evident beings, himself and his Creator." * He and those to whom he speaks are felt to be, each of them individually, in the closest possible contact with the living God—that God in communion with whom alone is the reality of life even now.† To be accepted and approved by Him is the one important thing. The opinion of man is worthless; all earthly gain, comfort, knowledge, greatness, are delusive. The one proper aim of the life that now is must needs be fitness for God's eternal presence. When Newman speaks on this theme, he speaks as a prophet indeed. His own soul has been absorbed in the contemplation of the Divine Majesty; and, with face radiant from that Presence, he comes down to tell his brethren of the vision showed him in the mount of God. In this primary element of power scarcely any modern preacher has equalled him.

But it must be admitted that the sterner and more awful aspect of the Divine mind and character is that habitually presented in the sermons. The holiness of God, His hatred of sin, the mysteriousness of His dispensations towards man, the solemn responsibility of those to whom He reveals Himself, the guilt and danger of transgressing His law or mistaking His revelation of Himself, seem to be ever weighing on the preacher's mind, and make the general impression from his teaching (especially in the earlier volumes) discouraging. It is partly owing to this general tone of mind, and partly to an excessive repugnance to any frequent or explicit utterance before a mixed congregation of mysterious truth like that of the Atonement, that there is an absence (comparatively speaking) of that side of truth which is the appropriate soil for ardent love and peaceful trust to strike root in. Only there are some splendid exceptions to this remark, and especially in the later volumes. Witness the beautiful sermons on "The Blessings of this Life" (vol. v. Sermon xix.); on "Waiting for Christ" (vol. vi. Sermon xvii.); "The Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Church" (vol. vi. Sermon x.); and many others.

We can hardly help supposing that Dr. Newman, whose early religious life was passed in the Evangelical school, must have been much in contact at some time with unfavourable specimens of the

* "History of my Religious Opinions," p. 4

† See the beautiful sermon entitled, "The Thought of God the Stay of the Soul," vol. v. p. 354.

school; which was not indeed in its best state during the years in which he grew up. He has given us in his sermon on "Self-Contemplation" what appears to be intended for an account of the characteristic doctrine of the school as he understood it; and the picture is full of (no doubt) unconscious misrepresentation. His deep reverence for Scott the commentator * might surely have kept Dr. Newman from such a caricature as the following—unless indeed he means by the "mixed multitude of religionists" (p. 163) the careless people who follow a party, but are not really of it; in which case his meaning should have been made plainer.†

"Thus, instead of viewing works as the concomitant development and evidence, and instrumental cause, as well as subsequent result of faith, they lay all the stress upon the direct creation, in their minds, of faith and spiritual mindedness, which they consider to consist in certain emotions and desires, because they can form abstractedly no better or truer notion of these qualities. Then, instead of being 'careful to maintain good works,' they proceed to take it for granted, that since they have attained faith (as they consider), works will follow without trouble as a matter of course. Thus the wise are taken in their own craftiness; they attempt to reason, and are overcome by sophisms. Had they kept to the inspired Record, instead of reasoning, their way would have been clear; and considering the serious exhortations to keeping God's commandments, with which all Scripture abounds, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, is it not a very grave question, which the most charitable among Churchmen must put to himself, whether these random expounders of the blessed Gospel are not risking a participation in the woe denounced against those who 'preach any other doctrine besides that delivered unto us, or who 'take away from the words of the Book' of revealed Truth?"

Scott, as Dr. Newman is well aware, was as careful to "maintain good works" as Bull or Hammond. His life was passed in vehement resistance to what he regarded as Antinomianism. Some of his friends charged him with speaking harshly of it, and being too ready to suspect the evil when it did not really exist. But *in principle* they were at one with him, and he with them. The fault of the Evangelical school, taking as its representatives those whom it recognised as its leaders, has never been Antinomianism. Rather it might be charged, at least during the present century, with having been too much afraid of such perversions of the Gospel to preach it with sufficient breadth, freedom, and simplicity. This fear sometimes fettered even the vigorous mind of Scott, and certainly exercised an enfeebling influence on many of the Evangelical clergy of the time in which Newman grew up. His impression must have been gathered from exceptional specimens. But be the origin of this misconception what it may, there can be no doubt that it exercised a mischievous influence on his mind.

* See "History of my Religious Opinions," p. 5.

† Vol. ii. Sermon xv.

In the earlier volumes it may be felt that there is too little of that teaching which concerns directly the Person, the Character, and the Priestly Office of our blessed Lord. We do not speak here of the *nature* of the teaching; that lies beyond our prescribed limits; but of its *extent*. But it is remarkable how much less this deficiency is felt in later volumes. Perhaps as time went on, and the system and the party failed to achieve all that they had promised, and the preacher's life was lived more and more alone, the need was more deeply felt of those eternal verities concerning the Son of God which alone give the soul its ground of access and its assurance of an unfailling sympathy and relief in doubt, sadness, and temptation. But with regard to the other great truth, of the Holy Spirit's indwelling personal presence, and its sanctifying results, there was seldom any indistinctness in Dr. Newman's teaching; and sometimes it is uttered by him with a noble force and freedom which scarcely leaves anything to be desired. The Whitsunday sermon, bearing the title of "*The Indwelling Spirit*,"* may be mentioned as a conspicuous instance. But the subject recurs in different forms continually. It may be necessary to say, however, that Dr. Newman's peculiar theory of justification (namely, that we are justified *by the presence of God the Holy Spirit in us*) necessarily interferes with, and sometimes obscures, his statement of both subjects.

Many readers of the sermons will be surprised to find so little in them of the explicit utterance of what would now be called "Catholic" theology. A sermon here and there is given to it; it is, no doubt, always presupposed, and sometimes explicitly referred to. But the staple of the collection is, after all, that practical Christian teaching which is of no special school or party. There are a few striking passages, indicating a remarkable susceptibility to impression from music, as one of Dr. Newman's many personal endowments. There are a few which recognise the duty of caring reverently for all which concerns the fabric and the services of the Church. But there is scarcely even a germ of the Ritualism of the present day. The doctrine of the sermons on the Sacraments, when they are expressly noticed, will be regarded as singularly moderate by those who have become, unhappily, familiar with recent extravagances. One short passage on the Eucharistic Presence may be extracted;†—

"And if so much is given us by the first sacrament of the Church, what, think we, is given us in the second? O, my brethren, let us raise and enlarge our notions of Christ's Presence in that mysterious ordinance, and we shall understand how it is that the Christian, in spite of his infirmities, and not forgetting them, still may rejoice 'with joy unspeakable and full

* Vol. ii. Sermon xix.

† Vol. iv. Sermon ix.

of glory.' For what is it that is vouchsafed to us at the Holy Table, when we commemorate our Lord's death? It is, 'Jesus Christ before our eyes evidently set forth, crucified among us.' Not before our bodily eyes; so far, everything remains at the end of that Holy Communion as it did at the beginning. What was bread remains bread, and what was wine remains wine. We need no carnal, earthly, visible miracle to convince us of the Presence of the Lord Incarnate. We have, we trust, more faith than to need to see the heavens open, or the Holy Ghost descend in bodily shape—more faith than to attempt, in default of sight, to indulge our reason, and to confine our notion of the sacrament to some clear assemblage of words of our own framing. We have faith and love enough, in St. Paul's words, to 'discern the Lord's body.' He who is at the right hand of God manifests Himself in that Holy Sacrament as really and fully as if He were visibly there. We are allowed to draw near, to 'give, take, and eat' His sacred Body and Blood, as truly as though, like Thomas, we could touch His hands and thrust our hands into His side. When He ascended into the Mount, 'His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.' Such is the glorious presence which faith sees in the Holy Communion, though everything looks as usual to the natural man. Not gold or precious stones, pearls of great price, or gold of Ophir, are to the eye of faith so radiant as those lowly elements which He, the Highest, is pleased to make the means of conveying to our hearts and bodies His own gracious self. Not the light of the sun sevenfold is so awfully bright and overpowering, if we could see as the angels do, as that seed of eternal life, which by eating and drinking we lay up in our hearts against the day of His coming. In spite, then, of all recollections of the past or fear for the future, we have a present source of rejoicing; whatever comes, weal or woe, however stands our account as yet in the books against the Last Day, this we have, and this we may glory in, the present power and grace of God is in us and over us, and the means thereby given us of victory in the end."

Such words, from such a quarter, may perhaps suggest a little more sobriety of language on this sacred subject to some of those who claim to be developing "Catholic" teaching in our own generation.

This imperfect review shall be closed with a passage from the volume of "Plain Sermons," which all might wish to make their own, without reserve or qualification:—

"What can this world offer comparable with that insight into spiritual things, that keen faith, that heavenly peace, that high sanctity, that everlasting righteousness, that hope of glory, which they have, who in sincerity love and follow our Lord Jesus Christ? Let us beg and pray Him day by day to reveal Himself to our souls more fully, to quicken our senses, to give us sight and hearing, taste and touch of the world to come; so to work within us that we may sincerely say, 'Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and after that receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of Thee. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.' " *

E. T. VAUGHAN.

* See "History of my Religious Opinions," p. 118.



AN IRISH CHURCHMAN'S VIEW OF IRISH POLITICS.

I AM one of that minority of Irishmen who belong to the Established Church of Ireland, and I am one of that minority of Established Churchmen who think that the position of their Church is wrong, and, on grounds of justice as well as of policy, demands a fundamental change.

But it is of little use to state one's convictions without stating their grounds, and this is especially true of such a question as that of the Irish Church, in which, to quote the offensive slang of the *Times*, there is no grievance except only a sentimental one; that is to say, a question in which there is no pressing evil to be remedied and no crying wrong to be redressed, but in which the highest principles are involved—a question of which the importance belongs far more to the principles on which the decision is to be made, than to the interests affected by the decision. In such a question, the important matter is not so much to arrive at a right decision, as to avow right grounds for it, and a decision which is in itself a right one will cease to be right if it is made on wrong grounds.

Let me, then, begin by disavowing any sympathy whatever with either the High Church or the Radical hostility to State Churches. I think that where there is a national religion it ought to be embodied in a State Church. All authority, in the Church and in the State

alike, is of God; and to speak of the alliance of the two as "monstrous and unnatural," to quote the cant of some of the Radicals, is as great an outrage on logic and common sense as if we were to see something monstrous and unnatural in the co-operation of the army and navy under the orders of the same Government and against the same enemy. It is to me a cause of deep regret and serious apprehension, that principles which I think so self-evident, so vital, and so fundamental, should have come to be habitually treated as open questions.

But, for exactly the same reason that I adhere to the principle of National Churches, I must condemn a State Church which is not national. For the same reasons that I approve the National State Church of England, I must condemn the anti-National State Church of Ireland. And, inasmuch as I am an Anglican though not an Englishman, I protest against any action of Parliament in relation to the Church of Ireland being regarded as in any way a precedent for similar action towards the Church of England. To reason from the one to the other, is "to confound two things that differ *only* in the essential point."

There are, however, many persons who cannot see the difference between two things that differ only in the essential point, and there are many more who will not see it. When the Church of Ireland is disestablished, as it will be, the precedent, totally inapplicable as it is, will no doubt be quoted in favour of similar action towards the Church of England. Some will attach importance to such an argument from mere inability to see the essential difference between the two cases, and more will attach importance to it from hostility to all Established Churches. We ought, therefore, in deciding the future position of the Church of Ireland, to be careful to set such a precedent as cannot be used with damaging effect against the Church of England.

For this reason, among others, it is desirable that the question of the Irish Church should be settled with the least possible delay consistent with careful consideration of all the interests involved. The Church of England is now, I fear, threatened as it has not been since the seventeenth century; it must naturally lose ground in the estimation of men by its connection with the State Church of Ireland, and by the confusion which the existence of the State Church of Ireland perpetuates between the idea of a State Church and that of a National Church: a confusion which, it is to be observed, is studiously made by two parties which have ostensibly nothing in common—namely, those who identify the cause of the two Established Churches for the purpose of defending that of Ireland, and those who identify them for the purpose of assaulting that of England.

But the motives for settling the question with the least possible delay are even stronger from the Irish side. As I have begun by avowing, I see that the abolition of the Irish Establishment is just; but quite independently of this, I see, and saw long before the events of the last session of Parliament, that it is inevitable, and, being inevitable, it had better come soon. My hopes for my Church, as well as for my country, are very much brighter than they were a year ago. I used to think: "There will be an agitation against the Established Church of Ireland. It will last for years, and will be finally successful. It will be injurious to the highest—that is to say, the spiritual—interests of the Church. It will deepen the existing hostility between parties in Ireland; and when the Establishment falls at last, it will be a victory to the Roman Catholic party. Exasperation will then be at its height; and no improved feeling will be possible until a long enough time has passed to let the struggle be comparatively forgotten." This danger, at least, appears to be now removed. I cannot say with truth that I feel any joy in contemplating the prospects of our Church, but I do deliberately think it far better for the welfare of our Church and of our country that the English people should take the question out of the hands of Irish parties, and that it should be settled without the bitterness of a prolonged agitation—an evil which few Englishmen know how to appreciate.

But not only do I wish to see the question settled soon: I wish to see it settled on right grounds and from right motives. If the concession of perfect religious equality comes now, it will be, in intention at least, an act of justice done by the people of Great Britain towards Ireland, and will have the moral effect of such an act; but if it comes at the conclusion of a long agitation, it will be regarded as a party triumph of the Roman Catholics, and will have whatever moral effect is due to such an event.

The strong distinction I make between these two cases will, perhaps, be scarcely intelligible to Englishmen without further explanation. But let them ask and try to answer the question why the admission of the Roman Catholics to political privileges (or what is magniloquently called Catholic Emancipation) has done so little good—why it has left Ireland as discontented as ever, and Irish parties unreconciled? No single answer will suffice for this question; but I will repeat here the remark I made at the commencement—that what avails in matters of this sort, is not so much the doing of justice, as the visible desire to do justice. Now, in conceding Catholic Emancipation, the British Government—and I believe I must add the British people—made the concession, not to justice, but to fear: they chose it, not as being right in itself, but as a less evil than a rebellion. Can we wonder that a concession has failed to conciliate,

when it was known to be made, not to justice, but to fear? It may, indeed, be questioned whether the good of so just a measure was not balanced by the mischief of the way in which it was conceded. I do not, however, mean to express any regret that so important a question has been irrevocably settled on the right side.

This, however, is only a reason why matters in Ireland have not improved politically. We have, further, to seek an explanation of the fact that they have grown worse. I do not speak of Fenianism. I believe the smouldering discontent which has blazed up in that form is not more intense than it has always been: there was nothing new about it except the impulse from America. What I mean is, that the chronic rancour between religious parties in Ireland has of late years become more intense. This is, I believe, due to that fundamental change in the policy of the Court of Rome, of which the most conspicuous results were the Austrian Concordat and the appointment of the Pope's bishops in England. Before that change, parties in Ireland were becoming reconciled to each other. The operation of the Tithe Commutation Act had removed all occasion of hostility between the Established Church and the peasantry, who are the mass of the people; and the Protestant and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin were honestly working together on the Board of National Education.

These fair prospects were changed by the revolution which made the whole policy of the Court of Rome fanatically Ultramontane; and our own Parliament did something—perhaps very much—to make matters worse, by the foolish Ecclesiastical Titles Act, which made it a legal crime for a Roman Catholic to address his bishop by that title which is his in Ireland by immemorial custom, and is believed to be his by Divine right. I do not, however, think that resentment against that Act, natural and justifiable as it was, had any other effect in Ireland than to make the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy obey the wishes of the Court of Rome with more goodwill than they would otherwise have shown.

It must appear strange to English politicians that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy have, of late years, not used the great power which they possess with their own people, to get up an agitation against the Established Church—especially as this would command the sympathy of a powerful party in England. It is only by inference that we can know what their views are, as they do not publish them to the world. I think, however, it is quite possible that they have, till now, been of opinion that time is in their favour, and that by waiting the result of some yet unthought-of religious change or political revolution, they might hope to raise their Church to a position—not of equality, but of domination. Such an idea as this may appear to

Englishmen too absurd to cross any man's brain; but it must be remembered that they are not Englishmen—they do not belong to the English or to the ordinary European world; and to dream that England may one day be forced to permit Roman Catholic ascendancy in Ireland, is not more absurd—indeed, it is less obviously impossible—than the dream of those American Secessionists who calculated on England going to war for cotton. However this may be, they have for years past been cherishing their grievance almost in silence, and doing all they can to obtain the exclusive control of the education of their own people. For this purpose they have protested against the principles of the National Board of Education, and for this purpose they have availed themselves of its grants. For this purpose they have aimed at the destruction of the Queen's Colleges, where there is no vestige of religious inequality; while they have kept silence on the subject of the wrong (as English Liberals think it) of the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the highest honours, and from the governing body, of the national University of Dublin. For this purpose they have founded the so-called Catholic University of Ireland, and sought to obtain a Royal Charter for it; knowing that, if this were obtained, it would be scarcely possible for any Roman Catholic parent to send his son to any other place of collegiate education.

This conduct would be inexplicable if it were true, as Irish Protestants in general fancy, that their immediate aim is ascendancy. But it is intelligible enough on the supposition that what they are really fighting against is not Protestantism or a Protestant Government, but the same enemy against which they are fighting a losing battle over the whole Continent, namely, the tendency of all modern civilization to weaken ecclesiastical control. They may not understand the modern world, but, being Irishmen, they know Ireland better than Englishmen do: they see, what Englishmen are inclined to doubt, that human nature and historical tendencies are the same in Ireland as everywhere else, and that a change is passing over the Irish character like that which was produced in the French character by the Revolution at the end of the last century. The enemy they dread is not Protestantism, but that infidel Jacobinism or Red Republicanism, which, in accordance with the Irish taste for unmeaning names, is called in Ireland Fenianism. They have for several years foreseen this new danger, and, in accordance with the universal tactics of the Ultramontane party, have endeavoured to counteract it by obtaining the control of education for themselves.

I do not say that the end is a bad one. Deeply as I differ from the Roman Catholic system both theologically and politically, I do not think that even its Ultramontane form is so bad as Red Repub-

licanism: and if any of my readers are inclined to wish that the power of the Roman Catholic Church should be weakened in Ireland on any terms whatever, I only ask them if they wish for a Fenian organization instead. But I say that the Ultramontane way of checking this new danger is not only objectionable in itself, but is not what can possibly attain the end in view. If any British Government has the weakness to concede the control of education over the greater part of Ireland to the Roman Catholic Church, the result will be what it has been on the Continent. The Ultramontanes have controlled affairs in Spain, in Austria, and in great part of Italy: and we see the result. Italy has thrown itself into the arms of a king who is pledged to destroy the temporal power of the Pope. Austria has been converted to Liberal principles, and has annulled the Concordat. The throne of Spain has fallen with hardly a blow struck either against it or for it; and not an Ultramontane throne is now left standing in the world, except that of the Pope himself, and it is only kept standing by the bayonets of a Voltairian Empire.

But what is all this to the purpose of Irish politics? Ultramontane education has not made bad citizens of Spaniards, Austrians, and Italians.

True, it has not made them bad citizens, but it has, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of all witnesses, made them to a very large extent infidels; and this is not what we wish our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to become. Even setting all religious considerations aside, it is very much better, as a matter of mere good citizenship, that the Roman Catholics of our country should continue to have a sense of a common Christianity with ourselves. And it is impossible to doubt the truth of the general belief which associates infidelity with revolutionary feeling. Revolutionary feeling has not unfitted men for the duties of citizenship in Italy or Spain, where revolutions were necessary, nor in Austria, where the first duty of the nation when its freedom was recovered was to break with the Church: but in this country there is no good citizenship possible except that which is on the side of order.

I say, then, let the State keep education in its own hands, and so defeat Ultramontanism and the Revolution at once. This subject has been much misunderstood in England, and under cover of English ignorance the Irish Ultramontanes have made great progress towards the attainment of their object of getting the direction of the education of the whole Roman Catholic population into the hands of the clergy. Towards this end they have been assisted by the culpable weakness, as I think it, of successive Governments, which have permitted the Board of National Education in Ireland to make grants of public money to convent and monastery schools, in opposition to

the spirit, and indeed I may say the letter, of its own published rules, and the English feeling in favour of denominational education has been in favour of their project. They appeared to be gradually creeping on to success in the entire scheme, when, during the last session of Parliament, they met with their first defeat in the refusal of the House of Commons to consent to the Catholic University project. I hope and believe that this is only the commencement of the total overthrow of their scheme. England is finding out the insufficiency of the denominational system, and will in a few years, I have no doubt, possess a really national one, and this, I trust, you will extend to Ireland.

When I speak of a really national system of education, I mean something very unlike the feeble attempt at one that we have in Ireland. It is a common mistake among Englishmen to think that Ireland has a really good system of national education. The reasons of this belief are, partly, that Ireland had a system of national education, though a most imperfect one, while England as yet had none; and partly, that the Irish National Board is an object of the bitterest hostility from Irish parties, not on account of its faults, but on account of what English Liberals regard as its virtues. I mean on account of its enforcing what is now known in England as the Conscience Clause. But it is not the less true that the Irish Board of National Education has permitted education to remain stationary, or nearly so, in Ireland, while it has made rapid progress in England, and that it has turned against the principles which it was constituted in order to maintain, by making the grant to convent schools, in which it is impossible that the Conscience Clause can be anything more than a mockery. The National Board has in fact of late years been living on its character, and the first step to the improvement of national education in Ireland, after the appointment of a Minister of Education with a seat in the Cabinet, ought to be the abolition of the National Board, and the appointment of an Under-Secretary for Education in Ireland, stationed in Dublin, and with nothing to do but to execute orders received from his superior in London. If any Irish Liberal who may read this is inclined to say that I am wrong, and that the Irish National Board merits confidence, I request him, before he puts his arguments into words, to try to answer this question. Suppose a Minister of Education to be appointed, he would of course be the official channel of communication between the English Universities and the Government. Suppose, then, that the authorities of the University of Dublin and of the Queen's Colleges were informed that all communications from them must pass through the Irish National Board: how would they receive such an instruction? Why, there is not a Fellow or a Pro-

fessor in Ireland that would not feel as if he were personally insulted, and this would be equally true of the political partisans of the National Board as of its opponents.

But what Irish education needs is more than merely honest administration. In Ireland, as in England, the system needs thoroughness. We require to have the means of a good primary education brought within reach of every cottage in Ireland as in England; and this is impossible so long as local volunteer help continues to be a necessary condition. It is a disgrace that money should have to be begged for the purpose of public education. The people of Great Britain are, I believe, coming to this conclusion. I expect that before the Reformed Parliament has sat for many sessions, the nation will have made itself responsible for the universal diffusion of primary education over the country; and if this is done for Great Britain, I trust it is a matter of course that it will be done for Ireland as well. Now, if the Government is to provide education where no local assistance is forthcoming, it must be prepared to undertake the work itself. In Great Britain this may be only a *pis aller*: in Ireland it ought to be the rule. Government ought boldly to take the education of the country out of the hands of religious bodies, and into its own. This would be much easier in Ireland than in Great Britain, for in Ireland the nucleus of such a system exists already, in what are called the model schools, which are, in fact, large and excellent primary schools, situated in all the larger towns of Ireland. The purpose of these is partly to give a good education to the children who attend them, and partly to train teachers for the national schools generally, though the latter of these two purposes has been much interfered with by the National Board (the so-called agency of unsectarian education), diminishing the grant for the payment of pupil-teachers in the model schools, and increasing it in the convent schools. The model schools are under the absolute control of Government, that is to say, of the National Board, which fixes the course of instruction, and appoints the teachers: and it is only necessary to extend them over the whole country. There would be no opposition of any importance to such a change. The Liberal Churchmen, the Presbyterians, and the Protestant Dissenters, would all hail it with delight: the Churchmen of the Church Education Society would not raise their voice in approbation, but would, I believe, feel it as a great relief to be thus freed from the permanent burden which they now bear from a sense of duty. The only opposition would be from the Roman Catholic clergy, and they, though very powerful, could not carry their people with them in opposition to a change so obviously for the better as the introduction of a better class of schools.

I trust no such mistake will be made as the introduction into Ireland of local education rates and elective boards. These may work well in England, though I am not sanguine of it; but they would certainly prove unsatisfactory in Ireland. The class who really care about education is smaller in Ireland than in England: Irishmen, as a rule, think of public education only as of a battleground for sectarian squabbles; and over the greater part of the country the members of such elective boards would be mere nominees of the Roman Catholic clergy, who would obstruct rather than execute the intentions of the Government.

In a word, let us have State education. By such a policy the quality of the education will be improved, while it will be more widely diffused over the country; the power of the Roman Catholic clergy will be diminished, at least for evil; and, what is perhaps the most important of all, the youth of all religious denominations will be educated together, and will learn to regard each other as friends and fellow-citizens. If, on the contrary, a purely denominational system were to be introduced into Ireland, as demanded by the Roman Catholic clergy, and practically, though not avowedly, by the Church Education Society, the consequence would be, in the words of the late Archbishop of Dublin, that "Ireland would be divided into two hostile ecclesiastical camps, with clerical sentinels pacing between them to prevent all friendly intercourse." In a generation or two, as I have already urged, Ultramontane education would turn out a race of revolutionary infidels: there would, no doubt, be a fair proportion of bigots among them, but a mixture of Ultramontane bigots and revolutionary infidels would not be very agreeable citizens. If, on the contrary, the next generation of Irishmen are brought up in Government schools, with pupils of the various religious denominations sitting side by side, I do not say that Ireland will become a Protestant country; there is no prospect whatever of this within any assignable time; but Irish Roman Catholics will gradually approximate to that moderate and rational type which is, at least politically, nearer to Anglicanism than to Ultramontanism.

Of course the success of such a policy requires the establishment of perfect equality between Churches. Without this, Irish Roman Catholics will not be content, nor ought they to be: and while religious inequality prevails, while their Church is subject to any legal inferiority, Ultramontanism is national in Ireland. But when religious equality becomes the organic law of the country, Ultramontanism will become anti-national in Ireland, as it is everywhere else: the dream of ultimately establishing Roman Catholic ascendancy, if it is really cherished, will be of necessity renounced; and the knowledge that no religious body has any legal superiority to any other,

and that no religious body has anything whatever either to hope or to fear from the State, will produce a healthful tone in Irish politics which has been unknown till now.

To sum up all in four words: What Ireland needs politically is religious equality and State education.

If, however, I were to leave off here, I should be avoiding the only difficult, and, I may add, the only painful part of my subject. I speak, of course, of the question of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland. The most obvious way of dealing with this would be to make it over to the Roman Catholic Church, as being the real Church of the nation. This is not, however, in contemplation by any party; but it may be worth while to point out why it would be not only impossible, but unjust. No national Church is possible in Ireland, because there is no Irish nation. Ireland consists of the fragments of three nations—the original inhabitants of the country, who are Roman Catholic; the English colonists, who are Anglican; and the Scotch colonists, who are Presbyterian. (This statement is only approximately true. I believe that the dividing-lines of race and of religion are not so nearly coincident as is generally stated. But this is of not the slightest practical importance.) Now, these three have all a perfect moral right to equality, but to nothing more. The claim of the Roman Catholics, in virtue of their being more in number than both the rest, to be the people of Ireland, would, if it were good for anything, be sufficiently answered by the fact that their inferiority in intelligence is as great as their superiority in numbers.

But this objection does not apply to the division of the property between the three Churches which have national rights in Ireland. I do not say division in proportion to population. The Presbyterian Church, which does not cover the whole country, might fairly receive a dividend calculated on the basis of population, and the residue might be equally divided between the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Churches, both of which cover the whole country. I say equally divided, because the cost of maintaining a Church in a country where the population is mostly rural, is more nearly in proportion to the area covered than to the population. Were this demanded, it would be so just that it ought to be conceded. But it is not demanded. The Roman Catholic bishops have publicly, and to all appearance finally, declared that they will take no endowment from the State; and though the Presbyterians would like to keep their endowment (especially if it was in any way secured, instead of continuing in its present anomalous and disagreeable position of being dependent on an annual parliamentary vote), there is not one of them, I believe, who would not rather give it up than see the

Roman Catholic Church endowed. I think this feeling is foolish and fanatical, but it is honest.

Englishmen, English Liberals at least, nearly always misconceive the question of the temporalities of the Irish Church. It is a favourite kind of clap-trap among them to contrast the seventeen shillings a year of public endowment which the Established Church enjoys per head of its members, with the one-and-fourpence of the Presbyterians, and the twopence of the Roman Catholics on account of Maynooth.* Now this would be no doubt a great grievance, if it was felt as one. But the pecuniary part of the grievance, which they think so great, is not thought of in Ireland. The Presbyterians and Roman Catholics do not covet our endowments; what they object to is our political position. Their hostility is not to an *endowed* Church, but to a *dominant* Church. I think they are right. As I stated at the beginning of this article, I think that the political position of our Church is thoroughly bad. And, independently of any question of political justice, I believe that the position of our Church as a State Church does it great harm. As I said before, I protest against any reasoning from the anti-National State Church of Ireland to the National State Church of England. I believe it is well that the National Church of England should be in a great degree governed by the Government of the country; but it does not follow that it is well for the Church of Ireland, which is not a National Church, to be governed by the English Government. Besides, our position as a dominant Church did us great harm in former days, and is perhaps doing us harm still: if it does not injure us morally in ourselves, it injures us with our fellow-citizens. We should be far better if we were independent, and on an equality with our fellow-citizens. The best that I can wish for my Church is separation from the State, and the continued enjoyment of its endowments.

I should say of the greater part of its endowments; for, after the votes of the House of Commons during the last session, it is impossible that the Maynooth grant and the grant to the Irish Presbyterians can continue to be paid out of the Imperial Treasury. I have no wish that the interests involved in those grants should be dealt with otherwise than liberally. I should gladly see them made a perpetual charge on the property of the Irish Church.

But as for the secularization of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland, with which we are threatened, there is almost every objection to it that there can be to any measure. That property is now employed in keeping together those Protestant congregations whose members are the most valuable part of the population of the greater part of Ireland,

* I may not state the figures quite correctly, but it is enough for my purpose to give the *orders of magnitude*.

and in supporting a most estimable clergy.* If the property of the Church is confiscated, there is a danger, though I do not yet say a certainty, that the result will be the withdrawal of the rural clergy from a great part of the country; and the chief sufferers will be a class whose regrets you will never hear. I mean the rural poor, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant. It is an advantage the importance of which you in England do not know how to appreciate, that there should be in every parish a resident who is a gentleman without being a landlord or a landlord's agent, and a minister of religion who, unlike the Roman Catholic priest, has no pecuniary demands on the people; for the tithe rent-charge is now paid by the landlord, ostensibly as well as really. I know this argument is laughed at in England, but the laughers do not know Ireland.† It is a mistake to think that the mass of the people feel any active hatred against the Church; on the contrary, the clergy are personally popular since they have ceased to act as tithe-collectors.

The objections to the secularization of the property of the Irish Church are equally great from the English point of view, though totally different. If it is secularized for any purpose whatever, whether education, or the care of the poor, or any other, it will be applied to purposes which, under other circumstances, would be provided for out of either local rates or national taxes. Now, a precedent drawn from Irish legislation will have weight in England, whether it ought to have any or not; and I cannot imagine a worse habit for Englishmen to acquire than that of debating, as an open question, whether some expense of civilization, such as hospitals or schools, should be borne by new taxation or by the appropriation of part of the funds of the Church. Another consideration I think it a duty to state, though in addressing English readers it is greatly against my inclination to do so. If the Church property of Ireland is secularized, the next generation of Irish Churchmen will grow up Radicals, and will vote for the application of the same measure to you that you have measured out to them.

I do not propose that the Church property should remain as it is now. I propose that the Church lands should be sold to the present tenants, and that the payers of tithe should have power to redeem it at a specified number of years' purchase: the proceeds to be handed to trustees for the benefit of the Church, who should have power to invest it in any way that the governing body of the Church might sanction. It would be a necessary part of the system of religious

* Mr. Gladstone, in his "Chapter of Autobiography," admits the worth of our clergy.

† It has been said that this argument has been disposed of by the Report of the Commission on the Irish Church, which has proposed to withdraw a part of the clergy from those districts where Protestants are very few. I can only reply that I find that Report condemned by every Irish Churchman I have spoken to on the subject.

equality, that all churches should hold their trust property under the same laws : and the trust to be created by statute for so much of the Church property of Ireland as the Anglican Church should be permitted to retain, as well as the trusts for the portions made over to the Presbyterians and to the Roman Catholics, in compensation for the Parliamentary grants which they are to cease to enjoy, should be constituted and declared by statute to be private trusts, subject to the authority of Parliament in no other way than that in which every trust is necessarily so. The purpose of this would be to place the future disposal of the property, as far as possible, beyond the reach of legislation, and so to close the question.

It is also necessary that all religions should be placed on an equality in the Dublin University, saving, of course, the rights of the Divinity School. It is farther necessary that the Ecclesiastical Titles Act should be repealed. I expect the English democracy to make more wry faces at this than at all the rest ; but it must be done, if the whole of the new policy towards Ireland is not to be a mockery.

I have now said all that I have to say on the duty of Parliament towards the Irish Church and Irish education ; but I wish to state some facts concerning the present aspect of parties in Ireland, which will be new to the mass of Englishmen.

All England has heard of the Orangemen, and I have no doubt that the folly and malignity of Orangeism have produced an appreciable effect in giving English Liberals their dislike of the Irish Church. This, however, is due to a misconception of the facts. I believe that it was different a generation ago, but at present the vast majority of the clergy—and nearly all the younger clergy—are quite unconnected with the Orange Society.* It is also no doubt the general belief in Great Britain, that all the Orangemen are fanatically devoted to the Church, and that this society exists for no purpose except—by however an unjustifiable and mistaken course of tactics—to protect the interests, rights, and dignity of the Church. I myself thought so until lately ; and no Englishman who reads this article can be more surprised than I have been at making the discovery, that the Orangemen do not care about the Established Church at all. Of course they will indignantly deny this ; but I judge by their actions. In the autumn of 1867 a large open-air meeting was held at Hillsborough, near Belfast, for the purpose of a “demonstration” of opinion in favour of the existing endowments ; and it is known to all Ulster that it was comparatively a failure in

* It ought to be mentioned that Presbyterians are equally admissible with Churchmen as members of the Orange Society. In the rural districts of Ulster there is, among the laity, little consciousness of any distinction between one Protestant Church and another.

point of numbers, in consequence of the refusal of the political leaders who got up the meeting to allow of Orange banners, and the refusal of the greater part of the Orangemen to come without them. It may be said—and it may be true—that they did not at that time know how seriously the Established Church was threatened, for this was some months previous to Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. But no such explanation will apply to their conduct at the Belfast election. Belfast has for a long time steadily returned two Conservative members, and it has till now been a matter of course for an Orangeman to be a Conservative, though many of the leaders of the Conservative party are not Orangemen. But on this occasion, when Belfast was contested by a Presbyterian Radical (Mr. M'Clure), pledged to disestablishment and disendowment, the Orangemen took the opportunity of mutinying against their Conservative leaders and asserting what they call their independence by electing a member of their own, Mr. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg. For this purpose they coalesced with the Radicals, of whom a very large part are Roman Catholics; Orangemen voted for the Orangeman and the Radical, and Radicals voted for the Radical and the Orangeman, against the two candidates of the old Conservative party, and Belfast is now represented by a Radical, and an Orangeman who is not a Conservative.

These assertions may be denied. It may be said that there was no such coalition as I have described. I do not suppose there was any ostensible arrangement between the Orange and the Radical committees, but the fact is unquestionable and notorious that Orangemen and Radicals did "exchange votes" as I have described. And Mr. Johnston will probably say that he is a Conservative. Perhaps so. But I judge by actions. It is perfectly well known that the old Conservative party were willing at the last moment to withdraw one of their candidates, if Mr. Johnston would consent to contest the borough under their colours. Had he consented to this, the Radical candidate would have had no chance; but Mr. Johnston preferred to go in as an independent Orangeman, and to divide the representation with a Radical. And as to his opinions, he has given no pledge on the Church question, except a general expression of disapprobation of Mr. Gladstone's policy.

Any one who reads so far, will naturally conclude that Mr. Johnston must be in some special way endeared to the Orangemen; and such an inference will be correct. Most Englishmen are aware that for a long time past—for generations, I believe—Orange processions, especially on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the victory of the Boyne, have been a constantly recurring nuisance in many parts of Ireland. These displays are regarded as an insult by the Roman Catholics, and have in many cases led to rioting and bloodshed—

indeed, it is a cause of general congratulation when the 12th of July passes off without murder. For several years past these processions have been prohibited by law, with the intention, of course, of removing a cause of quarrel. This law, however, is habitually violated. The Orangemen boast of their loyalty; but loyalty, in Ireland, has nothing to do with obedience to the laws. On the 12th of July, 1867, and consequently during the administration of the Conservative Government, Mr. Johnston took part in the Orange procession, was prosecuted, found guilty, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. Government offered to remit his punishment, if he would give security for respecting the law in future; but he refused this, and remained in prison. For this heroic conduct Mr. Johnston has been rewarded with a seat in Parliament.

I ought, perhaps, to mention that the Orangemen do not regard party processions as a divine ordinance.

I do not trust myself to write what I think of the conduct of these Orange defenders of the law and the Church, in thus showing at once their contempt for the law and their indifference to the interests of the Church. But I do not altogether regret the result. Those who know what the state of feeling between the two parties has been, will be inclined to rejoice that they have learned to unite for any purpose whatever. Besides, when the downfall of the Establishment is inevitable, it is perhaps well that so combative a race as the Orangemen should look on it with indifference. I thought, till lately, that the existing habitual rancour between parties in Ireland would last till the Establishment was not only abolished, but forgotten; but, on the contrary, the Belfast Orangemen have shown themselves willing to bury the Church question before it is dead. I have said the Belfast Orangemen, but their victory over the Conservatives was hailed with delight all over Ulster.

An alliance of Orangemen with Roman Catholics against Conservatives is, so far as I am aware, the strangest combination of our time, and I believe it will prove to be a turning-point in the history of this country. It is no mere accident. It is, I believe, the beginning of a revolt of the Orange democracy against the Conservative aristocracy, and the precursor of an alliance between the Orange and the Roman Catholic democracies. Once the Establishment question is out of the way, there will be nothing to keep these two apart except the memory of past enmities: the facts I have mentioned prove that this can be sunk when a motive arises for union: and such a motive does exist in the one question that lies nearest to the hearts of both, and is more important than any other single question—perhaps more important than all others put together—I mean that of the rights of the tenant-farmers. Hereditary mistrust of

each other, ignorance, prejudice, and a kind of political stupidity which it is not easy to explain or understand, have kept them apart till now; but the first plank of a bridge has been already laid across the chasm, and I believe the next great fact of Irish politics will be a coalition between the two democracies on the basis of tenant-right.

I do not intend to make any suggestions on this subject at present. The Irish land question is of first-rate importance, and, unfortunately, of a difficulty quite equal to its importance; and I could not do justice to it in this article. I will go back to an incomparably simpler subject, which, as I think, presents no difficulties at all.

The Party Processions Act ought to be repealed. Englishmen may laugh at this: they are at present inclined to be just to Roman Catholics (I say this in no ironical sense), but are, I fear, not quite disposed to be tolerant towards Orangemen. I do not say this from any personal feeling. There is not a man in Ireland less likely to take part in a party procession than I, even if they ceased to be illegal. But, as I wish to be just towards Roman Catholics though I am an extreme Protestant, so I wish to be just towards Orangemen, though I despise Orangeism. And the Party Processions Act is an injustice. It is enough to condemn it, that it prohibits processions in honour of the victory of William III. at the Boyne, and does not prohibit mock funeral processions in honour of the three Fenian murderers who were justly executed at Manchester about a year ago. The repeal of this obnoxious Act would be to the Orangemen a compensation for the abolition of the Church Establishment, while it would show that Parliament, in establishing perfect religious equality, was free from any feeling of favouritism towards the Roman Catholics; and this is a necessary lesson to be taught to all parties in Ireland. Any danger to the public peace ought to be counteracted by giving whatever powers may be necessary in order to enable the authorities to prohibit beforehand, or to disperse, any open-air meeting whatever, without being required to show cause. As for indoor meetings, they are not more dangerous in Ireland than in England.

The practical conclusions I have stated may be thus briefly summed up:—

All churches ought to be placed on a perfect legal equality, with as much liberality as possible towards the Anglican Church in the matter of the endowments.

Education ought to be kept under the management and control of the State alone.

The Party Processions Act ought to be repealed.

All these measures ought, as I think, to be passed on their own merits: but the question arises, Will these pacify Ireland?

If this means, Will they content the Fenians? I reply, Certainly not. The Fenians are Reds, and aim at universal plunder. Were Ireland to become an independent republic, and were the Established Church abolished, this would be to them only means to the end of the redistribution of property.

But will these measures reconcile Irish parties with each other? I believe they will in a very great degree. With perfect religious equality, and no Party Processions Act, there will be nothing to fight about. Orange and Roman Catholic rowdies will, no doubt, continue to break each other's heads for long enough from mere habit, but the common interest of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic peasantry in the legislative settlement of the question of tenant-right will unite parties. The question, however, which all thoughtful Englishmen are now anxiously considering is this:—Will the establishment of perfect religious equality in Ireland make the mass of the people content with the British Government? This question cannot be answered in a word.

As I have already said, the mass of the people do not think much about the Established Church, and do not dislike its clergy. From this, many persons have argued that its abolition would have no political effect whatever. This, however, is a very superficial view. The mass of the people do not hate the Established Church, but the Roman Catholic priests, if they have common human feelings, cannot avoid hating the Church, and disliking the Government that supports it; they are peasants by birth, and live among their kindred, and their feelings must, whether they wish it or not, be communicated to the people. But the Roman Catholic Church is the natural ally of order and authority everywhere. Ireland is no exception: the opposition of its authorities to Fenianism is perfectly sincere, because, while they only *dislike* the Government, they *fear* Fenianism as the Irish representative of their most deadly enemy, the Red Republicanism of the Continent. But it needs no proof that their support of order will be far more trustworthy and efficient when they have no reason for disliking the Government. I have no doubt they will continue to give trouble, especially on the education question; but the cause of denominational education is not one by which any feeling of political disaffection can be raised, in Ireland or anywhere else.

The real cause of apprehension is, I think, in the opposite quarter, where Englishmen as yet fancy that all is safe. I believe that Englishmen are mistaken if they think that Irish Protestants are essentially one with themselves. Ulster is no doubt British in sympathies, and, I think, fundamentally Scotch in character, but

in ideas it is purely Irish. This is, I suppose, due partly to the smallness of the town population; partly to the exclusion of Ireland from the English and European world until the present century; and partly to the anomalous and false position of the Established Church. But however we may account for it, the fact is so, that in any stratum of society below the gentry, the clergy, and the mercantile class, there are few English ideas, and scarcely any sense of unity with the English people. The idea which the Orangemen entertain of their own position is something like this:—The British Government has given us ecclesiastical privileges, in consideration of which we support the British connection. But when these privileges are abolished, there will be, from this point of view, no reason why the Orangemen should support the British connection any longer. I believe that a very large proportion of the Orangemen are too ignorant to see that the maintenance of the union between the two countries is necessary to the welfare of Ireland; and if the example of the Belfast election is followed, of which I think there is little doubt, the Orangemen will throw off the leadership of the Conservative aristocracy, who are thoroughly English in sympathy as well as interests. For these reasons I think that when the Established Church is abolished, the attachment of the Orangemen to the union with Great Britain ought to be no longer counted on; indeed, I think I perceive symptoms of such a state of feeling already. I do not say that this will be a danger, for they certainly will not rise in rebellion, but it may be a serious inconvenience, and a loss of strength to the Empire; and such a consideration ought to have its weight in favour of treating the Irish Church with the utmost liberality in the settlement of the money part of the question, for the Orangemen do not, I believe, care about the political connection of the Church with the State, but they will bitterly resent any injury done to the pecuniary position of its clergy.

I may be told that I have made two incompatible statements, in first saying that the Orangemen do not care about the Established Church, and then saying that its abolition will loosen their attachment to the constitution of the country. I admit the inconsistency, but it is not mine. Lord Macaulay remarks somewhere, that men have often been the political supporters of a religion the precepts of which they did not care to obey. We know that such is the fact, and it will be an inconsistency of the same kind if the Orangemen do not care about the Established Church, and yet bitterly resent the imagined insult of its overthrow. Consistency or common sense is no inconsistency can be greater; and consistency or common sense is the last thing that ought to be expected of the Orangemen, who have been sleeping in a dreamland of the past till they have been now

suddenly awakened by the change in British policy, at the same time that the advancing wave of democratic feeling has overtaken them. If a feeling of dissatisfaction with British connection gains ground among Irish Protestants, I leave it to my readers to conceive the effect on ignorant and excitable Irishmen of all creeds and parties, if the *Times* were to choose some critical moment for the renewal of its insulting and insincere proposal—the more insulting because insincere—to put an end to all Irish difficulties by expelling Ireland from the Empire!

For this reason, as well as on more general grounds, it is the duty of our statesmen to make the union between the two countries as much of a reality as possible. There are several measures having this tendency which ought to be passed on their own merits, but which have now become more necessary than ever. One of these is the abolition of the vice-royalty. This would be an administrative reform. Ireland would be better governed if what is really a “double government” were abolished, and if the country were ostensibly, as it is for the most part really, governed from the office of the Under-Secretary in Dublin, receiving his orders by telegraph from his immediate superior in London. But it is not as an administrative reform that I speak of it here. The vice-royalty is a mischievous sham, keeping up the memory of a national independence which was no blessing while it lasted, and which it is impossible to revive. The opposition to such a measure would be very loud, but for the most part utterly contemptible, and would give no trouble to a strong and resolute Government.

Another measure having the same tendency would be to enact that any one called to the bar in Ireland should have all the privileges of an English barrister, including, of course, eligibility to judgeships and other appointments, and *vice versa*. The purpose of this would be to create an imperial, as opposed to a provincial feeling among Irish lawyers. The importance of this is obvious, for unemployed lawyers will always be numerous, and they are the natural leaders of sedition. I do not mean to imply that there is any seditious or revolutionary feeling in the Irish bar at present. I have no reason to think that there is.

Another such measure, and the most important probably of all, would be to put an end to the *deportation of paupers*. At present, if an Irishman becomes chargeable to the poor-rate in Great Britain, having no settlement, he may be put on board a steamer and landed at the nearest seaport in Ireland, thence to make his way to the home which has probably forgotten him. The inhumanity of such a practice needs, or ought to need, no comment, but I here speak of its political mischievousness. So long as it is practised, it will be

impossible for the poor of Ireland—and the poor are the majority—to believe that the union between the two countries is meant honestly. It is of no use to try to explain to them how it is an incidental result of the law of settlement, for they do not know what that means; in Ireland we have no law of settlement, and do not mean to have any. The only comment they can make on it is this, that Irishmen are welcome in England so long as they can pay their way, but when they fall into want, are treated with more harshness than English paupers. This to Great Britain is a question of the addition of a few pence to the poor-rate in particular localities: to Ireland, it is practically a question of equality of rights.*

It is a universal complaint in England that no two Irishmen say the same thing about their country. I fear I have said nothing which will in the least degree remove that reproach, if it is a reproach. Of course what I say must be considered on its merits alone. But its force will not be weakened by this, that it will be certain to please no party in Ireland, except only those who love the Church for its own sake.

I have till now endeavoured to write dispassionately, as an impartial politician, on a subject in which nevertheless I feel a profound personal interest, though I am not a clergyman, and have no near connection who is so. But I will say, in conclusion, that it will be a bitter trial, and, I believe, a great national misfortune, if the Church of Ireland is to be not only loosed from a connection with the State which is good for neither the State nor the Church, but also deprived of those endowments which are a great part of her means of usefulness. If, however, such a misfortune comes on our Church and our country, this will be one more instance of the application of that stern law which is only to be repealed at the end of this world, that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children. No Protestant Church has so much to repent of as that of Ireland. In the last century, the dominant Protestant party endeavoured to convert the whole of the upper classes to its creed by means of a system the wickedness of which has been seldom surpassed. Roman Catholics were prohibited from purchasing land, and from giving a liberal education to their children; and the heir of a Roman Catholic was set aside in favour of any member of the family who would turn Protestant. This policy succeeded; it made Protestants of nearly all the upper classes, and the poor were regarded as of no account. But the poor will not always allow themselves to be forgotten; and

* I, at least, am honest as to the pecuniary part of the question, for I have advocated before the Statistical Society of Dublin the equalization of taxation between the two countries, by keeping the income-tax up and abolishing those taxes levied in Great Britain which we do not pay.

the social miseries from which Ireland has only begun to recover are due, for the most part, to the want of sympathy between the different classes of society. That old wicked leaven of ascendancy and persecution has, however, been now almost totally cast out by our Church; it survives in Orange lodges, but scarcely at all in the homes and in the pulpits of our clergy; and now, for the first time in her history—at least, since the conquest of Ireland by William III.—the Church of Ireland is only intent on doing the work of a Church. But if at this time the English democracy, in whose hands we are, honestly, but as I think most mistakenly, decides that our Church must lose those endowments which are, as I fear, in a great degree necessary to her usefulness, I shall not express any feeling of satisfaction where I see reason for none, but I shall recognise and acknowledge the righteous judgment of God.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

NOTE.—The foregoing article was written before the publication of the December number of this Review, and consequently before I read Mr. Ludlow's article on the same subject. Were I now to go over the points where I agree and where I differ with him, I should double the bulk of this article without proportionately increasing its value. I will only thank him for his noble defence of the principle of National Churches.



ONE WORD MORE ON THE CLERGY AND SCIENCE.

IN a brief reply to Dr. Hooker inserted in the *Contemporary Review* for November, I had occasion to refer to expressions used on more than one opportunity by the Rev. F. W. Farrar, of Harrow. But those references were merely incidental; and nothing was further from my wish than to reopen a controversy with Mr. Farrar, for whose zeal and earnestness I entertain sincere respect. It appears, however, from a letter which he immediately addressed to the *Guardian* (of Nov. 11), that he felt aggrieved by what he calls my "strictures," and especially by a note in which I described his address at the Dublin Congress as a "remorseless chastisement of his brother clergymen." * He therefore announced that he should "now publish, as soon as any

* A trifling injustice may be disposed of in a note. Mr. Farrar writes:—"I do not blame Dr. Hannah for forming an erroneous conception of my paper at the Dublin Church Congress, *because he admits that he has not read it.*" The inference suggested by the above words is, that I had neglected the ordinary rules of justice and courtesy by not taking the trouble to read a paper on which I meant to comment, though it lay ready to my hands. What I really said was (*Contemporary Review* for November, p. 400, note), that I had "*as yet*" seen only an abstract of the paper; and the context showed distinctly how the matter stood, viz., that I had *then* to content myself with the abstract (a rigorously just one, as it proved), because I was forced to send the note to the printer some days before the full report reached me, which was not till a week after the publication of the abstract.

opportunity occurred, the paper which" he had "read at Sion College;" and it accordingly appeared in this Review for December. "Dr. Hannah will then be able to see," he adds, "that the object which I have had in view was not the very ignoble one of casting discredit on my brethren;" an assurance which I readily believe. He concludes the letter in nearly the same words which he had used in a previous remonstrance (*Guardian*, Sept. 18, 1867): "Let me not be counted an enemy for a small and humble endeavour to bring some of my brethren to a" certain specified opinion.

I quite agree with Mr. Farrar in deprecating personal controversy when it can be avoided; and I should be sorry to have given occasion for it by using any careless phrases in a discussion on a subject of considerable historical interest. But let any one read the three lectures in which we can now study Mr. Farrar's views in detail, and I think he will share in my surprise that Mr. Farrar should object to my describing any, or indeed all, of them as "remorseless chastisements of his brother clergymen." His lecture at the Royal Institution, which was quoted in my original article (*Con. Rev.*, Sept., 1867), condensed the charges which I wished to deal with into so convenient a summary, that I felt sure (as I still feel) that I could nowhere have found a succincter statement of the case against the clergy. I read his Dublin Lecture with great interest as soon as it reached me, and I regret that I cannot qualify the judgment which I had formed from the abstract in the newspapers, as well as from the reports of friends who were present. We have now had the advantage of reading a third lecture, which was delivered at Sion College at a date not specified, but some time, I believe, before the Dublin Congress; and in spite of some compliments which it pays to the devotion of the clergy,—partly, I must say, at the expense of their intelligence,—it is surely, like the others, as "remorseless" a "chastisement" as words could express. But to return for a moment to the Dublin address. I observe that the *Guardian* reporter, evidently a calm and not unfriendly critic, calls it "a *denunciation* of the bigotry and narrowness of the parochial clergy," and a "torrent of eloquent vituperation;" while a leading article in the same number (Oct. 7) says that the paper would have left a far greater impression if its author "could only accustom himself to state in more measured language the valuable truths *which form the basis of his exaggerations.*" This is as exactly as possible the very ground which I have taken in every portion of my argument in which Mr. Farrar was concerned.

The position is briefly this. The alleged offences of the clergy, in offering a blind resistance to all scientific advances, even in cases where those advances did not wear (as they often have done) the shape of needless aggression on religious belief, have formed the burthen of many

pages of invective, and have recently been consolidated into a formal indictment in more than one elaborate history. On this subject I have long been convinced that popular prejudice has raised a structure of exaggerated injustice on the foundation of some acknowledged truths. I ventured then to urge that there was another side to the picture; that the indictment represented only half the truth; that in some cases the fault lay with the assailant; that in many cases, the clergy supplied the leaders on both sides at once, and should therefore have credit for the good as well as blame for the evil; that in still more numerous cases, the clergy had shown sympathy for the sufferers, even when they thought the sufferings partly due to indiscretion; and had done what they could to lighten persecutions inflicted under a false theory of duty, which confessedly actuated the laity quite as widely as the clergy. How does Mr. Farrar meet this very moderate endeavour to abate the charge? By examining the facts which I alleged in alleviation, and showing that I have misrepresented or overstated them? Not in any single instance. He simply exaggerates still more his old assertions, our common share in which he all the while calls me inconsistent for admitting; and while I had objected to his painting his picture all shadow, he only deepens the shadows and more persistently ignores the lights, and would make the whole picture, were it possible, ten times darker than before.

I have not the smallest doubt, if I may take the liberty of tendering the assurance, that Mr. Farrar is, in purpose and intention, as candid as the daylight; but it appears to me that his precipitancy makes his reproduction of my argument one series of unintentional unfairnesses. I must be content with a very few brief specimens, taken from the lecture last published; which is, in a great measure, a detailed reply to my paper of September, 1867. I had said in that article (p. 6):—

“The stock instances of clerical persecution . . . often bear witness to *more patience than we should expect* on the side of the persecutors, and more indiscretion than is acknowledged on the side of the assailant.”

Mr. Farrar refers to the passage in these terms:—

“I say that theology has not repented, because theologians still extenuate the crime,* and *commit others like it*. ‘To condemn one truth is more shameful than to broach two errors;’ yet a clergyman who wrote on this subject the other day is *surprised at the patience* often shown by the persecutors” (p. 610).

* The “crime” had just been described as “Scripture perverted by its accredited guardians to perpetrate black injustice and to stifle splendid truth;” and as “religion arraying her awful sanctions and sacred energies in the very van of retrogression and falsehood.”

This slight turn misrepresents the whole current of my thought. My meaning was surely plain; that an appeal from heated declamations to the simple facts of history would often disclose an amount of patience which those declamations never led us to expect. The perversion is, that I thought this patience a symptom of such unexpected weakness in the persecutors as to call forth my surprise.

In my next sentence, I proceeded to give instances, and began as follows:—

"In the eighth century, the Irishman Virgilius was accused at Rome by St. Boniface for the heresy of asserting the existence of the Antipodes; yet he obtained, and kept till his death, the bishopric of Salzburg, and afterwards was sainted. In the tenth century, the famous Gerbert was suspected of glamour and necromancy; but he rose through the archbishoprics of Rheims and Ravenna to St. Peter's chair."

The following is the whole of Mr. Farrar's answer:—

"The fate of men like Virgilius in the eighth century and Gerbert in the tenth, of whom the first was persecuted for asserting the existence of the Antipodes, and the second was laid under an interdict and cursed as a magician because he was a remarkable discoverer, were only prophecies of what was to come" (p. 606).

True, in more senses than Mr. Farrar means. But can this be called a sufficient or appropriate answer? Is it not a mere neglect of all the qualifying circumstances, and a mere repetition of what nobody denied,—of what, too, I have been repeatedly taunted for destroying my own argument by admitting—that there was a dark cloud as well as a silver lining, that in this case the shield of silver had a dusker side?

Mr. Farrar passes next to Roger Bacon, and remarks:—

"Now let me pause here to say that of late some clergymen have thought to prove that *theologians have no tendency to persecute science*, because some eminent men of science have themselves been ecclesiastics."

What I *did* say was:—

"So far as persecution goes, the Church has contributed its full share of victims as well as persecutors; nor has it lacked its just proportion of those more fortunate discoverers, whose discretion or calmness has preserved them from being ranked in either class."

Mr. Farrar has an uncomfortable habit of using quotation marks without giving the reference; so that an opponent may get the discredit of expressions which he would repudiate, because they will naturally be assumed to have been taken from his argument. Thus he writes:—

"It has been the fashion to say of late that Galileo would have escaped if he had but shown 'a decent duplicity' in 'formulating' his opinions. Thank God he did not! and would that theologians in this respect would imitate him!" (p. 610).

I should very much like to know who is responsible for the recom-

commendation of that "decent duplicity." It is certainly not mine, either word or thing; and I utterly abhor it and reject it. If, as I presume, it is taken from some one who wished to discredit the view which has recently prevailed on Galileo's case, I repudiate it as an unjustifiable perversion of the meaning. For my own part, on this leading case of Galileo and Copernicus, I simply repeated what far more unimpeachable authorities had pointed out before me. Dr. Whewell, for example, writes:—

"If we are thus unable to excuse the conduct of Galileo's judges, I do not see how we can give our unconditional admiration to the philosopher himself. Perhaps the *conventional decorum* which, as we have seen, was required in treating of the Copernican system, *may excuse or explain* the furtive mode of insinuating his doctrines *which he often employs* [not, observe, which he is blamed for *not* employing], and which some of his historians admire as subtle irony, while others blame it as insincerity. But I do not see with what propriety Galileo can be looked upon as a 'Martyr of Science.' "

And again:—

M. Marini "confirms the conclusion which I think almost all persons who have studied the facts have arrived at" [the note mentions Leibnitz, Guizot, Spittler, Eichhorn, Raumer, Ranke, as having "at last done justice to the Roman Church"],—"that Galileo trifled with authority to which he professed to submit, and was punished for obstinate contumacy, not for heresy." (Whewell, *Hist. Ind. Sc.*, i., 305, 398, ed. 1857.) "We must not calumniate even the Inquisition," is the reasonable caution which Dr. Whewell quotes from Delambre (*Ib.*, p. 309). "The prosecutors of Galileo are still held up to the scorn and aversion of mankind; although, as we have seen, they did not act till it seemed that their position compelled them to do so, and then proceeded with all the gentleness and moderation which were compatible with judicial forms" (*Ib.*, p. 312).

Mr. Farrar quotes, with emphatic italics, another sentence of Dr. Whewell's, to which I had referred:—"It is impossible not to be struck with the series of misfortunes which assailed the reformers of philosophy," of the date of Roger Bacon. But he omits the qualification which I also quoted from the sequel of the passage, that "the most unfortunate were, for the most part, the least temperate and judicious reformers." (*Philos. of Disc.*, pp. 101-2.)

Lower down in a paragraph already quoted, we find the following surprising proposition:—"The duty of a scientific man is to inquire and *not to formulate*" (p. 610). I am entirely at a loss to know what meaning Mr. Farrar gives to this last word. He seems to think it has some inseparable connexion with the text of Scripture. As I used it myself, I applied it to theologians, who are often taunted with being unable to state clearly what they really believe. As applied to science, I presume it would indicate that last crown and result of enquiry, which is parallel in science to the formation of a formula in theology; parallel, but of course not identical; the same

relatively, not absolutely; to deny the value of which, is to say that the end is useless as compared with the means, and that men of science are bound to go on inquiring for ever without marking progress on their road by announcing even a provisional conclusion in the shape of some one wide or all-embracing law.

Another sentence I shall simply transcribe, without venturing to weaken its effect by a word of criticism:—

“We still unhappily live in an age of persecutions, prosecutions, deprivations, excommunications, ejections for mere differences of theoretical opinion on matters of Biblical exegesis. And one consequence is, that on almost all subjects, there is perhaps less of defined and independent thought in England than in any country of the world” (p. 612).

The cases of Dean Buckland and Professor Sedgwick are again produced at full length as convincing proofs of the relentless and persecuting temper of our times. I said enough on this point in my last article; which Mr. Farrar answers in the *Guardian* by asking me if I “mean to deny” that they were once reviled by clerical writers and clerical organs for their scientific opinions. How could I possibly mean to deny what I have explicitly admitted? What I did deny was, that this sort of persecution (if it deserved the name) was calculated to do the smallest harm to its distinguished objects, or was in any way worthy of their serious attention. Those who think that the lives of such men could be embittered by such worthless retorts as Mr. Farrar has taken the trouble to exhume and to print twice over, must have formed a very different view from mine of the calm and manly character, which would lead both, in the words I used before, to care nothing for such assailants “beyond the exact measure of appreciation which their arguments deserved.”

Both Mr. Farrar and an ally who came to the rescue in the *Guardian* (Nov. 25) assail me with the text about killing the prophets and then building their sepulchres. The latter writes,—

“In his letter Dr. Hannah builds the tombs of Whately and Arnold. But had he lived in their day he would have been a partaker with those who persecuted those prophets.”

May I venture to ask for the evidence? I am old enough to have “lived in their day.” What single line can be quoted from my writings (of which, however, I may reasonably suppose this gentleman to be entirely ignorant), to support this charge of my being “a partaker with those who persecuted those prophets?” If he spoke hastily on the sole evidence of my short letter to the *Guardian* of November 18, I reply that he seems to have judged of that letter without referring to the earlier and more concise of the two lectures from which the quotations which I used were taken. Mr. Farrar says that my argument on R. Bacon and Campanella (not that I

accept the terms in which he states it), "is truly to slay the prophets and then build their sepulchres; to kill the foremost men of their order, and then lay claim to their credit for the justification of their murderers" (p. 607). My worst offence has been that of pleading that the persecutors were not always as black as they were painted: but as I have certainly never "extenuated the crime" of persecution, I cannot see that this effort of charity has made me a sharer in their sin. If I have urged that new ideas were sure to meet with opposition, I have said no more than Mr. Grove, when he speaks of the "opposition" that is "usual *and proper* to novel ideas."* But I have said not a word to palliate the sin of confronting novelties by attempts at violent repression. And do I "commit sins like it" if I venture to plead, that the error of making such attempts was common to both laity and clergy, and that in behalf of both alike the truth of history compels us to admit, that in some degree, at all events, "their crime was in their darkened age?"

But I must conclude. There is much in Mr. Farrar's lectures which I cordially admire; there is also much from which I dissent profoundly. Let me close by a brief remark on his three practical conclusions—viz., that we ought, under no circumstances, to put a force on Scripture language; that we ought not to go to Scripture for our scientific knowledge; and that "we *must* take humbler ground." I had certainly (in Sept. 1867) stated the first two points as emphatically as Mr. Farrar, though not on exactly the same basis nor in the same language; but it is more important to remind the reader that I expressed both points in the very words of Dr. Pusey, supported by those of Archbishop Manning, and confirmed by references to a host of contemporary clergy. While they might object to several other phrases used by Mr. Farrar, the great majority would acquiesce most cordially in this, that we should "reverence the Bible too truly to take it for a manual of natural science, and to think that it needs such puny and such questionable aid" (p. 619). For the third point, we shall none of us be the worse for exhortations to humility, as well as to all forms of Christian charity; and I trust I may, without offence, remark that Mr. Farrar's eloquent expostulations might be very legitimately directed against the disposition to preach down so-called persecution under the unconscious influence of a persecuting spirit.

J. HANNAH.

* "Correlation of Physical Forces," Preface, p. ix., ed. 1862.



MARCUS AURELIUS AND THE TALMUD.

THE name of the great Stoic Emperor has been brought before English readers within the last few years with new distinctness. Mr. Maurice, in his "History of Moral Philosophy," has, with his usual insight, led us to sympathize with the calm, heroic temper, the profound sense of the need and the presence of a Divine Guide, which characterize the "Self-Communings" * of the man who showed how a Stoic could be true to himself under the purple chlamys of sovereignty, as Epictetus had shown how the same belief could ennoble one who had to live as a slave, and was oppressed by bodily infirmity. Mr. Matthew Arnold, in one of his best essays, has given proof that the contemplation of that character could kindle in him an unwonted enthusiasm, that he found there something above the "sweetness and light" on which he commonly lavishes his praise, or else those very graces in their loftiest and least alloyed form. And lastly, Mr. Farrar, in his recently published volume, "Seekers after God," has placed Marcus Aurelius, together with Epictetus and Seneca, in the list of those who serve to illustrate the law that "God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him."

* I give this as a title more closely corresponding to the original *τὰ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ*, than the more familiar "Meditations."

And it will be owned that the more we know of the man and of his writings the more this interest deepens. We are brought into contact with one of the very few who have held a position of commanding power as a solemn trust, living under a perpetual self-scrutiny, and obeying to the utmost of their power the law written in their hearts. With a trustful faith which reminds us of St. Paul's words, that "all things work together for good to those that love God," he counts up, one by one, all the events of his life,—the kinsmen, friends, and guardians under whose care he grew, the teachers and thinkers who had led him on to truth, as blessings that he had received from God, elements in the education by which he had been disciplined, and was to be led onward towards perfection. Even the blindness or connivance as to the vices of his wife Faustina, and his son Commodus, at which Gibbon sneers, may be regarded as, more or less, part of the fortitude with which he "accepted the inevitable," and sought to keep the tranquillity of his life unimpaired by those disturbing forces. And it was not, we must remember, the life of an eclectic dilettanti like Alexander Severus, or a reactionary dreamer—a "Romantiker," as Strauss calls him—like Julian. He came to the purple when the reins of Empire required to be held with a strong hand, when barbarous tribes, Quadi and Marcomanni, were hovering threateningly on his frontier, when the finances and judicial administration of the provinces required the most watchful handling. Our own Alfred presents, in many respects, the most complete parallel, all the more striking because there is no trace of any conscious reproduction.

For Christian thinkers the life itself is full of problems of deep interest. Students of Church history have to associate it also partly with the legend of the Thundering Legion, which shows, even on the hypothesis that relegates it most entirely to the regions of the fabulous, that there was something in him which attracted the sympathy and admiration of the Christians of the Empire, and made them wish, in spite of adverse facts, to claim him as their own. But they are compelled to recognise, in spite of all prepossessions in his favour, that he took his place among the persecutors of the new faith, that the treatment of its adherents in his reign was more severe than it had been under his immediate predecessors. They find a strange contradiction between his admiration for the Stoic's scorn of danger, and regardlessness of life, and the supercilious coldness with which he speaks of the heroism of Christian martyrs. The only notice that he takes of them in his "Meditations," is to express his admiration of the soul that is—

"Ready, if need be, either to quit its tenancy of the body, or to be scattered to the winds, or utterly extinguished, or abide in being; by 'ready'

I mean, that this should rise out of its own independent judgment, not of mere obstinacy (*παράραξ*) as the Christians do, but with full consideration and calm self-respect, and free from all tragic airs,* so as to persuade others also." (Medit., xi., 3.)

Among the contemporaries of Aurelius there was one in a remote province of the Empire, unknown to all Roman writers, unknown to all Christian fathers, finding no place in histories of the world or histories of the Church, whose name for many centuries was familiar only to the scholars of his own race, or the few Christian divines who dabbled in the lore of Rabbinism. But he, too, has been brought within our own time with new prominence. The labours of men like Basnage and Jost, and Grätz and Rapoport, popularised in England by Dean Milman in his "History of the Jews," those of Dr. Emmanuel Deutsch in the *Quarterly* article on the Talmud, which twelvemonths ago was the theme of most men's wonder, have made us look with interest, perhaps even with reverence, on the name of Rabbi Jehuda-ha-Nasi—the "prince" or "patriarch" of the Sanhedrim, so far as that still continued to have an ideal existence, the heir of Gamaliel and Hillel in the great scribal succession. The impression which he made on the men of his own time and race is shown in the fact that the title "Rabbi" was applied to him *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, with no further note of individual distinction. He was known as the "saint," the "holy one," the "meek." As being, like his forefather Hillel, of the house of David, the inextinguishable hope of Israel centred for a time in him as they had centred previously under Hadrian on the "Son of the star," the rebel Bar-Kochba. His disciple Abba Areka (himself known by the honourable distinction of "Rab") said that if he were to look for the Messiah as manifested in any of his contemporaries, he should turn to Jehuda-ha-Nasi and to none else. But for us, as Dr. Deutsch has shown, Rabbi Jehuda has left a more enduring monument. He comes before us as the Moses of later Rabbinism, the compiler of the Mishna, the man who undertook to collect, if not into a systematic code, yet into something like a *corpus juris*, the oral traditions of the schools of Palestine, and left it as a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὲν* to posterity. It became, in its turn, the starting-point of a new literature. Halachah, and Hagadah, and Midrashim, exegesis, and tradition, and legend, clustered round it in varying forms among the Jews of Palestine and Babylon, and so the

* *Ἀτραγυδῶς*. The direct bearing of this epithet has not, so far as I know, been noticed by any commentator. It receives, I believe, a new significance, if we think of it as alluding to the closing words of c. xii. of Justin's second *Apologia*, in which he expresses his wish that some one (meaning obviously, some Christian), fearless of death, would cry out "with a tragic voice" (*τραγικῇ τῇ φωνῇ*) and utter a prophetic denunciation of the injustice and superstition of heathen magistrates. The coincidence is clearly too striking to have been accidental.

comment overshadowed the text, and the Gemara and the Mishna together grew to the colossal dimensions of that Talmud, of which, thanks to the last-named writer, most English readers now know something more, and can take (with whatever drawback) a truer estimate than they could a short twelvemonth back.

There is something striking enough in the thought that two men so strangely contrasted in thought, fortunes, character, were living at the same period. That interest is more than heightened, it takes us by storm as with a strange fascination, when we are led to believe that the two were not strangers to each other; that they met and conversed with mutual respect, with feelings, on one side at least, that deepened into personal affection. The thought is one which might almost rouse Landor from his grave to write a new "imaginary conversation" between the Emperor and the Rabbi, the author of the "Meditations" and the compiler of the Mishna. The idea, I need scarcely say, has hardly as yet come within the horizon of English writers of the history of the Church or the Empire, and naturally challenges a somewhat sceptical scrutiny. Dr. Arnold Bodek, however, in an elaborate monograph* which he has just published, does not shrink from maintaining this thesis; and brings together an amount of circumstantial evidence interesting in itself and in the collateral issues which it raises, and establishing the point in question to at least a high degree of probability. I shall be rendering, I believe, an acceptable service to those who find a never-failing interest in the history of human thought in the critical period when Philosophy, and Judaism, and Christianity were working together towards the then unknown future, if I attempt to give a *résumé* of his arguments, noting here and there some points that come within the average range of an English student's reading, but have not found a place in Dr. Bodek's otherwise exhaustive treatise.

It had been known to most Rabbinical scholars that the traditions of the Midrashim, in the biographical notices scattered here and there of Rabbi Jehuda, speak of him as the friend of a Roman Emperor, to whom they give the name of Antoninus. Among our own Hebraists, Selden, whom Dr. Bodek quotes, and Lightfoot, whom he does not quote, refer to this intimacy. The latter cites† from the Jerusalem Talmud a passage in which it is implied that the Emperor had secretly become a convert to Judaism, and received the sign of the Covenant. "When the proselytes of righteousness (those, *i.e.*, who are circumcised)

* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, als Freund und Zeitgenosse des Rabbi Jehuda-ha-Nasi. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte von Dr. Arnold Bodek. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1868.

† *Chronica Temporum Parergon.*, Sect. vii. Opp. ii. p. 145, in the Rotterdam folio edition of 1686.

shall take their place in the world to come, the Emperor Antoninus shall be the leader of that company." Lightfoot himself seems disposed to give credence to the story, and balances between Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as probably identified with the hero of it. Later legends expanded the story into strange extravagances. At the time of the Rabbi's birth, it was said, A.D. 125, in the year when Bithar, the last stronghold of Bar-Kochba's insurrection, fell, and Akiba, who had been the soul of the movement, died, there was an imperial edict forbidding circumcision.* Simon, however, the son of Gamaliel (this, it may be noted, was not the Gamaliel of Acts v., but his grandson), was faithful to the Law, and circumcised his new-born son. He was seized and sent to Rome, and there found favour with a noble Roman matron, who sheltered the child and its mother, and brought it up as a foster-brother with her own son. That son was the future Emperor. The two were thus friends literally from their cradle, and their later intercourse was but the renewal of the intimacy of their childhood. The friendship lasted through life. When the Rabbi heard of the Emperor's death he burst into a cry of lamentation: "The bond is broken."

For the most part these notices have remained, as has been said, unknown to the historians of the Empire or the biographers of the imperial philosopher. For the few who have discussed them at all, mostly Jewish scholars, there was the question, who was the Antoninus thus referred to? No less than eight emperors (Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Elagabalus) used the name on their coins and official inscriptions. Which of them was to be selected as having been the friend of the great Jewish patriarch? The Talmud writers, it should be stated, almost always speak of the Emperor in question as "Antoninus, the son of Asverus." And this introduces a new element which does not diminish the difficulty. If we are to take "Asverus" as the natural Semitic form, by a slight *metathesis*, of "Severus," the only three whom we should so describe were Caracalla and his brother Geta, as the sons of Septimius, and Elagabalus, as assumed to be the son of Caracalla. Dr. Bodek gives us accordingly a series of conjectures ranging over nearly every name in the list, and urges what he looks upon as fatal objections against most of them. Jost (*Gesch. Isr.*, iv. 88) fixes on Caracalla, on the ground that he was literally the son of Severus, and that the time at which the Rabbi is said to have been at the height of his activity is after A.D. 220; contemporary, therefore, with Caracalla, but not with either Pius or Aurelius. The decree of that Emperor which extended the rights of citizenship to

* It may be noticed that the fact that Antoninus Pius issued an edict permitting circumcision, implies a previous prohibition. Comp. Milman, "History of the Jews," ii. p. 443.

all subjects of the Empire, and allowed Jews in particular to be admitted to hold office, is looked on as accounting for the favour with which that people looked on him. For Elagabalus (whom Cassel fixes on) there were the facts that he was said in his early Syrian days to have circumcised himself in honour of the God whose worship he sought to introduce at Rome, and that the Talmud writers speak also of one "Asverus, son of Antoninus," who is identified with Alexander Severus as the adopted son of Elagabalus. Grätz, whose masterly history of the Jews gives great weight to his authority, comes to the conclusion that the Rabbi Jehuda spoken of is not the Patriarch, but his grandson of the same name, identifies the Emperor with Alexander Severus, and connects the Talmud story (1) with the eclecticism which led that Emperor to place in his private oratory the effigies of Abraham, and Orpheus, and Christ, and to engrave on its walls the maxim, "Do to others as ye would they should do to you," which in one form had come from the lips of Hillel, and in another had become the "royal law" of Christians; (2) with the nicknames "Syrian," "Archi-synagogus," with which he was assailed, apparently on account of his devotional tendencies, by the population of Alexandria and Antioch; and (3) with the well-known fact of his requiring candidates for office to have a public testimony to their character, on the avowed ground that this was what Jews and Christians did in appointing their religious teachers. Frankel, admitting the probability of Grätz's theory, believes that two sets of facts have been confounded by the Talmud writers, and that both grandfather and grandson were friends with Roman emperors; while he fixes on L. Verus, the adoptive brother of Aurelius, joint emperor with him, as the one associated with the Patriarch. Finally, Rapoport, whom Dr. Bodek follows, returned; with new evidence and as the result of a fuller criticism, to the old tradition which pointed to Aurelius.

Dr. Bodek rightly urges, we think, the utter improbability that a man such as the Patriarch Jehuda is represented, would have been drawn into anything like intimacy with a monster of cruelty like Caracalla, or a profligate boy like Elagabalus, or a voluptuary like Verus. Against Alexander Severus he urges (1) that he never appears on coins or inscriptions as bearing the name of Antoninus; (2) that the absence of Moses from the list of those whose memory he held in honour, speaks rather for a wider sympathy with the simpler monotheistic creed of which Abraham was the representative, than for any leaning towards the stringent Judaism embodied in the Mischna. He proceeds, step by step, through his own constructive argument.

I. The dates of the life of Aurelius are briefly these:—

	A.D.
Born	121
Adopted by Antoninus Pius	138
Marries Faustina	145
Becomes Emperor	161
Death of L. Verus	169
War with the Quadi. Legend of the Thundering Legion . . .	174
Revolt of Avidius Cassius, and the Emperor's visit to the East .	176
Death	180

The first point accordingly is to show that the Patriarch and the Emperor were contemporaries. And here (1) Dr. Bodek appeals to the oft-repeated, almost proverbial saying of the Midrashim, that "Rabbi Jehuda was born on the day on which Rabbi Akiba died." The latter event coincided with the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Kochba and the capture of Bithar, and this fixes the birth of the patriarch in A.D. 125. (2) Another Midrash contains the statement that in a given year "three great men died in the same month, Jehuda-ha-Nasi, Antoninus, and Artaban, King of the Persians (Parthians), and that every one saw in it a fulfilment of the words of Zechariah (xi. 8), "Three shepherds also I cut off in one month." The only Parthian king who bore this title, and died about this time, was Vologesus III., of the house of the Arsacidæ, and he died in the same month as Commodus, the third bearer of the name of Antoninus, *sc.* the beginning of A.D. 193. This accordingly would also be the date of the Rabbi's death. (3) A record in the Talmud reports that "when Simon, the son of Gamaliel (Jehuda's father), died, the country was laid waste by *locusts* and many other disasters." This would give the date when the patriarch entered on his office and became prominent both as a teacher and a prince. But the Roman biographer of Aurelius* mentions, that at the commencement of his reign the Empire was in a state of collapse and misery, owing to pestilences, inundations, and the *vast swarms of locusts* that laid the country waste. This accordingly gives another synchronism. The Emperor and the Patriarch entered on their respective tasks about the same period. (4) An adverse date, resting on the assumption that the patriarch's disciple, Abba Areka, went to Babylon, and became, *with his consent*, the founder there of the school which produced the Babylonian Talmud, in the year A.D. 220, Dr. Bodek, following Rapoport, disposes of by a various reading which gives A.D. 190, and so brings it into harmony with the results already aimed at. It is right to add that Lightfoot (with whose writings Dr. Bodek does not seem to be acquainted) supports him on this point also, and fixes A.D. 190 as the date of the compilation of the Mishna. Jost, on the other hand (II. p. 118), maintains the later date.

* Aurelius Victor. *Epitome: Marc. Aurel.*

II. Next comes the proof of the identity of Marcus Aurelius with the "great unknown," the Antoninus-ben-Asverus of the Talmud. The chronological data already gained exclude all emperors after Commodus. The character of Commodus, and the disparity of years between him and the Rabbi, exclude him also. Antoninus Pius never visited the eastern provinces of the empire, and the Rabbi was living in obscurity up to the time of that emperor's death. The objection to L. Verus has been already stated. The Talmud comes again to our assistance. It speaks of three emperors bearing the name of Antoninus—(1) the Great, (2) the son of Asverus, (3) the Little, the grandson of the Great. This, Dr. Bodek urges, is according to Jewish usage. The founder of a royal house, the first bearer of the name, was known as the "Great." In this sense, and not with the connotation with which the epithet was applied to Alexander or Pompey, did they speak of Herod the "Great." Here, then, the first of the three is Antoninus Pius. The last is Commodus, whose death, under the name of Antoninus, has been already noticed. We arrive by an exhaustive process at the identity of the "son of Asverus" with the philosopher-emperor. But what then is the explanation of the strange description thus given? Two hypotheses are offered for our choice. (1) It was conjectured by Rapoport that the name of the emperor's father, Annius Verus (his own name also till his adoption by Antoninus Pius), would be written on medals and coins with the usual contraction, and so appear as *AS. VERUS*, and be taken by the Jewish writers for a single name. (2) Dr. Bodek, who boldly grapples with the difficulty, identifies Asverus with Severus (just as *Stoa* in Aramaic becomes *Astoa*), and explains the name by the fact that the Emperor's great-grandfather, on the mother's side, was L. Catilius *Severus*, who under Hadrian had been Prefect in Palestine, and had been prominent in subduing the rebellion of Bar-Kochba. By him, on the death of his father in his infancy, Aurelius was brought up,* and might thus be described as his son, in the wider sense in which the Jews in their genealogies used that description, while the prominent place which Severus held in their memories would account for their fixing on that name instead of that of his paternal grandfather, M. Annius Verus.

* Comp. the Emperor's "Meditations," i. 4. He does not name the "great-grandfather" to whom he says that he owes so much of his early training; but the order in which he names those who influenced his education, (1) his grandfather Verus, (2) the memory of his father, (3) his mother, (4) his great-grandfather, is in favour of Dr. Bodek's identification. I may add that Gataker, the editor of the "Meditations" (a scholar who ranks with the Scaligers and Casaubons), is disposed to accept the reading which refers the warm praise which Aurelius lavishes on his brother's virtues, not to L. Verus, the brother by adoption, who was notoriously unworthy of them, but to a natural brother, *Severus*, otherwise unknown.

III. There remains the question, When could the two men have come into contact with each other? What was there in each of them to draw them to one another? Is there any internal impossibility that should lead us to reject the Talmud narrative, assuming the identification to be established? Dr. Bodek points to the rebellion of Avidius Cassius in the Asiatic provinces of the Empire as that which led the Emperor to the East. Dio Cassius (lxxi. 28) says that he went to Syria; Ammianus Marcellinus, more definitely, that he visited Palestine. The Jews had taken no part in the rebellion, and were likely therefore to be looked upon with favour. This would be in A.D. 176, when the patriarch was at Tiberias in the height of his fame, the recognised representative of his race, living in a princely state, on terms of friendly intercourse with the Parthian king. There was no man in Palestine so likely to attract notice. And the character of the Rabbi presented much that the Emperor might sympathize with, just as that of the Emperor presented much that won the sympathy of the Rabbi. The latter, following in the steps of Hillel and Gamaliel, encouraged the study of Greek literature and philosophy, spoke Greek as well as he spoke Hebrew, had the Roman tendency to codification, of which the proof remains in the Mishna, and appears in one passage of the Talmud as expressing the warmest possible admiration of Roman art, as shewn in their temples, bridges, market-places, and other public works.* The ethical precepts ascribed to him in the *Pirke Aboth* (the "Sayings of the Fathers"), are such as might well win the philosopher's approval, almost identical, in their scorn of mere appearances, with his own teaching and that of his master, Epictetus. Take, for example, these,—

"Which is the right way that a man should choose to walk in? That which glorifies the Creator, and gains for him the esteem of men.

"Observe a small commandment as zealously as a great one, for thou knowest not what shall be the reward of each.

"Balance the loss of obeying a commandment against the future gain, and the gain of transgressing against the future loss.

"Be mindful of three things, and thou wilt never fall into sin. Bethink thee that there is an Eye over thee that sees, an Ear that hears, and that all thy doings are written in a Book."

And on the other, who that reads the Emperor's "Meditations," or any account, like Mr. Farrar's, of what he was, but must feel that the pantheism of the Stoics became in him a real living trust in God and His providence, more real and living than the mere monotheism of many Jews—that his self-control and victory over sense, his habits of personal devotion, as distinct from official acts of worship, his love of truth, his yearning, in the midst of doubt, for immortality (iii. 3,

* Comp. Milman, *History of the Jews*, ii. p. 444; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, v. 50.

xii. 5), his rule of life, "Love Mankind; Follow God" (vii. 31), would seem to the Jewish thinker, as they seem to us, to place him as among those who were "not far from the kingdom of God." It would only be the most natural distortion of a truth if such a man should be described, first as "a proselyte of righteousness" in the higher, and then in the lower, technical sense with which the Jews were familiar. Here also, I believe, Dr. Bodek's case is stronger than he represents it. He labours hard to prove that there was nothing in the Emperor's Stoicism to set him against Judaism;* he brings out the points of agreement between the two systems. But, strangely enough, he does not quote what makes so strongly in his favour as the direct testimony of Josephus,† that the teaching of the Pharisees was, on the great questions of ethics, all but identical with that of the Stoics, the fact that his representation of their modified teaching of a divinely-appointed destiny, which was yet compatible with free-will, was precisely in harmony with the doctrine that pervades the "Meditations" of Aurelius. The very absence from the Mishna of the old prophetic element that had once characterized Jewish thought and speech, would seem to him to present a favourable contrast to that "tragic" vehemence which offended him in the Christians in whom it still lived and worked. It may, at least, be noted as significant that Mr. Matthew Arnold, who in one Essay writes, for him, so enthusiastically about Aurelius, has another devoted to an equally high estimate of the *Pirke Aboth*, unconscious, obviously, of there being any personal points of contact between the two.

IV. It remains to note what the Talmud preserves as to the intercourse between the two men thus brought together. It will be admitted, I think, that it is as interesting as any "imaginary conversation" could be, that there is nothing intrinsically impossible in it, that it does not read like a legend.

1. Before they met, we are told, the Emperor, looking on him as in the number of his "friends" or special councillors, wrote to the Patriarch to ask him how he should restore the tottering finances of the Empire. The Rabbi took the messenger into a garden, rooted up some of the flowers, and planted others in their stead, thus indicating that he should change his officers. This fact, it will be noticed, coincides with the statements of Roman historians, that the Emperor, during his war with the Marcomanni, was reduced to such distress that he was compelled to pawn his jewels. The story reminds us

* The only really adverse testimony is that of Ammianus Marcellinus, who says that when the Emperor, on his journey through Palestine, saw the multitude of foul and squalid Jews, he exclaimed, "O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatæ, tandem alios vobis inertiores" (probably we should read "inquietiores") "inveni." But this scorn of the multitude was clearly compatible with regard for their leader and teacher.

† Life, c. 2. Aut. xviii. 1, v. 3.

(here again I add to Dr. Bodek's treatise), and was, perhaps, meant to remind the Emperor, of the story of Tarquinius Superbus and the people of Gabii,* with which the Rabbi's general culture had probably made him familiar.

2. They met. The Emperor gave large gifts to the synagogue at Sepphoris, and lands for the endowment of the school there, or at Tiberias. The Patriarch entertained him with a princely magnificence. They exchanged their thoughts on grave questions with a freedom that must have presented a strange contrast to the restraint which the Emperor could not but feel in all his intercourse with Faustina and Commodus. He asked the Jewish teacher, who observed the usual hours of prayer (the third, the sixth, the ninth), why a man might not pray to God at any time. The Rabbi urged that this was irreverent; that communion with God required order, system, appointed seasons, and fixed forms. This did not satisfy the Emperor, and the conversation broke off. Next day the Patriarch presented himself to Aurelius early in the morning with the usual ceremonial greeting. An hour after he came again and repeated it, and again, and yet again, hour after hour, till the Emperor grew impatient at what seemed an impertinence, and turned and asked him, "Dost thou thus show thy respect for thy Lord?" And then the Rabbi answered, in words that embody the essence of later Judaism, "Ah, seest thou how an earthly king limits his hours of access to certain times and seasons? How much more then God, who is the King of kings?"

They discussed, on another occasion, the question of man's responsibility. "How," said the Emperor, "can man be made to give an account for his deeds? The body may say, 'It is the soul that sinned: when it leaves me, I am but as a dead thing, motionless like a stone.' And the soul in its turn might say, 'It is the body that sins: when I leave it, I soar upward like a bird out of the snare of the fowler.'" And the Rabbi answered with a parable:—

"A king had a fair garden, and in it were all pleasant and rare fruits. And he set as watchers over it a lame man and a blind; and the lame said to the blind, 'Those rich fruits yonder are very tempting; come, take me on thy shoulders, and so will we both of us enjoy them.' No sooner said than done. The blind carried the lame, and they plucked, and did eat. And after some days the lord of the garden came, and he missed his best fruits. And he asked of the watchers, 'Where then are my precious fruits?' Then said the lame man, 'Can I walk? How then could I get at them?' And the blind said, 'I could not even see them.' But what did the wise king? He acted over again what they themselves had done, and bade the blind be set upon the shoulders of the lame, and punished them as one man."

Other Talmud notices record discussions of juristic questions: when, *e.g.*, does human life begin, at the moment of birth, or when the child

* Livy, i. 54.

is quickened in the womb. The Emperor argues for the former, the Rabbi for the latter. They agree finally in making the one the starting-point of active personal right, such as qualified for inheritance and the like, while the other was to be so far recognised that to procure abortion was to be classed as an act of murder. In this, and in other legal questions, Dr. Bodek believes that he can trace a Jewish influence in the laws ascribed to Aurelius, a Roman influence in some portions of the Mischna. Another anecdote, in connection with the foundation of the school of Tiberias, a town which he professed to be anxious to raise to the rank of a Roman *colonia*, perhaps throws light on one of the perplexities of the Emperor's domestic life. "I would fain," he said to the Rabbi, "make my son a Cæsar to succeed me; I would fain make Tiberias a free city; but they" (he seems to be speaking of the Senate) "will, at the utmost, comply with one of these wishes, not with both." The words indicate, it may be, only a wish to put off the Rabbi's urgent entreaties with a plausible excuse; but they at least tally with the actual extent of power enjoyed by the Senate under this Emperor, and with the course which he afterwards took in the case of Commodus. But the name given in the Talmud is not Commodus, but Asverus. This may be a mere blunder of the Jewish writer; but we know from Capitolinus (M. Aurel. c. xii.) that the Emperor had other sons, and that they received in his lifetime the title of Cæsar. Is it not likely that the Emperor, descended as he was from a Severus, having probably had, as we have seen, a brother of that name, should also have given it to one of his younger sons; and that, looking to the manifest unfitness of Commodus to be his heir, he had thought of passing him over in favour of another, if he could obtain the sanction of the Senate? May it not be, again, that this was connected with the dark suspicions that floated in men's minds at his death, that Commodus was not free from the guilt of accelerating it?

Another of the Emperor's troubles comes to light in the following anecdote:—Faustina,* it is said, was with him when he came to Palestine (it is uncertain whether it was his daughter or his wife, probably the latter); and she, too, saw the Rabbi, and as if in *persiflage*, asked him at what age he thought a maiden ought to marry, and told him that she had been married when she was six years old, and only regretted that it had not been earlier. Betrothals at that age seem not to have been uncommon among the upper ranks of Roman society, and the story is at any rate characteristic of what we know of the Messalina-like licentiousness of the Empress. Lastly, we are told (in this instance in the Babylonian Talmud) that after they had parted, Aurelius wrote to ask the Rabbi's advice about the

* "Yostina" in the text of the Talmud, but the correction is an obvious one.

misconduct of his daughter Gera (Dr. Bodek, by inserting one letter, reads the name as Galeria, and connects it with Faustina Galeria, an aunt of the Emperor's), and received an answer, couched in symbolic form, bidding him send her first this flower, and then that, and so on, each plant so named being a cypher in the floral hieroglyphics of the East, first of reproof, then of punishment, then of pity, then of pardon.

We have come nearly to the end of what the Talmud has to offer in this region of inquiry. The last fact which brings the two men together is that which has been already named. The Emperor returned to Europe to continue his warfare against the Marcomanni, was seized with fever, and died. The Rabbi heard of his death, and lifted up his voice in a cry of lamentation, "The bond is broken."

The later years of the Rabbi's life were not unworthy of his fame, and presented some traits of character that would have been congenial to the high-toned stoicism of Aurelius. For many years he suffered from the constant pressure of disease and pain, and yet would not allow himself to be deterred by it from his work as a teacher, or from the labours which he bestowed on the compilation of the *Mischna*. When the hour of death drew nigh, he called his sons and commended their mother to their care. "Watch over and honour her with all good conscience; let her lamp burn as heretofore, and her table be spread for her, and her couch prepared for her." And then he called for those that were wise in Israel, and said to them: "Make no mourning for me in the cities; and after thirty days re-open the school to its wonted life again." And to his son Gamaliel, whom he appointed *Nasi* in his place, he said, "My son, do thy work as patriarch honourably; and sprinkle thy disciples with drops of gall:" *i.e.*, let there be no undue laxity, no misplaced indulgence. Anecdotes are told of his work as a teacher indicating a like absence of ostentation. It had been the habit for the *Nasi* to walk to the chair from which he lectured through the files of his disciples, who rose and saluted him as he passed. The Rabbi dropped the practice altogether, and went to his pulpit by a side door. When he propounded a question to his disciples, all, the youngest as well as the oldest, were allowed to speak their thoughts freely. On one occasion, after having decided a point in casuistry, he was reminded that his father had given a contrary decision, and withdrew his own judgment in deference to what he looked upon as a higher authority. He had been in the habit of omitting in his lectures the name of Rabbi Meir, who had been the rival and antagonist of his father, and contented himself, when he had to quote his interpretation of a passage, with the formula, "Others say that . . ." But his own son Simon grew impatient at this strange exception to the common

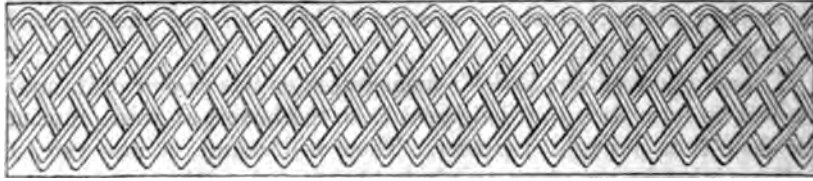
practice, and asked, "Who, then, are these men from whose wells we drink, and yet whose names we know not?" "Men," answered the Rabbi, "who sought to destroy thy honour and that of thy father's house." "Nay," was the son's reply; "your friendships, and your enmities, and your rivalries, these have long ago vanished and died out." And from that day he changed his practice, and adopted as the formula of quotation, "It is said, in the name of Rabbi Meir, that . . ."

The thought that two men, representatives, each in his way, of schools that have been so prominent in the religious history of mankind as Stoicism and Rabbinism, were living and working at the same time, and actually met in familiar intercourse, is, as I have said, full of interest. It connects itself more or less closely with the Emperor's persecution of the Christians precisely at the time when the Jews were most active in their hatred; with the execution of Justin, who had passed through Stoicism, and had contended with Trypho as the spokesman of later Judaism; with the death of Polycarp, at the instigation, chiefly, of the Jews of Smyrna. The two effete systems—effete, though not without remnants of their former nobleness—would have been prepared to come to terms on the common ground of natural theism, of a morality of maxims and of proverbs. There was enough in what they held to raise individual thinkers to a certain dignity and self-respect. But the issue of the two systems showed what they wanted. Stoicism and Rabbinism alike looked down upon the common herd of men, the brute multitude, the "people of the earth," as beneath their sympathies. They aimed at an aristocracy of intellect, and had no bond of brotherhood uniting them to the poor and outcast. What has been well called the "enthusiasm of humanity"—what we may speak of as the "prophetic" spirit that had passed from Israel according to the flesh, to the Christian Church as the true Israel of God—this was wanting, wholly in the Rabbi, all but wholly in the Emperor, and in the systems which they represented. And so each was powerless to regenerate the world. The salt had lost its savour, the leaven would no longer ferment the meal, and did but gather on itself the mould of putrescence and decay. Stoicism became more and more a dream. Rabbinism passed into a casuistry prurient, hair-splitting, dishonest—was buried beneath the miserable rivalries, and monstrous fables, and unseemly jests of Rabbis. It was left to the Christian Church to do the work, at least partially, and on a far wider scale than they had ever dreamt of, which they failed to do. She herself has failed, just in proportion as in her weakness or her pride she has reproduced their faults. It is a strange result of that partial failure that it should have led men of enlightenment and culture to point

with an admiring reverence to the two systems that failed so utterly, as having claims, equal or superior to hers, on the affection and homage of mankind.

Those who read Dr. Bodek's monograph, or this *résumé* of it, must be left to form their own judgment as to the historical value of what he has thus brought together. They will admit at any rate, I believe, that he has given an admirable example of the use that may be made of the materials accumulated in the *Mischna* and the *Gemara* by a patient and open-eyed explorer. Hitherto we have been carried by turns to opposite extremes in our way of dealing with it. A great dust-heap, an old-clothes' depôt, an old curiosity shop,—whatever suggests the picture of a strange medley of the *débris* of many generations,—this may serve as a parable of the Talmud. For the most part, divines like Eisenmenger and Wagenseil and Dr. McCaul, have raked into it with foregone conclusions, have picked out the foul garbage and the frowzy tatters, and have then appealed to Christian readers: "Lo, this is what the Jews study and admire! Is it not loathsome and detestable, vile and refuse, fit only to be burned? Away with it from the earth!" Others, like the writer of the memorable article in the *Quarterly*, bring before us a stray pearl or two, some gold lace or costly embroidery that once figured on a king's robe, some precious piece of ancient porcelain, and ask us to take the whole "lot" at a valuation based upon that sample. A few, like Lightfoot, Schöttgen, Nork, in the region of biblical interpretation; like Jost, Grätz, Geiger, and Dr. Bodek, in the wider range of history, have sought to sift the dust-heap, to sort the old clothes and the curiosities, and have found, now a medal that supplies a missing link in history, now a gem that still glitters, however tarnished the setting, with its original brightness, now a slip of parchment that throws light on the obscurities of ancient title-deeds. We may at least congratulate Dr. Bodek on having made a good beginning, and note with satisfaction that his present Essay is but the first of a series which bears the title of "*Römische Kaiser in Jüdischen Quellen.*" No period of the history of the Empire, as Dean Milman has remarked, is left with so little record as that of the Antonines, and we may hope that what we now have before us are but the first-fruits of investigations pursued in the true spirit of historical sagacity.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.



JOHN BALE, BISHOP OF OSSORY.

Select Works of Bishop Bale. (Ed. Rev. H. CHRISTMAS.) Parker Society.

King Johan. A Play, in two Parts. (Ed. J. P. COLLIER.) By JOHN BALE. (Camden Society.)

IT was only with hesitation and apology that the Parker Society ventured to print among their publications a volume from the works of John Bale. The editor, confessing that the exhibition of writings of the Reformation period would not be complete without a specimen of Bale's composition, at the same time ingenuously acknowledged, that there was very much among his works that it would be utterly impossible to reproduce in the present day. Of the truth of this a single glance at Bale's polemical writings might satisfy any one. John Bale was indeed a railer, and not a very modest or clean one. The license of his day in the matter of expression was great, but he exceeded it. He smote with the readiest and most trenchant weapons he could find, and he did not stop to consider whether they were fashioned in the correctest taste. There is much to be said in his excuse. In days when the worst punishment that awaits the heretic is a leading article, or at any rate an involuntary part in a suit in the Court of Arches, with the chance of becoming a hero and getting a public subscription to defray the costs, it is easy to be civil and temperate in one's language. It was otherwise in the days of John Bale, when men had in their argumentation to contemplate the stake in no distant perspective; when

authority had the knock-down argument of Smithfield, and religious topics were discussed not exactly with the dilettanteism and lipping pettishness of modern reviews. Men in those days spoke strongly, and smote anyhow, so that they might smite effectively. It was a time full of terrible disappointments, of fierce excitement, of alternate successes and reverses. When the high hopes of the Reformers had been encouraged by the rapid progress of Reformation under Cranmer and Cromwell, then were they suddenly smitten down by the reaction in favour of the Romanists caused by the charms of Katharine Howard and the plots of Gardiner. Cromwell perished on the scaffold, and with him seemed to fall the hopes of the Protestant party; fire and sword were at once at work among them, and all their cherished expectations appeared to be overthrown. This was the moment of Bale's first controversial work, and what could we expect but to find it bitter, violent, even savage? With him writing was no child's play. He felt that all was in danger, the whole work of the Reformation liable to be crushed, himself and those whom he most venerated to be brought to the stake, and he spoke as one that must deliver his soul while he had the opportunity. Yet it is not contended that these considerations go so far as to justify all the ferocious ribaldry in which John Bale allowed himself; neither should we have bestowed our labours on the elucidation of his career, had he no other claims upon our attention than those of a polemical divine of extreme violence and abusiveness. John Bale was, however, in one sense the very saviour of English history; and when we add to this that he was also the first to bring historical personages on the stage, as in the play of "*Kynge Johan*," and was thus the direct progenitor of the historical plays of Shakespeare, we have said enough, we think, to bespeak attention while we endeavour to furnish a somewhat more full portraiture of the man and his labours than has yet been given.

The main facts of Bale's life are sufficiently well known. He was the son of Henry Bale, of Cove, in Suffolk, and often does he take care to remind us, apparently with pride and satisfaction, that he was a Suffolk man. He was born in the year 1495, and at twelve years old entered the convent of the Carmelite friars at Norwich. Having gained the rudiments of education there, he went to Cambridge, and entered at Jesus College as a scholar. He is careful to tell us that no tutor or patron did anything for him at the University to enlighten his mind as to the errors in which he had been brought up, and it is probable that he received holy orders without any doubts as to the truth of the Romish system, which was then beginning to be so violently attacked. He obtained the living of Thorndon, in Suffolk, probably by the interest of Lord Wentworth, to whom he

himself entirely ascribes his conversion to Protestantism, which soon followed his establishment in the country.* It is maliciously insinuated by some that a still stronger argument than the persuasions of Lord Wentworth to induce Bale to renounce the Romish faith was his love for a certain Dorothy, whom he soon afterwards made his wife, and by whom he had a numerous family. However this may be, it is certain that Bale's conversion was a very complete one, and that he became the most bitter and uncompromising enemy of the Romanists, assailing them in language some of which we cannot read without a shudder. Being a man of intense energy and vigour of character, he must of necessity take a part in the great religious convulsion which was then shaking England. His first attempt to catch the popular ear was by that medium which always plays an important part in great national changes—poetry. The use of religious plays, or interludes, was a very ancient one in England. Stephanides, a monk of Canterbury, writing in the time of Henry II., says:—"London, instead of common interludes belonging to the theatre, hath plays of a more holy subject; representations of those miracles which the holy confessors wrought, or of the sufferings wherein the glorious constancy of the martyrs did appear."† These representations of religious subjects being made by illiterate monks and friars, were often very gross and dishonouring to their subjects, and accordingly we find constant protests against them in mediæval writings of the better sort. Thus Robert de Brune, the Gilbertine canon, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, says:—

"For myracles zyf thou begynne,
Hyt ys a gaderyng, a syghte of synne,
He may yn the chirche thurghe thys resun,
Play the Resurrecyun,
And he may play withoutyn plyghte,
Howe Gode was borne yn Zolé nyghte.
Zyf thou do hyt yn weyye or grevys,
A syghte of synne truly hyt semys." ‡

The good canon was altogether scandalized at the notion of the great mysteries of religion being degraded by such representations of them as were then commonly seen. In the year 1378 the scholars of St. Paul's School presented a petition to Richard II., praying his Majesty "to prohibit some inexpert people from presenting the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the clergy who had been at great expense in order to represent it publicly at

* "Unchaste Acts of English Notaries," Ap. init.

† Quoted in Preface to Dodsley's *Old Plays*, p. ix.

‡ "Handlyng Synne," l. 4642 (Roxburghe Club).

Christmas.”* The “parish clerks” of London are said to have formed a regular company for the representation of Mysteries, and the name “Clerkenwell” to have been derived from the fact of their resorting to that locality.† It was natural, when men’s minds began to be stirred about religious matters, that the partisans of both the old and the new ways should have recourse to this ready and effective means of influencing the popular feeling. Accordingly, it was enacted in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII., that no rhymers or players should sing in songs or play in interludes anything that should contradict the established doctrines.‡ This was a sort of prohibition not likely to have much effect on so bold a spirit as that of John Bale, and thus we find him vigorously using his powers as a writer of interludes in behalf of the Reformed Faith. Three plays of his were published in the year 1538; but we are inclined to assign the priority in time of composition to the one printed by Dodsley, and entitled, “A Tragedye or Enturlude, manyfestyng the Chiefe Promises of God unto man by all ages in the Old Laws from the Fall of Adam to the Incarnacyon of the Lorde Jesus Christ.” This is not only rougher in style than the others, but it bears traces of the old alliterative style of “Piers Plowman,” and the “Morte d’Arthure,” which, however, is here combined with rhyming endings to the lines. Infinitely offensive to our modern notions as is the making the First Person of the Holy Trinity an interlocutor in the play, and holding long and familiar dialogues with Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, and Isaiah, yet there is something to be said in palliation, as the language used is almost entirely scriptural, and the promises introduced simply a repetition of the Scripture promises. Could we suppose it possible to represent the play without irreverence, it would certainly be a great instruction to the people of that day, so ignorant of Scripture, in some of the main parts of the Old Testament. Each act is concluded with a sort of anthem, to be sung by choristers with an organ accompaniment. “The Breve Comedy of John the Baptist,” of which an edition was printed in 1534, is probably next in order of Bale’s plays. Here again Pater Celestis is introduced as an interlocutor, but only to speak a paraphrase of the words heard from heaven at the time of the Saviour’s baptism. Our Lord, however, bears a more considerable part in the drama, and the putting speeches into his mouth, other than those which Scripture assigns to Him, cannot be justified. “John the Baptist” is a much better composition than the “Promises,”

* Dodsley, Preface to Old Plays.

† Dodsley, who gives no reference; but I much suspect that the persons spoken of are *clerici parochiales*, which is by no means equivalent to our term “parish clerks.”

‡ Dodsley, Preface, p. xiv.

and some of it is neatly written, as, for instance, the speech of John the Baptist:—

"The simple fischer shall now be notable,
The spirityall Pharisee, a wretch detestable.
The wyse and lerned the idyote will doface,
Synners shall excede the outward sayntes in grace,—
Abiectes of the world in knowledge will excell
The consecrate Rabyes, by vertu of the Gospell.

"The poore man by fayth shall very closely deme
The clause that wyll harde unto the lawer seme,
Alle that afore tyme, untowarde ded remayne,
The rule of God's word wyll now make straight and playne.
The coustouse iourer shall now be liberall,
The malycyouse man wyll now to charytye fall." *

These two plays, with the "Brefe Comedy on Temptacyon," are all the specimens that remain to us of the eighteen *Miracle Plays* or *Mysteries* composed by John Bale. But there remains to us a composition of his in that style which succeeded the *Mysteries*, and which is exceedingly curious and interesting in the history of the drama.

"The period of the *Mysteries*," says Dodsley, "one might call the dead sleep of the muses. And when this was over they did not presently awake, but in a kind of morning dream produced the *Moralities* that followed. However, these jumbled ideas had some shadow of meaning. The *Mysteries* only represented in a senseless manner some miraculous history from the Old or New Testament; but in these *Moralities* something of design appeared—a fable and a moral—something also of poetry, the virtues, vices, and other affections of the mind, being frequently personified." †

It was doubtless the idea of the *Morality* which gave form and substance to "Kynge Johan;"‡ but Bale had recourse to other sources for the construction of his play beyond those of the ordinary *Morality*, and thus by this composition he has formed an epoch in the history of poetry in this country. His design was to construct a *Morality* which should forward the work of the Reformation, but

"This design he executed," says Mr. Collier, "in a manner, I apprehend, until then unknown. He took some of the leading and popular events of the reign of King John,—his disputes with the Pope, the suffering of his kingdom under the interdict, his subsequent submission to Rome, and his imputed death by poison from the hands of a monk of Swinestead Abbey,—and applied them to the circumstances of the country in the latter

* "Harleian Miscellany," i. 104.

† Preface to *Old Plays*, p. xiii.

‡ This play was discovered in MS. among some old papers which once belonged to the Corporation of Ipswich. From thence it passed into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and was edited in 1838 by Mr. J. P. Collier for the Camden Society. The fact of its having belonged to the Corporation of Ipswich would seem to prove that Bale wrote this drama while he was yet in Suffolk, and before his first exile. The passages which allude to Elizabeth are thought by Mr. Collier to be subsequent additions.

part of the reign of Henry VIII. . . . This early application of historical events of itself is a singular circumstance; but it is the more remarkable when we recollect that we have no drama in our language of that date in which personages connected with, and engaged in, public affairs are introduced. . . . Bale's play, therefore, occupies an intermediate place between Moralities and Historical Plays, and on this account, if on no other, deserves the special attention of literary and poetical antiquaries."*

We have, in fact, an arch of the very bridge by which the drama passed from the tiresome and irritating twaddle of the Morality to the grand Historical Play of Shakespeare. Remnants of the old Morality still linger in the dramas of Shakespeare, as when Chorus, or Time, or Gower is made to perform a useful office in helping forward the action of the play; but in "*Kynge Johan*" the main features of the drama are certainly those of the Morality, the happy and pregnant idea of the historical element being quite subordinate in the writer's mind. It was not so much to represent what King John did and said (and which might, *by inference*, have important lessons for the actual time) that the play was written; the design was to make the King and the other personages do and say just what was conceived most pointed and relevant for the circumstances of the writer's time. Under the names, therefore, of historical personages, the interlocutors act and speak much as the *moralities* or abstractions with which they hold frequent converse in the play. Nevertheless, the historical element was introduced; the mine was opened which was afterwards to be worked to such abundant profit; a step was taken from the perplexing fantasies of abstraction towards the region of the actual and the real, and no small debt of gratitude is due from posterity to the labours of John Bale. "In another important respect," says Mr. Collier, "Bale seems to have set an example in this interesting department of literature. He neither observed the unity of time nor place." We are thankful to him for it. Who knows whether the glorious disregard of these cramping conventionalities exhibited in Shakespeare may not have been fortified and upheld by this example? It needed something to steel the playwright against the sharp irony of such a writer as Sir Philip Sidney:—

"Our tragedies and comedies," says he, "observe rules neither of honest civility nor skilful poetry. Here you shall have Asia of the one side and Africk of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By-and-by we hear news of a shipwreck in the same place, then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a

* Collier's Preface to "*Kynge Johan*," pp. 8, 9.

save ; while, in the meanwhile, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field ? Now of time they are much more liberal. For ordinary it is that two princes fall in love ; after many traverses, she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy ; he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and all this in two hours' space, which, how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine."*

This is very pretty hitting. Yet conceive what the English drama might have lost had it been dragooned into the unities and proprieties. Who is there that is not ready to sail to Bohemia for the sake of Perdita and Florizel ? To this bitter and savage-tongued Protestant, who could not write temperately, or even decently, of anything connected with the Romish system, English poetry owes, indeed, a great debt. But is English literature generally less beholden to him ? and is not, indeed, the very existence of a history of England in great measure due to him ? It is certainly true that no history of mediæval England adequate to the subject, or even containing a fair proportion of the facts which such a history ought to chronicle, has as yet been written. But that such a history might be written even yet by some future Palgrave or Madden is greatly due to the labours of John Bale.

Leland and Bale literally saved English history from extinction. At a moment when public opinion ran high against the monasteries and all that they contained, as useless and effete, when the spoiler was rushing to his unhallowed work, and irreparable mischief was threatening, John Leland, the most laborious of antiquaries, was quietly making his "Collectanea," while his friend and coadjutor, John Bale, who loved an old MS. as much as he hated a monk or friar, was eagerly getting into his possession the chronicles of the mediæval history of the Church and nation, scattered up and down in the great abbeys of the land. The titles of the rich collection of these which he succeeded in obtaining are printed at the end of his "Scriptores," and they not only furnished himself with materials for the valuable summaries contained in that volume, but also, rescued by him from their immediate peril, passed gradually into the safe custody of our great libraries, from which many of them are now, for the first time, emerging in a printed form. He himself has given us an account of the "Laboryouse Journey of John Leland," and at the conclusion of this record of all-important work he pleads in impassioned language the cause of the preservation of our ancient chronicles. The man in all England most able to appreciate the value of Bale's labours (Sir F. Madden) has borne full testimony to them in his recent preface to the "Historia Minor" of Matthew Paris.

"The general dispersion of the monastic libraries, and the destruction of

* Sir P. Sidney, "Defence of Poesy."

considerable portions of them, have been often and loudly lamented, but by no one more than by John Bale, who himself witnessed the spoliation, and whose exertions to stay its progress entitle him to the especial thanks of all who are interested in our historical literature. His industry and energy seem never to have flagged; and although much indebted to Leland for the groundwork of his bibliographical collections, yet these were enlarged and improved by his own extensive researches. He was the first also to point out the value of the early English historians, and to urge in the most strenuous language their publication." *

In these useful labours was John Bale engaged when the sudden reaction against the Reformation, and the ignominious death on the scaffold of his friend and patron, Cromwell, warned him to provide for his safety and for that of his family. He was, doubtless, a marked man, and as one known to be able to use his pen vigorously and unscrupulously, he would soon have added another victim to the savage ferocity of the men who worked the Six-Article law, had he not happily escaped. But though out of the reach of the clutches of Bonner and Gardiner, he was by no means inclined to let them alone. From his retirement at Zurich he soon fulminated a bitter and violent attack upon Bonner, called "*Yet a Course at the Romyshe Foxe—a disclosynge or openynge of the Manne of Synne contayned in the late Declaratyon of the Pope's olde faythe made by Edmonde Boner, Bysshopp of London, wherby William Tolwyn was then newlye professed at Paules Crosse openly unto Antichristes Romyshe relygyone.*" This is said to be "*compyled by Johan Harrison,*" and was printed at Zurich in the year 1543. The book, however, bears unmistakable evidence of Bale's handiwork, and it is probable that the Johan Harrison did not deceive many. Bishop Bonner had caused one William Tolwyn, parson of St. Anthonynes, to read publicly a recantation at St. Paul's Cross for the heinous crimes of having been *suspected* to be a heretic, and of having in his possession heretical books; and for not properly attending to going in procession, making holy bread and holy water. For these misdemeanours the unfortunate parson was made to declare his penitence, and at the same time to be a mouth-piece for the views of Bishop Bonner as to the Catholic faith. At this John Bale could not contain himself. Bitterly indignant at seeing the cherished work of reformation in England thus apparently checked and counteracted, and all the vain papistical trash again outspoken and triumphant, he thunders forth his anathemas against this "*Edmond Boner, a verye fearce, furyouse angell of the bottomlesse pytt,*" and his confession spoken by Tolwyn, in which "*nothyng ys taught but the doctrynes of menne, the beggerlye tradycyons and dyrtie dregges of the pope, as holye water makynge, processyon goynge, sensynge of images, and latyne waw-*

* Sir F. Madden, Preface to "*Hist. Anglorum,*" p. 23.

lynge in the temple, wyth other lyke fylthye fantasies."* We gather something of the Church politics of the time from the treatise (now very rare):—

"They say ther ceremonyes maye stande, the superstition taken away. But full false are they and subtile in ther generacyon. They knowe yt wyll be easye ynough to bringe in them ageyne yf the other remayne. Master Parson Podypoke, and Ser Saunder Slye hys parryshe prest, schal have a commaundment at the seame to do ther feates in that behalfe under the tittle of deuocyon, or else of commendable rytes of holye church, and the kynge schall never knowe of yt." "How shamefully are the Bybles handled, whych now hath neyther annotacyons nor table. How the godly confessyon of the Germanes, the commonplaces of Sarcenius, and now of late certen notable treatyses els compyled by sondry lerned menne, with dyverse other workes more." †

He finds much fault with Tolwyn, who had been his friend, for recanting.

"For the love of the truth," he says, "I haue geuen myself ouer vnto ponerte and vnto a peynefull exyle with my wyfe and chyl dren, and schall not (I trust) refuse the death also yf yt come that waye. . . . I knowe certenlye I schall for thys be called a thousande tymes heretique; but I waye it nothyng at all, for it is the olde name of true Christianes. I knowe I schal be burned yf I maye be caught; but I care nothyng for it; for I doubt not my porcion to be with Christ." ‡

There is some excuse for one writing in this spirit and with these prospects, if he deliver his soul in somewhat violent language. Yet it is impossible to read this, or any other of Bale's controversial works, without disgust at the coarseness and scurrility of the expressions which he uses. From Switzerland John Bale continued to thunder forth his attacks upon the Romish Church; but the only one of them which need be further mentioned is the onslaught made on a strange rhyming production, published in 1541, and called "A Mystery: the Genealogy of Heresy. Compyled by Ponce Pontolabus." This, we are told by Bale, in his censure of it, had spread abroad among the people in a wonderful number of copies, and had produced a great effect, although the writer of it had since seen the error of his ways, and embraced the Reformed faith. As a specimen of this doggerel, once so popular, we may take the following:—

"The first captayne
Of this falso trayne,
Was one Johan Frith,
Which had no pith.
Of lernynge, nor whytt,
Not worth a nytt.
O, brainlesse nodye,
Christ sayd, My bodye

* "Yet a Course at the Romysh Foxe," p. 3.] † *Ib.*, p. 7. ‡ *Ib.*, pp. 8, 9.

Is verely meate
For manne to eate.
Why wylt thou thenne
Sett to thy penne,
And so plainlye
Christe's bodye denye?
Thy peyshe pyld reasons
Were not worth ii. peasons,
Wherefore in a fyre
Thou haddest thy hyre."

In the same strain all the professors of the new opinions are canvassed. The composition has neither learning nor wit, but is just such a brochure as would be highly popular among the uneducated people, and be eagerly repeated and sung. It was now that Bale compiled the accounts of the examination of Sir John Oldcastle, and the two examinations of Anne Askew, which are published in the Parker Society's volume. His "Image of both Churches," a commentary on the Apocalypse, also printed by the Parker Society, had been written before, as it is alluded to by him in the work against Bonner noticed above; but it was probably not printed till 1550. Before this period, however, happier times had dawned upon Bale and on the Church of England. At what exact date John Bale returned to England after the accession of Edward VI., and obtained the promotion to the living of Bishopstoke, in Hampshire, does not appear; but, at any rate, he was there in 1550, for in that year he published his "Apology agaynst a ranke Papiste"—a work which was produced by the cause following:—

"A fewe monthes ago, by chaunce, as I sate at supper, thys questyon was moved unto me by one that feruently loueth God's verite and myghtely detesteth all falshed in hypocrysy, whether the vowes expressed in the xxx chaptre of Numeri geueth any establyshement to the vowe of our prestes now to lyue wythoute wyues of their owne, or naye." *

This was a point on which Bale felt strongly, having now been for some twenty years a married man. It was a point also which must have vexed and tried the consciences of many in those days. Accordingly Bale hastened to answer, in a short and rough writing, that the vows of celibacy being quite against the spirit of the Gospel and the New Testament, if taken ignorantly, could not possibly be binding on Christians.

His paper fell into the hands of one of the Romish way, and a severe criticism was bestowed on it; whereupon its author hastens to defend it in his "Apology," and to enlarge upon the unchristian nature of vows. Like all Bale's writings, this is full of learning, conveyed in language of exceeding terseness and vigour, but damaged by the extreme license of expression which he used.

* "Apology," p. xiv.

"O brutyshe fole and beastlye ydyote," he mildly addresses the unfortunate man who has made a vow, "thū sekest and procurest by thyne owne devyses to make God's commaundements of none affecte for antichristes' wycked tradycyons. Thy laboure in this worke is none other but as the enemyes whyche sowed the unhappe tares amonge the good wheate whyls the tyllers were aslepe. In the ydell sloathfulnesse of the church, whan the profytable tythe of Christ was not regarded, the wylde olde serpente sent fourth hys wycked massengers to plant in the ignorante hartes that most execrable superstycyon of vowyng. Thu, blynde and wytlesse asse, doest take it for an hygh relygyon, but in the laste judgment daye it shall be reckened to the among ydell wordes, in parcell equall wyth the blasphemynge of God's holye name. Repent it, therfor, as thu woldeste repent synne, and forsake it utterlye as thu wylte forsake thy dampnacyon." *

It was probably the same moving cause that led to this "Apology" which induced Bale to supplement it, as it were, by his book on "The Actes or Unchaste Examples of the English Votaries, gathered out of their own Legends and Chronicles." The character of this book may be very well inferred from its title, and from the declaration on the preface, that "if a tre may be known by hys frutes and a man by his dedes, as our Savyour sayth they may, ye shal easily perceiue by their actes that these original votaries hath bene the very angells of darkness." The chronicler principally resorted to for picking up bad stories against the monks, nuns, friars, canons, and canonesses, is John Capgrave; and those who are acquainted with his quaint black-letter folio of the "Legenda Sanctorum" will not need to be told that there is abundant material there to give terrible point to such a book as Bale devised to write. This book was published in 1551, and dedicated to King Edward. At a time when all men's minds were full of the stories propagated about the monasteries to excuse and palliate the spoliation of their goods, it would naturally be much sought after. Accordingly we find that it rapidly ran through four editions; but it has long been consigned to an oblivion in which we are quite content to let it remain. With these and such-like furious polemics was Bale filling up his leisure in his pleasant parish of Bishopstoke, when he was seized with a violent ague, which affected him long, and brought him near to death. It appears that King Edward, who was acquainted with Bale's bitter and violent books, and took an interest in the writer, had been informed—probably by some one who wished it—that Bale was actually dead. When, therefore, the young king arrived at Southampton in August, 1552, and was greeted in the street by the gaunt and cadaverous divine, who had come out for the first time after his illness to do honour to his sovereign in his progress, he was struck by the sight, and the meeting was productive of important conse-

* "Apology," p. x.

quences to Bale. "Hys grace came to the wyndowe and earnestly beheld me a poore weake creature, as though he had had upon me, so symple a subject, an earneste regarde, or rather, a very fatherly care." * The young king at once determined to send this bold and vigorous Protestant to a see in Ireland. A more unfortunate resolution could hardly have been taken. In that country the work of the Reformation could scarcely have been said as yet to have begun, and the wild and impetuous Celtic nature needed, if it was to be induced to accept the soberer teaching of the Reformed Church, to be handled with the greatest care and tenderness. But this sort of conduct was not possible for one of Bale's character and views; and when he accepted, after, as he says, "an earnest refusal of a month," the see of Ossory, he went to his work determined to bear his testimony against Antichrist and all his works, as he had hitherto done. On the 19th of December he left Bishopstoke with his "bokes and stuffe," and took his journey to Bristol, where he had to wait twenty-six days for a passage—no easy undertaking at that time and season. Accompanied only by one servant, he set sail on the 26th of January, and had a prosperous voyage, arriving at Waterford after but two days and two nights on the sea. In that city he—

"Behelde many abhomyable ydolatries maintained by ther epicurysh prestes. The Communion, or Supper of the Lorde, was there altogether used lyke a popysh masse with the olde apysh toyes of antichrist in bowynges and beekynges, knelenges and knockynges. There wawled they ouer ther dead with prodygouse howlynges and patterynges." †

After having delivered his testimony to the Mayor the next day, the Bishop designate rode to Dublin, where he found his companion, "Maister Hugh Goodaker, the Archebishop of Armagh, elected," and also found a welcome from many of the people who hoped through his preaching the Reformed faith would spread. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, a firm supporter of the new order of things, at once arranged for the consecration of Goodacre and Bale by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Kildare and Down. But here a difficulty at once presented itself. The Archbishop of Dublin, who was firm to the Romish opinions, would only consecrate according to the forms of that Church, and though Goodacre was willing to yield to this, Bale at once resolutely refused.

"I stepped fourth and sayde, If Englande and Irelande be undre one kinge, they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe undre him. And as for us, we came hyther as true subjects of his, sworne to obeye that ordinaunce. It was but a bishopprick (I sayde) that I came thydre to receive that day, which I coulede be better contented to treade under my fote there, than to breake from that promise or othe I had made." ‡

Upon this the Lord Chancellor ordered the consecration to take

* "Vocacyon of Johan Bale," p. 15.

† *Ib.*, p. 17.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 19.

place according to the New Prayer-book, and the Archbishop "went about that observacion very unsaverly, and as one not much exercised in that kinde of doynge, especially in the administration of the Lordes holy supper." After his consecration Bale was again attacked with violent sickness, but he made shift to reach Kilkenny, where he preached every Sunday and holy day in Lent against what he held to be the grievous and crying errors then prevalent, for he says, "I had rather that Æthna had swallowed me up, than to maintain those wayes in religion which might corrupt the same;" but he is forced sorrowfully to allow "helpars I founde none among my prebendaries and clergie, but adversaries a great nombre." * Whether a more temperate beginning would have had other results may be doubtful, but at any rate the new Bishop could hardly expect to find much support from the priests, when he began by telling them that "the whyte Goddes of their makinge, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no Godes but Ydoles." This would of course seem to them nothing short of blasphemy; and when he told them that their office was chiefly to preach, "and not to occupie so much tyme in chauntynge, pypynge, and syngynge," they would think that they were called upon to abandon that which they held to be their special and divinely-appointed duties. He had required the priests only to use and observe the Book of Common Prayer, but this they flatly refused to do, on the ground that it had not been legally established in Ireland as yet. After Easter, Bale left Kilkenny and went to his house at Holmes Court, and his enemies at once proceeded to take the most vigorous and unscrupulous measures to get rid of this heretical firebrand of a bishop, as, no doubt, they considered him. He soon heard the sorrowful news of the poisoning at Dublin of his friend the Archbishop of Armagh, and he was warned that the same fate was in store for himself. On Ascension Day and the festivals following, Bale was again preaching at Kilkenny, but on the 25th of July he observed a great and unusual stir and rejoicing among the priests. They were going from tavern to tavern, drinking glasses of "Rob Davy and aqua vitæ," and shouting forth their strains of "Gaudeamus in dolio." Soon the mystery was explained by the news, so sad to the Bishop, of the death of King Edward. All believed that they would now soon have again all the old forms; and the very next day a justice named Thomas Rothe, and the Lord Mountgarret, went to the cathedral and demanded to have "a communion in the honour of St. Anne." The priests answered that the Bishop had forbidden celebration except on Sundays. "I discharge you of your obedience to the Bishop," said the Justice, "and command you to do as ye have done here-

* "Vocacyon of Johan Bale," p. 20.

tofore." Upon this the priests gladly complied, and the same evening were feasted by the Justice. The Lady Jane Guildford was at once proclaimed Queen, but the Bishop, who "much doubted that matter," abstained from being present. Within a month followed the proclamation of Queen Mary, at which the Bishop duly assisted, although he utterly refused to use in procession the cope, crosier, and mitre, as the prebendaries demanded of him. It would seem, however, that Bale had still some friends in the place, for in the forenoon the young men of Kilkenny played his "Tragedye of God's Promises at the Market Crosse with organe plaines and songes very aptely," and in the afternoon his "Comedye of Johan Baptiste's Preachings."* It was now openly said by the prebendaries that the Bishop would be forced to recant all he had taught; but on St. Bartholomew's Day he preached in the cathedral on St. Paul's words, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ," and boldly reiterated all his previous teaching. On the same day he dined with the Mayor, whom he describes as a man "sober, wise, and godly." In the evening he was assailed by some priests on the subject of purgatory, whom he answered with his accustomed outspoken vigour. The Bishop now returned to Holmes Court, and at once with great rejoicings and shoutings the whole of the old order of services was resumed in the cathedral of Kilkenny. Bale does not spare the lash in speaking of these contumacious priests; but his language, as usual, will not bear reproducing. He especially notes for infamy "the drunken Bishop of Galway," and says—

"The exercise of this beastly bishop is none other but to gadde from towne to towne over the English part, confirminge yonge children for ii pens a peece, without examination of their Christen beleve, and at night to drinke all at Rob Davye and Aqua vite, like a man. To whome, for a mocke, now of late, a Galoglasse of the lande brought hys dogge wrapped in a shete with ii pens about his necke, to have hym confirmed amonge neybers' children."†

But Bale now saw that his life was seriously threatened by a band of desperate kerns, who watched day and night round his house, and who actually murdered no less than five of his servants who had gone out to make hay. He could not venture to leave his house, but was happily rescued by his good friend the Mayor of Kilkenny, who came with a large band of followers to bring him to the town. It would seem that his arrival and the support of the Mayor to a certain extent again established the Bishop's authority, and the priests now made an insidious attempt to get him to adopt the practices which he had so strongly denounced, by asking him to sing a mass for the soul of King Edward. But though Bale loved the late king, yet to sing a mass was what his soul abhorred, and he refused with indigna-

* "Vocacyon," p. 24.

† *Ib.*, p. 28.

tion. The next day, however, came out the formal proclamation from the authorities for the re-establishing of the mass; and the Bishop, clearly seeing that his work was over in his diocese, and that he could not longer remain without risk of his life, at once retired to Dublin. The "epicuryouse Archbishop," as Bale calls him, was of course in high feather at the downfall of the obnoxious state of things which had been introduced, and was very much on the alert to prevent the Bishop of Ossory from preaching in his diocese. "He made boast on his ale benche, with the cuppe in his hande, as I hearde the tale tolde, that I sholde for no man's pleasure preach in that cytie of his."* This, however, Bale did not desire to do, it being, as he considered, a casting of pearls before swine; so, with a final bitter fling at the Archbishop of Dublin, he prepares to leave the country. But this was a matter of no small danger; and the account which the Bishop gives us of his perils and mischances reveals a wonderful state of things as to international law, and the security for life and property in those days. He had hired of one Thomas, a young man of Essex, in whom he had full trust, a ship to convey him to Scotland; but before they could start, a certain Flemish ship-of-war (a privateer or pirate seems nearer the description) came into port, and one Walter, who acted as pilot to it, informed the captain that a Frenchman with a great treasure was about to make his escape out of the country. Upon this pretence the Bishop and his friend Thomas were seized, violently dragged out of their ship, and carried on board the Dutch pirate. Having been stripped and robbed, they were carried away by the Dutchman to the coast of Cornwall. The captain had now discovered who Bale was, and declared he would give him a safe passage to Holland, but he forgot to return the Bishop's money and valuables. When they were off the Cornish coast, the pilot Walter again tried his malice against Bale by accusing him of treason before the magistrates. But it was very fortunate for the Bishop at the moment that the captain had robbed him, for fearing that he should have to disgorge if Bale were committed to prison, he gave strong testimony in his favour, and got him released. How this piratical captain, who a little afterwards is busy in attacking English ships, could come and go in this cool manner on English soil, is hard to understand. Bale gives us a note in passing of the way in which service was done in the Church in the first year of Queen Mary:—

"As the pealls were all ended they sange mattens, houres, holy water makeinge, and masse, all in Latine. Nothinge was ther in English but the poor Letanie, which the preste, a stoute, sturdy lubber, sayd with least devocion of all, muche of the people lamenting to beholde so miserable a

* "Vocacyon," p. 32.

mutacion, and saienge, Afore tyme might we have learned sumwhat by our comminge to the churche, but now nothyng at all to our understandyng." *

After relating some very scurrilous stories of the Cornish priest, the Bishop tells us that he was very near being left in Cornwall, the Dutch captain having sailed without him. The wind, however, failed, and he regained the ship. Doubtless, had he been left, he would very soon have found his way to Smithfield; and, in fact, his danger of this was not yet over, for the captain, when off the south-eastern coast, seems to have thought that he could make a more profitable speculation of the Bishop by giving him up to the authorities, than by retaining the money of which he had robbed him. Accordingly he returned this to him, and sent his purser on shore at Dover to go to the Council in London, carrying the Bishop's seal, books, and letters, to make a bargain for delivering him up. Bale, seeing the great danger he was in, now addressed himself earnestly to the captain, and remonstrated with him on the injustice and treachery of which he was about to become guilty. Upon this the captain offered for a sum of money to convey the Bishop safe to Holland, and it was finally arranged that for the sum of seventy pounds this should be done. The purser was then recalled, and the Bishop safely landed in the Low Countries. He had very great difficulty in raising the money, and was kept a close prisoner for some time, but at length he succeeded in getting free, and was able to make his way to the friends and supporters of the Reformation abroad. The hairbreadth escapes which the Bishop had gone through had by no means the effect of abating his fiery zeal for the faith. At Basle, where he now resided, he continued to publish bitter books against the Romanists, and in particular one called "*Acta Romanorum Pontificum*," written in Latin, which is an elaborate bill of indictment against the popes and their doings. Here we have in full detail the account of Pope Joan, a legend which is placed in the year 857, but which we need hardly remind our readers is a simple invention, not of Protestant writers, but of the fierce partisan contests of an earlier date.†

The "*Acta Romanorum Pontificum*" is only a selection from Bale's larger work, called "*Scriptorum Illustrium Catalogus*," the first edition of which was published in 1548, but which was again printed at Basle in 1557, with considerable additions, and especially with the addition of the part "*De Papis*," which was afterwards made to form

* "*Vocacyon*," p. 35.

† "The advocates for Pope Joan," writes Gibbon, "produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Till the Reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence, and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna."—*Decline and Fall*, viii. p. 269, note.

the volume in question.* It is not difficult to trace how Bale was led to make these additions to his earlier work, and to put out this special attack on the popes. At Basle he was intimate with Flacius, the learned author of the "*Catalogus Testium Veritatis*," a man of kindred spirit and congenial acquirements with himself. To Flacius Bale gave information, together with copious extracts, which he had made from Matthew Paris, the famous monkish historian of St. Alban's,† in whose chronicles so many severe things are said of popes and friars; and from him, in return, he doubtless received much curious information about the popes and their doings. Bale's list of the illustrious writers of our land commences at a very early date. Our readers may, perhaps, be surprised to hear that the first British writer of note was Samothres the Giant, who was King of the Celts in the first century, and who composed a work which would probably be very popular in the present day if it could be recovered, inasmuch as we find it was entitled "*Rituales Canones*." Occupied in learned pursuits, and surrounded by kindred companions, the Bishop of Ossory was not without sources of consolation in his exile during the short but awful period of the reign of Queen Mary. The stories, however, of Bonner's and Gardiner's bloody work must have sorely tried his soul; and, with the excessive combativeness of his nature, he perhaps had to exercise a restraint over himself out of thought for his wife and family, and to repress an inclination to go and seal his testimony with his blood. It is probable that the publication of his "*Summarium Scriptorum*" was one of the last works which the Bishop of Ossory did in his exile, and that in the first year of Elizabeth's reign he returned to England. He was now nearly seventy years of age, and of feeble health, and he might well shrink from the labour of encountering again the fierce and barbarous hostility which was sure to meet him in his Irish diocese. Consideration for one who had written so vigorously for the Reformed faith was sure to be had under the new reign, and Matthew Parker, the Queen's nomination for the primacy, was the old and firm friend of Bale, and one who, like himself, was deeply interested in the preservation of the ancient historical monuments of the land.‡ Accordingly, Bale obtained in lieu of his Irish see the comfortable provision of a stall at Canterbury, and there he passed in tranquillity the few remaining years of his life. In his old age he returned again to the cultivation of the Muses, and in 1562 published the "*Newe Comedy* or

* Sir F. Madden, Preface to "*Matt. Paris*," p. xliii., note.

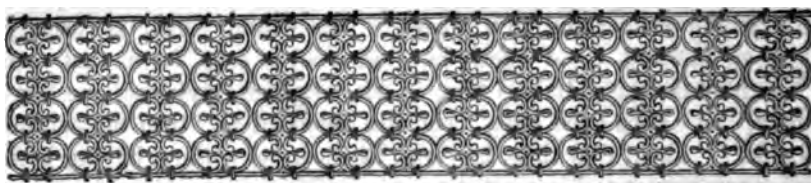
† Ibid.

‡ We fear that Sir F. Madden's Preface to the "*Historia Minor of Matthew Paris*," and the astounding revelations which it makes as to Archbishop Parker's performance of the duties of an editor, will go far to lower the high literary reputation which Parker has hitherto enjoyed.

"Interlude concerning thre Laws." His death, which is usually placed in 1563, could hardly have occurred so soon, for in that year Barnaby Googe addressed him, in his "Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonnets," as "good aged Bale," who still persisted to "turn the painful book." About that time, however, he died, not without having been of good service to his generation in spite of his many blemishes.

Bale's controversial work was for his own time, and bore in exaggerated characters the faults of his day, but his literary work was for all time. Useless as a bishop among the untaught kerns of Kilkenny, he was highly useful as a patient antiquary, snatching from imminent destruction the priceless records of old English lore. For this merit even his enemies might pardon his bitter gibes, and for this we commend him to the gratitude of our readers.

GEORGE G. PERRY.



CHOLERA.

THERE is no stronger sign that the change through which the practice of medicine has for some years been evidently passing, is on the whole sound and healthy, and therefore likely to be fruitful of advantage to the public, than the disposition its leading promoters have shown to take the laity into their confidence. We do not think we shall be far wrong in attributing the first, and certainly by much the most important, step in this direction to one of the most eminent among the many distinguished men sent out in the early part of the present century from the Royal School of Bury St. Edmund's, Sir Thomas Watson. His "Principles and Practice of Medicine," published, we believe, in 1841, differed strangely from any medical book which had appeared for many years. A man could absolutely read and understand it. The simplicity of his descriptions, the avoidance, as far as possible, of abstruse technicalities, and, above all, the strength and clearness of his style, make his book not only not repulsive, but highly attractive to an educated reader. It may be noted, as a significant fact, that Dr. Watson did not intrust the publication of his work to one of the medical booksellers, as they are called, but to Mr. John William Parker. No doubt he felt it to be of not only professional, but literary excellence. Few persons are aware of how much they owe to a work of this kind. The most common-

place country practitioner, if he only has sense enough to find out what is the matter with his patient, may learn of Dr. Watson how to treat him. As several large editions of it have been sold, it is probable that the work has been extensively used in this manner. Of the care and pains bestowed by this great physician to make his teaching as accurate as possible, we are about to present our readers with a signal and most instructive example.

We refer to the history of his treatment of cholera. But in order to make what we have to say on the subject intelligible, we must begin by giving a short sketch of the nature of the disease, and the various methods of treatment which have been adopted by medical men. It will be found singularly illustrative of the low state in which the science of medicine has been for many years past. How low that state has been may be fairly gauged by medical writings such as those of so accomplished a physician as Dr. Greenhill, who, although our own Sydenham had long ago taught "*naturæ in curando multum relinquendum*," serenely talks of the "erroneous doctrine of the *vis medicatrix naturæ*."* May we, in passing, recommend the earnest attention of young students in medicine to the writings of Sydenham? Many of his theories and remedies are no doubt obsolete, but the good sense and candour of his reasoning, and the pithy shrewdness of many of his apophthegms, as well as the simplicity and success of his treatment in many of those numerous cases which demand judicious regulation of diet and way of life more than drugs, make his work a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὶν* to the craft.† It is no bad compliment to Sir Thomas Watson to say that we can never read his great work without being struck with his resemblance to Sydenham. But to return.

Asiatic cholera has, we believe, not been known under that name to English practitioners for more than half a century,—at least, we cannot find that their attention was directed to it in India before about 1817, although it can scarcely be doubted that it had long devastated the East. Whether it be the same disease as was known to the mediciners of the ancient world under the name of cholera, we cannot tell. But there is at least great similarity. Thus we read of *moist* and *dry* cholera (*ὑγρὰ* and *ξηρὰ*), and the latter is explained as being "without vomitings or purgings." We also find the following definition of it:—

"Cholera is an acute attack of biliary vomiting and alvine evacuations, accompanied with cramps in the calves of the legs and coldness of the extremities. The pulse also grows weak and dull."

* "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography," vol. i. p. 661.

† Take as an example the way he dealt with a hypochondriacal patient of studious and sedentary habits.—*Works*, p. 158, ed. 1685.

Warm baths, doses of olive-oil, and other gentle methods of treatment, are recommended. One physician (Aretacus) cautions his brethren "not to stop the discharges at first, but to encourage them, by giving frequently some tepid water, and, when attended with *formina* and coldness of the feet, to apply to the belly hot oil of rue, and to rub the legs to restore heat." In our own country we are told that towards the end of the summer of 1676—

"The *cholera morbus* was raging, and, owing to the unusual heat of the weather, brought with it convulsive symptoms severer and of longer duration than had been observed before. Not only the abdomen, but the muscles of the whole body, particularly of the arms and legs, were attacked with spasms of most terrible violence, so that the patient would again and again leap right out of bed."

Sydenham seems puzzled how to deal with the disease. To use cathartics he compares to pouring oil on fire, while, if the poison be retained in the system by narcotics and astringents, the patient must, he says, "die of the intestine war." So, with his usual caution, he proceeds to give what he calls *media ria*. This method is too technical to give in detail, but two points deserve noting. One is, that it does not appear to have struck him that cholera implied, to start with, any loss of the constituents of the blood, since he objects to the use of astringents, expressly on the ground that, by prolonging the disease, you enable the "vicious humours" to reach the whole mass of the blood. The other, that he warns the practitioner, not until the patient has been exhausted "*romitu ac dejectionibus*" lasting ten or twelve hours without intermission, and when the extremities are quite cold, "*omissis aliis quibuscunque auxiliis recto cursu ad sacram hujus morbi anchoram, laudanum, confugere.*"*

These citations lead us, as we have said, to infer that, if not absolutely identical, the old forms of cholera and that which we now term Asiatic are at least very much alike. Of the history of the complaint, from the seventeenth century to our own times, we know nothing. But it is now nearly forty years since the report of an outbreak of cholera of Oriental type alarmed Europe. Russia, Germany, France, England, and, above all, Spain, were visited by this awful scourge. After it had somewhat passed over, a storm of a different kind deluged the community. It literally rained pamphlets. Dozens of them remain stored up in the University Libraries, each proposing its panacea for the complaint. In January, 1832, an enterprising publisher started what he called *The Cholera Gazette*. This unsavoury periodical did not last more than two or three months; but it contains some authentic and useful records of cases. An eccentric tract called "What is Cholera?" written by a

* Works, p. 177, ed. 1685.

Bengal officer, gives some curious information about what the author had seen of the complaint in different parts of India. He asserts that no remedies he had known used proved so effectual as mild aperients, administered at as early a stage of the disease as possible. He strongly insists, also, on its proceeding from poisoned air and bad food, especially hermetically-sealed meat and vegetables. This last assertion must be taken for what it is worth; but it deserves inquiry, now that preserved food is so much pressed on the market. Most of the pamphlets we have had the unhappiness of perusing seem to fail in a particular which, to lay eyes, seems more important than any other. They scarcely touch the pathology of the disease. All sorts of empirical remedies are suggested. Bleeding, cold water, brandy, ammonia, musk, carbonic acid gas, tobacco injections, calomel, essential oils, burnt cork, opium, mustard cataplasms, are only a few among many. Some odd things occur among the cases. One gentleman, he of the carbonic acid gas, records that, visiting a patient in a hospital, and

“Observing in the ward some bottled porter, the allowance of one of the other patients, and thinking that the individual attacked had but a short time to live, he immediately ordered the cork to be drawn, and made him take a large draught. The effect was almost instantaneous, for the patient, throwing himself back and drawing a deep inspiration, began to revive, and reaction took place almost as quickly as the collapse had come on.”

This genial remedy would no doubt be acceptable to the multitude. But we do not see that it proves much in favour of carbonic acid gas. Probably by a mere accident it chanced to suit the particular case. No doubt there were many such. One remarkable one was told us by a clergyman of high standing, who in early life spent many years in India. There he lived near a brother, a medical man. A servant of this gentleman was taken very ill with cholera. When he went out in the morning to see his patients, he left a phial of brandy, with orders that it might be given to the sufferer from time to time. So sure, however, was he that recovery was impossible, that at the same time he gave some orders about the funeral, so that there might be no delay. On his return he asked whether the man was living. Yes. Had he taken the brandy? Yes, all of it. He went to him, and sure enough there stood the bottle empty, but happening to take out the cork, behold he smelt *vinegar*. Cases of this kind prove nothing. It appears to be pretty well made out that bleeding frequently answered in India, but that cold drinks did harm. In England recovery seems to have often followed copious draughts of cold water. The physicians of Mataro declare that of 1,000 persons attacked, and treated with carbonic acid gas, only about sixty died. But, as has been said, few of the many writers on the subject attempt to

investigate the pathology of the malady. Mr. Parkin tries it, with what success we are not able to say. So does Mr. John George French, who states the result he arrives at in a form to which we desire to draw the attention of our readers. He lays down, among others, the following propositions:—

“That the alimentary canal becomes subjected to a process which altogether supersedes digestion, and by this process a large quantity of fluid is produced by an excretion which rapidly diminishes the bulk of the blood. That this constitutes the disease.”

Mr. French proceeds to assert that the blood is diminished in quantity and altered in quality. He insists, however, on the “extreme probability of the utility of the choleraic discharges.” It would have been well for mankind had subsequent practitioners placed equal confidence in the salutary effect of the operations of nature. But, adopting the notion that the worst symptoms of cholera are due to the drain of fluid from the blood, they set to work to stop this drain, forgetting that even were the theory true, the said fluid in so foul and poisonous a state could not do the blood much good. So now the cry was all for astringents and sedatives. The worst effects followed this method of treatment. The loss of life under it in the outbreak of 1854 was terrible, so terrible that Dr. George Johnson, one of the physicians attached to King’s College Hospital, struck, we may indeed say horrified, at the deadly consequences which ensued on the prevailing remedies, boldly returned to the old-fashioned purgatives. The drug he chiefly employed was castor-oil. Under his hands a large proportion of the patients intrusted to his care speedily recovered, and he was induced to publish an account of his success in the *Medical Times*. So far there was nothing to distinguish his case from that of his predecessors. He had met with a remedy which appeared successful in a number of cases. That was all. Nothing was proved. But the instructive part of the story remains to be told. The ignorant outcry which arose from a section of his brethren at his heretical proceeding, spurred him on to a thorough investigation of the pathology of the complaint. In the following year (1855) he gave to the world a full account of the results of his inquiry. From that day to this no one has ventured to attack his pathology. If any one can do this with success, his theory, of course, falls to the ground; but until this comes to pass, it will be hard to persuade the lay world that his treatment is not reasonable and right.

The gist of the matter appears to lie in his new theory of collapse.* Every reader, we imagine, knows what is implied by *collapse* in

* We are a good deal indebted for the following account to a paper on “Cholera” in *Once a Week*, July 11, 1868.

cholera. The patient lies utterly exhausted—so utterly, sometimes, that the processes by which nature tries to expel the poison cease altogether. Then, and then only, the result is certain. The patient dies. So long as the discharges continue, there is a gleam of hope; that is to say, “if the vital movements can be kept up till the process of expulsion is complete, and there has been no permanent damage of vital parts, the poisoned man recovers.” Now Dr. Johnson says that the “state of choleraic collapse results from a peculiar arrest of the flow of blood through the lungs, occasioned by a morbid poison.” He proceeds to maintain that “the poisoned blood so excites the contractile walls of the minute arteries of the lungs as to greatly impede the circulation through these organs, and in some cases to arrest it entirely.” The arrest, then, is not due to the thickening of the blood, but to the *narrowing of the channels through which the blood passes*. When, in examining the body of a person who has died of cholera, the blood is found black, the reason is not that serum has been withdrawn from it, but that it has not been exposed in the lungs to the current of air which turns it red. It is also found that the left chambers of the heart, the duty of which is to receive the blood from the lungs, are left nearly or quite empty. It is evident that the blood has been somehow or other stopped just before reaching the place where, in the natural order of things, the air of heaven, coming on it in the form of *breath*, would refresh and redden it.

A very curious and interesting question succeeds. What force causes the contraction which thus arrests the flow of blood through the small arteries? Dr. Johnson’s researches enable us to answer this inquiry also, and a most brilliant light the answer throws on the “fearful and wonderful” mechanism of the body:—

“The minute arteries throughout the body, having their walls mainly composed of circular contractile fibres, possess the power of regulating the blood-supply to the various tissues and organs. They are self-acting stop-cocks. The rapid changes in the colour of the face under the influence of mental emotion—the pallor of fear and the flush of anger or of shame—are due to the regulating influence of these arterial stop-cocks.”

Restore, then, their proper action to these stop-cocks, and the patient is well. That is to say, get rid of the poison as soon as you can. How this demand is to be met by astringents and opiates imprisoning the venom, or soothing the natural outlets of the body into a deadly slumber, is hard for the lay mind to understand. On this principle, the longer a master keeps a boy in school, or the more impositions he gives him, the more leisure the happy youth will have for cricket. At present, we fear, he fails *sua bona nosse*; and so, we apprehend, will the patient who, having strong poison hard at work

in his belly, is told to pen it in with chalk, laudanum, and brandy. Yet this is the reasoning of the bulk of the medical profession. They have Dr. Johnson's pathology before them; they cannot, they don't even try to overthrow it, but pettishly cry him down, and persist in the astringent and narcotic treatment. This is not due so much to ignorance, as to that foolish pride which refuses to be taught for fear of losing credit for infallibility.

We venture to speak thus severely of the temper in which Dr. Johnson's researches have been received by medical men, because the proper course was clear. Either advance and prove, by adequate investigation, a different theory, or else accept the one propounded, and the consequent treatment. It is notorious that few practitioners have adopted either alternative. Most of them appeal to cases in which purgatives apparently fail. Cases *proce* nothing. We heard only a few weeks since of an eminent physician advising a man to take cholera as a thesis for an essay to be written for his M.B. degree, "because," said he, "we none of us know what to do for it." What was he about, that in all these years he had not so applied his mind to the subject as, in a summer like this, to be ready either to follow Dr. Johnson, or, on grounds satisfactory to himself, adopt some other method? Such idleness, or stupidity—let him take which he will—is the more blameworthy, because very different has been the course pursued by authorities to whom any physician might well listen. Drs. McCloy and Robertson gave eliminative treatment a fair trial at Liverpool:—

"It was far more successful than the opposite plan in all stages of the disease. The mortality from cholera in 91 cases treated by opiates and astringents was 71 per cent. In 197 cases treated by castor-oil without stimulants the mortality was 30 per cent."

Sir Thomas Watson has from the first viewed Dr. Johnson's theory with candour. With the docility inseparable from genius, he at once took interest in it, and sedulously applied his mind to see whether he was wrong—for he had given different advice in his book—or his friend and pupil. Having come to the conclusion that he was himself in error, he, at the head of his profession, and more than seventy years of age, writes a paper in the *Saturday Review*,* the authorship of which he acknowledges without scruple, and in which he declares that Dr. Johnson's explanation of the symptoms of collapse is "quite original, highly ingenious, extremely interesting, and most ably supported." More than that, we find him, in preparing a new edition of his "Principles and Practice of Medicine," not content with re-writing his chapter on cholera, but sending a copy

* June 2nd, 1866. The paper has been published in a separate form, and, we need not say, deserves perusal.

of it to the *British Medical Journal*, in order that his recantation may be known as widely as possible. Of such conduct it is impossible to speak too highly. We therefore regret beyond measure—not for Sir Thomas Watson's sake, for the praise or blame of the *Lancet* must be to him a matter of total indifference, but for its own—to find in a paper so extensively read by the profession as the *Lancet*, in the account of the proceedings of the late meeting of the British Medical Association, such a passage as the following:—

“Equally pungent were the remarks of Professor Haughton on the pathology and treatment of Asiatic cholera; and it may here be remarked, that the very large and distinguished audience emphatically cheered the lecturer's words.* He expressed great regret that an authority so distinguished as that of Sir Thomas Watson should have been enlisted, for no apparently sufficient reason, on the side of the cholera theory of Dr. Johnson, which teaches that we must assist nature to eliminate the morbid matters.”—*Lancet*, August 29th, 1868.

This learned professor, we are informed, proceeded further, amid “a storm of laughter and cheers,” to denounce that “metaphysical figment, Mother Nature,” and to express his doubts whether “the venerable female in question might not, after all, be only a *stepmother* with very bad principles and temper.” Ribaldry of this kind will not affect the public estimate of the value of Sir Thomas Watson's advice or Dr. Johnson's theory. But if it be true—we really can hardly credit it—that such stuff was received with applause by a distinguished body of medical men, it is a sad sign of the unsatisfactory tone of feeling prevalent in the profession. As for the reverend personage who uttered it, we can only say that if he be a fair sample of the sort of men who are made Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, the sooner Professor Fawcett's motion is carried the better. That institution must sadly need fresh air. For our own part, and on the part of the public, we commend Sir Thomas Watson's example to his brethren; and, in doing so, are bold enough to say that his noble frankness on this occasion throws into the shade even the great services he had already rendered to the sick and suffering.

THOMAS MARKBY.

* We do not find it easy to understand Professor Haughton's pathology. We write from the *ignoramus* point of view, and he uses much harder words than Sir Thomas Watson or Dr. Johnson. Indeed, the wise men of Oxford must have felt they were listening to “as brave words as you shall see in a summer's day.” But we strongly suspect that, but for Dr. Johnson's discoveries, they would have heard nothing from the learned professor of “constriction,” probably vaso-motor nervous, “of the capillaries.” If this be so, his remarks gather a powerful additional pungency.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

An Examination of some of the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament. Five Sermons preached before the University of Dublin. By J. H. JELLETT, B.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy.

PROFESSOR JELLETT'S Sermons deal with a subject on which most clergymen at least in Ireland, are afraid to touch; a subject which, if the author had, wished to attain the advantageous reputation of being a *safe* man, he had better have avoided. It is well, however, for the interests of truth, that there are a few men whose natural hardihood sets them above the calculation of consequences; and it is also well that there should be positions in which such men may indulge their natural hardihood without much fear of consequences. How long the Church, whether in England or in Ireland, will retain the advantage of having some of her most thoughtful ecclesiastics protected by the immunities of a secular position in the ancient universities, it is impossible to predict: let us be thankful for it so long as it is spared to us by modern liberality. The divorce of learning and of learned security from religion looms threateningly in the distance.

The key-note of these remarkable and powerful Sermons is struck in a passage towards the end of the first, which our readers will not quarrel with us for extracting:—

“My younger brethren, and more especially you who are one day to be preachers yourselves, I hope that you will not forget that, in your religious studies, as in all other studies, your first great object should be Truth; and that, if you allow any one of the other questions, important as they are,—‘Is it popular?’ ‘Is it useful?’ ‘Is it safe?’—to take in your mind precedence of the one great question, ‘Is it true?’—you are wrong. And, believe me, you will not attain truth, if you deliberately mutilate the evidence on which it rests. And if you insist on deciding questions purely on the internal verdict of your moral nature, or purely on the external evidence of testimony and miracle, you are deliberately mutilating the evidence on which truth rests. If you do so, you may write very clever sermons, you may become the luminaries of a party, but you are not the apostles of truth. Let me say to you, too, that the opposing errors of the present day have no more fruitful source than this mutilation. If one class of men were more ready to give to *external* evidence its due weight, we should have much fewer infidels. If another class were more ready to give to *internal* evidence its due

weight, many of the monstrous theories which are the reproach of Christianity would, long since, have passed into oblivion.

"Man can be placed in no more terrible dilemma than when he finds the teaching which his intellect has deduced from Scripture at variance with what his conscience has taught him to be the laws of honour and of justice. I know that it is customary with preachers to try to stifle such difficulties by general denunciations of human pride, which will not consent to be taught of God. You may tell your congregations all that, my brethren, and they may not oppose you; but in their heart of hearts they will not believe it. For it is not true."

It is in fully recognising the necessity of applying *both* these tests—of requiring *both* kinds of evidence, the external and the internal—of sacrificing neither to the other, that the great merit of this volume consists. How this is done, our readers will best learn by perusing it. It would be unjust to its author to garble or abridge his reasoning.

We would, however, suggest to its author that another view may be taken with regard to the story of Jael and Deborah, which will equally remove the difficulty arising from Deborah's approbation of an act of murderous treachery. Professor Jellet seems to have adopted—probably unconsciously—that view of inspiration which makes it synonymous with infallibility. If these terms are not assumed to be convertible (which they never are in Scripture)—if, in other words, degrees in inspiration be admitted according to the more or less advanced stage, intellectual and moral, of its recipients—the difficulty which Professor Jellet seems to feel so strongly would seem to vanish. Lofty ideas of morality are, perhaps, the latest development of spiritual insight: the Sermon on the Mount could emanate from no less perfect a preacher than the Christ. It is not hard to suppose that the Spirit may have been given partially and by measure to those who went before Him, according as they and their hearers were able to bear it. If so, we need not doubt that it *was* given them, even when they had not as yet been "led into all the truth." Indeed, this view of the imperfect and progressive enlightenment of all previous organs of the Deity seems to have been deliberately adopted by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; for his exordium is an appeal to the Jewish Christians in favour of Christ, on the very ground that He, being the Son of God, must have been a more perfect representative of His Father's will than any of those mere servants by whom God had spoken only partially and variously (*πολυμέρως καὶ πολυτρόπως*) to their ancestors. Adopting this view, we at once perceive how many of the difficulties of the Old Testament yield to it. Mr. Thomas Scott would never have wished to falsify either the text or the grammar (in 1 Kings ii. 9) by introducing or understanding a negative particle in the last part of the verse, had he realized the fact that David on his death-bed, when directing Solomon how to deal with Shimei, was not as perfect an organ of God's Spirit as the Son of David. Nor would large sections of the Church of Christ have gone back to the "weak and beggarly elements" (Gal. iv. 9) for their highest and most authentic guides of action, had they recollected that the Old Testament is mainly the history of the progressive education of a divinely-chosen race in spiritual and moral knowledge and conviction.

Once admitted, this fruitful principle not merely explains a multitude of difficulties which, on Professor Jellet's plan, must be got rid of by denying *all* inspiration in certain cases, but affords (incidentally) powerful corroborative evidence of the great distance in time which separates the earlier from the later portion of the Old Testament, and therefore of the antiquity and probable authenticity of those earlier books whose antiquity and authenticity are chiefly called in question. The *moral* gulf which separates the earlier books from the Prophets is a measure of the *temporal* interval between them.

With respect to the sacrifice of Isaac and the extermination of the Canaanites, Professor Jellet's discussion seems, to the present writer, entirely satisfactory. In the three Sermons on the latter subject, thoughtful readers will detect lurking, perhaps unconsciously, the germ of the principle above stated. Only one sentence in the Sermon on the first of these topics I cannot quite accept. Professor Jellet thinks that the right of the Creator to order the sacrifice of Isaac "is still more clear, if Isaac himself consented to it." That Isaac was a consenting party is almost certain, if the narrative is to be accepted as in any way historical. But it is difficult to see how his consenting to his own death

should give a clearer right to the Deity to command his death. Either the Deity had that right or He had not. If He had not, Isaac's consenting would have only involved him, too, in the guilt of an unlawful act; it would have been of the nature of suicide. If He had, Isaac's consent was no more necessary than the consent of any criminal to his own capital punishment. The idea that Isaac consented to be sacrificed is not necessary to justify God, but it is necessary to remove the intolerable conception of an agonizing struggle between the father and the son, and to raise the whole transaction into a fit emblem of the Great Sacrifice, which evinced both the exceeding love of God to man and the entire resignation of God's Son to His Father's will.

The thanks of all sober archaeologists, as well as of all devout Christians, are due to Professor Jellett for his absolutely conclusive demolition of Comte's desperate hypothesis to account, on his system, for the origin of Jewish Monotheism. It might seem hardly worth the trouble he has bestowed upon it in his Appendix. It is like breaking a butterfly upon a wheel. But there are so many in these days who choose to believe in Comte's *outrance*, that a demonstration of the falsity of his great theory in one crucial instance must be useful. The bigotry of unbelief will probably, however, like the bigotry of superstition, quietly ignore what it may be inconvenient to answer. For philosophers, after all, are but men.

Apart from its results, one chief use of Professor Jellett's book is, that it tends to make its readers think; and to think, as too few do on religious subjects, correctly, as well as fearlessly and honestly. C. P. R.

Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of Little Children. Edited by WILLIAM LOGAN, Author of "The Moral Statistics of Glasgow," &c. Fifth Edition, enlarged, Thirteenth Thousand. London: Nisbet & Co. 1868.

THIS charming book, now extended to a thick volume of 560 pages, originally sprung out of a bereavement, which has indeed brought forth choice fruit. Mr. Logan has brought together an ample collection, from writers English and foreign, in prose and verse, of passages which could bear on this subject; and has prefixed to all an Historical Essay, by Dr. Anderson of Glasgow, on Infant Salvation. The large diffusion of the volume is of itself testimony of the truth of our recommendation, when we say that it is one which would form a precious gift to bereaved friends, and would be admitted into counsel with the wounded heart, at a time when almost all words, written and spoken, are worthless. Higher praise could hardly be given. H. A.

Genesis; or, The First Book of Moses, together with a General, Theological, and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D. Translated from the German, with Additions, by Professor TAYLOR LEWIS, M.D., and A. GOSMAN, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1868.

THIS is the first volume of a colossal undertaking, *sc.*, a commentary on the whole Bible, translated, with copious additions, from Dr. Lange's "*Bibel Werk*," by Dr. Philip Schaff and other theologians. Genesis alone, with the Introduction, occupies a thick volume of 665 pages. It is obvious that this implies a hyper-Teutonic industry, and, as with all Dr. Lange's exegetical works, there is brought together a vast mass of materials which none but a man of real erudition could accumulate. But we must add also that the wordiness and prolixity which mar the excellence of his other books seem to outdo themselves in this, and the editors of this portion of his work (two American clergymen) seem to have thought that what he needed was not an unsparing use of the pruning-knife, but copious and manifold additions. And so it comes to pass that while nearly all worth reading in the way of criticism or exegesis is to be found somewhere, it is overlaid with mountains of homiletic rubbish from the dust-heap of unburied sermons. These may seem, perhaps, hard words, but the following extracts will, we think, be accepted as a justification of them.

1. On Gen. xxvii. 1—4:—

"Isaac's infirmity of age and his faith. (1) In what manner the infirmity of age obscured his faith; (2) how faith breaks through the infirmities of age. Isaac's blindness. The sufferings of old age. The thought of age, (1) though beneficial in itself,

(2) may yet be premature.—The hasty making of wills.—We must not anticipate God.—Not act in uncertainty of heart.—The preference of the parents for the children different in character from themselves.—The connection of hunting and the enjoyment of its fruits with the divine blessing of promise, (1) incomprehensible as a union of the most diverse things; (2) comprehensible as a device of human prudence; (3) made fruitless by the interference of another spirit."

2. On Gen. xiv. :—

"Abraham has not only, in his faith, a heroism and self-sacrifice which overcomes the world, he has also the heroic strength and spirit. His servants are men trained to arms. He knew that in an evil world one needs defence and weapons, and must be armed. In his warfare with the world, he does not despise an honourable alliance with those who, in a religious point of view, may have different ways of thinking from himself. Indeed, he acts throughout in the true hero-spirit. The rapid, instantaneous onset, the well-ordered and irresistible charge, the out-marching and flanking of the enemy, the falling upon him by night, the fierce pursuit to the very utmost, to the completed result, these are the original, fundamental laws of all intelligent warfare."

3. On Gen. xl. :—

"How mightily misfortune takes away the distinction of rank. Joseph has not only the heart's gift of sympathy for the unhappy, but also that open-hearted self-consciousness that fits him to associate with the great."

Since the days of the twenty-two volumes of Simeon's "*Horn Homileticæ*" there has been no such weariness of the flesh. What it will be to have every book of the Bible dealt with on the same scale, and with the same tendency to "critical" reflections (our readers will recollect Swift's essay), we shrink from contemplating. We know no writer in whose commentaries the "gold and the silver and the precious stones" are so overlaid with the "wood, hay, and stubble." And this is inherent in the faulty nature of the plan as well as in the want of perception, the predominance of what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call Philistinism, in the mode of execution. The comments on every chapter are arranged as follows: (1) "Preliminary remarks"—generally an expansion of the chapter headings; (2) "Exegetical and critical," for the most part well worth consulting, bringing together, as we have said, the results of the labours of recent critics, chiefly Keil, Delitzsch, Knobel, Bunsen, Hengstenberg, travellers, archaeologists, and the like, a serviceable *Synopsis Criticorum* of the nineteenth century. (3) "Doctrinal and ethical;" generally weak and washy, and expanding largely into the commonplace. (4) As if this were not enough, "homiletical and practical," made up chiefly from German writers of the calibre of Matthew Henry and Scott, but without the raciness of the former, with the addition of the dry bones of skeleton sermons, and little "purple patches" from the garments in which they have been clothed.

It need hardly be said that Dr. Lange's commentary is written professedly from the *stand-point* of orthodoxy. And it is interesting to note that in summing up the results of recent controversies as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, he does not hold himself bound "to attribute to Moses all the five books of Moses in their present form," but adopts the theory that a large mass of materials were left, partly by him, and partly inherited from an earlier age, and that they underwent one or more recensions during the prophetic period, and so assumed their present Pentateuchal form. He urges, and we think with reason, that "the frequent quotation of Mosaic passages in the prophets may certainly prove the existence of such written originals, not, however, the existence of the respective books in their present form." The failure to perceive the limits of the inference from such passages is, it seems to us, the weak point of books like Dr. William Smith's and Dr. McCaul's, in answer to Bishop Colenso's arguments in favour of a late origin for the whole.

Would it be possible for the enterprising publishers of this book, to whom Exegesis owes more than to any other "house" in Great Britain, to reconsider their plan, to republish the Commentary on Genesis, with the critical and exegetical notes, and a few of the best of the doctrinal and ethical, and then to publish the other books in sequence on the reduced scale? If they do this, they will render an essential service to the cause of a thorough study of the Bible, and might almost take the wind out of the sails of the long-expected, long-delayed "*Speaker's Commentary*," as far, at least, as the clergy are concerned.

Otherwise, we must say with regret, that the demands which the whole Commentary will make both on the time and the pockets of readers will prevent its having any wide circulation, and that so far as it is read, it will tend to flood us with the vapid, diluted rhetoric of second-hand enlargements of second-rate meditations.

II.

Light and Truth; or, Bible Thoughts and Themes. Old Testament. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co. 1868.

A NEW book from Dr. Bonar's pen cannot but give pleasure and profit to many readers. And in this one they will find no disappointment. These "Thoughts and Themes" are merely simple discourses bringing out, in the good old Christian faithful trusting manner, the instruction latent in the Old Testament narratives. It is a work thoroughly to be recommended for devotional reading.

H. A.

II.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

An Illustrated History of Ireland: From the Earliest Period. By M. F. C. With Historical Illustrations by Henry Doyle. Irish National Publications, Kenmare Convent, County Kerry. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1868. Sixth Thousand.

ONE might envy the calm untroubled confidence with which some persons are seen to pick their way through the thorns and obstructions and pitfalls that beset the literature of research; and one is tempted to ask whether in difficulties of this nature as well as in some others the female nerve is not found usually the most available and efficient. Here for instance is a lady historian who can move almost as undismayed as a modern journalist in contemporary events among the eras of chronology that might nearly be called geological, literally patriarchal at least, in the cause of dear old Ireland. With the Four Masters at her side and the *Chronicum Scotorum*, compiled so long ago as the seventeenth century Anno Domini, she knows without a misgiving when the successive colonies of Erin came ship-borne to those blessed shores. She hesitates, it is true, in regard to antediluvian Irish events as "too purely mythical," but is not so absolutely incredulous as to withhold a text properly cited to testify an immigration of that period in the account of which "the most ancient MSS. agree." "*Chronicum Scotorum*, Kal. v. f. l. 10. Anno Mundi 1599. In this year the daughter of one of the Greeks came to Hibernia . . . and fifty maidens and three men with her," p. 57. She appears to have more confidence in an occurrence purporting to be post-diluvian. "All authorities agree that Partholan was the first who colonized Ireland after the flood. His arrival is stated in the *Chronicum Scotorum* to have taken place in the sixtieth year of the age of Abraham . . . on Monday the 14th of May" (p. 58). The authoress follows up this dry scrap of record with a glowing description of what Partholan's voyage from Phœnicia must have been, and of the splendid scene that must have greeted the eyes of that ancient discoverer when he landed on Erin's green shores at Kenmare, —near her own convent therefore, by-the-by, so that she can do full justice to it by her eloquent description. This Partholan's antecedents, however, she finds had been anything but creditable. The narrative flows along very comfortably under such dates as A.M. 3500 and B.C. 1700; and in these primæval centuries we come to a fact of special interest to Englishmen, "the earliest instance of a national Convocation or Parliament in any country," namely one instituted at Tara which the "Four Masters" date B.C. 1317, but which at any rate "must have occurred some centuries before the Christian Era," p. 89. To remove however all ground of cavil, the authoress will yield somewhat to the weakness of others, and allow that "the student of Irish pre-Christian Annals may be content to commence with solid foundation as early as seven centuries before Christ," p. 89—let us say about the period of the building of Rome.

Can we wonder then that the writer is able to adduce at the close of her

volume four and a half of good solid pages of "extracts from reviews," besides six letters from as many of those prelates of Ireland who prefix the well-known cross to their names, all in warm approbation of the work and not one adverse or doubtful? In addition to these six pages of approbation there is a preface, two prefaces indeed, and neither very short, of a similar import, which could indeed have been nearly composed out of that striking postscript; which therefore was scarcely needed. In the course of the preface too there occurs in a note one more flattering testimonial, which reveals to us, what the title-page withholds, the name of Sister Francis (*sic*) Clare; while another discovery in one of the Episcopal letters enables us to add to this the good old Anglo-Irish name of Cusack. It is not always that we find in such close juxtaposition the laudatory notices of the press and the object itself of their commendation; and when this coincidence does happen, the student of modern literature has two distinct opportunities of examination before him, in the work that is criticized and the way that critics perform their work, and he will do well not to neglect either, the latter especially. We, presuming for ourselves at the present to sit among critics, must not meddle with them but confine our study to Miss Cusack's labours, from which there is much to be learnt besides the way to treat and trust chronology and "authorities."

For instance, we find a confirmation of a view we had lately occasion to notice in another lady author, whose presentation copy of "The Irish before the Conquest" Sister Francis Clare becomingly acknowledges in her preface,—the view, namely that good Saint Brendan in one of the primitive Christian centuries floated out to Virginia from Ireland on the Gulf Stream (p. 169). So here is the independent assent of two authoresses as to the probability, not to say the possibility, of such an occurrence. Again, we find it twice mentioned (pp. 294, 295) that Prince John (afterwards king), who is known to have held the county of Mortagne in Normandy, was also Earl of Montague; and also that the famous Richard de Clare, Lord of Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, was Earl of Clare, which is his ordinary title in Sister M. F. Clare's pages, but the correctness of which we must be excused if we doubt; because we happen to know that the late Sir N. Harris Nicolas, who made it his business to ascertain what an earl was in the twelfth century, staked his reputation on the assertion that such a title as Earl of Clare was not possible at that period—a period which, though hardly distinguishable from a modern date to a mind that can grasp so many past millenniums, is, we own, really antiquity in the historic peerage of England.

Most historians like to keep one eye on current things, while the other is surveying the venerable authorities, and the Conventual Sister we are studying is conspicuously one of these; but we have only space to adduce her views of Irish land tenure, a subject she must often have had occasion to investigate: and we do this the more readily from the galaxy of patronage, ecclesiastical and legal, that supports her doctrine in the presence of all Ireland. For we should notice here that besides the Episcopal array that brings up the rear of the volume, we observe on the dedication page the name of the distinguished judge (now Lord Chancellor) O'Hagan, brother of the foundress of Miss Cusack's Abbey; which is very assuring, inasmuch as there are some modern questions agitating Ireland that require a most vigilant caution and delicacy of handling, as ladies of warm feelings might easily get entangled in them; a risk which the Sister has evidently had the prudence to provide against by allowing a Queen's Counsel (Mr. John O'Hagan) to examine her proof-sheets (p. 12), so that we ought confidently to recommend those sheets to the candid perusal of loyal Irishmen. To tell the truth, we did at one passage begin to tremble for this warm-hearted historian, who felt her sympathies were leading her to the brink of a precipice; but she happily drew up in time and only wrote—"It might be treasonable to hint," &c., and when she had given us just the least clue to her heart she stopped, and ended—"so I shall not hint it." (p. 8.) No one of course could or would prove a lady's thoughts to be treason. We trace here the valuable influence of the Q.C. to whom she owns herself so much indebted for suggestions and advice. So cautious a writer, and with such patronage and such counsel, is sure to be within the bounds of propriety and incurring no risk of being accused of using inflammatory language, in thus uttering herself on the dangerous subject of the land, its possessors and its expectants:—

"It is a most flagrant injustice that Irish landlords should have the power of dispossessing their tenants if they pay their rents." (p. 23.)

"That the Irish people will eventually become the masters of the Irish property, from which every effort has been made to dispossess them, by fair means and by foul, since the Norman Invasion of Ireland, I have not the slightest doubt. The only doubt is whether the matter will be settled by the law or by the sword." (p. 30.)

In now taking leave of the "*Illustrated History of Ireland*," it would be ungracious not to call attention to the illustrations themselves, which alone would be quite enough to float a large amount of heavy antiquarianism and protracted preface; and the fortunate writer for whom Mr. Doyle draws is not likely to be one of those obliged to lament very long that the Irish priesthood are not literary (p. 16) and that few Irish ladies know anything of history (p. 4). Whether the illustrative matter will invite people to skip and choose, or whether it will enforce to a practical conclusion the valuable motto *lege totum*, we cannot undertake to give an opinion: but we do not mind stating our conviction that the pictures by themselves would form a racy pamphlet. Who could look at the generous O'Neill, the very type of an Irish chieftain gentleman, dashing unarmed on his charger through the stream to parley with proud Essex, encased every limb of him, waiting on the bank to dictate some terms from England, and not feel—there is the Land Question? Then the ghastly streets of Drogheda (A.D. 1649)—the Irish Church question. Grattan in 1782 riveting the Irish Commons with his impassioned demands for Irish Independence,—there is the Repeal question, or the—"so we will not hint it." Then the British House of Commons, A.D. 1829, with O'Connell for Clare refusing the oath, a brave picture and a stirring scene, we agree, but reminding Protestants of a very uncomfortable necessity, which is no "question" at all now, that if we have the Union we must have the Pope too: the more or less being the question. Finally we have "*Ireland and America*," the evicted wretches on one side of the page (though that policeman in the rear—pardon—must be a fib) and the transatlantic cottage on the other, where all are "happy ever after;"—the Emigration question. We would venture to suggest but one more. Let there be a specimen of that fine peasantry—one of those good-natured good-humoured "boys"—moving in the rear of a plough whose handle might have been fashioned out of a pikestaff, and the point of the share terminating in a pike-head, with an open cottage interior hard by and a BIBLE in view for "Saturday Night"; there will be the right tenant for Tenant-Right; and then we may look soon to see that dejected female beneath the old Irish cross of the title-page, with all her lovers looking on, get up herself, a cheery smiling wife, and underneath the legend—Happy at last.

C. H.

The Reformation of the Church of England, its History, Principles, and Results. [A.D. 1514—1547.] By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Kennington, Oxford; Editor of the "*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*;" Author of "*Directorium Pastorale*," &c., &c. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1868.

THIS narrative covers the reign of Henry VIII., and the writer intimates in the body of the work (there is no Preface) an intention of continuing the subject, though the volume is printed and indexed as complete in itself for the period. He considers that the history of the Henrican Reformation proves it to have been the work of the old Established Church of England herself, acting constitutionally in Convocation and by the voice of her own clergy, not at the dictation of the Crown nor under the influence of foreign Reformers; and this seems to be the ever-present thought accompanying his researches. That this is to a considerable extent true need not, we are glad to think, be disputed; but we have little doubt that his anxiety to be perpetually beholding so agreeable an ideal has misled him into positions that cannot be maintained. For example, he concludes his review of the doctrinal reformation of this reign with the remark "that its importance has been very much underrated; and that so far as it was an ecclesiastical movement it settled the doctrine of the Church of England on very nearly its present footing," p. 480. He would give Convocation the credit of having been before the King in rejecting even the Papal Supremacy; for he relates that as early as 1531 that assembly in petitioning

Henry to abolish the Church payments of annates to the Pope, urged on him that in case His Holiness should refuse consent, "*the obedience of England should be withdrawn altogether from the See of Rome.*" Mr. Blunt not only uses the italics, but adds—"This is the first appearance of such an idea in any public document: so that the first official proposal to repudiate the jurisdiction of the Pope over the English Church proceeded from the English Church itself through its representative body the Convocation of the Clergy," p. 250. He considers this position of so much importance to keep before us (it did not strike Burnet in this light) that he transfers the entire petition, which is a long one, to his text, thus enabling us to form our own judgment of the force of his conclusion; and we are bound to say that his conclusion seems to us far too large. The passage is not referring to "jurisdiction;" and Mr. Blunt's "altogether" gives a different complexion to the words of the petition, which only threaten a withdrawal of obedience as far as relates to the particular exaction under review; and this is clear from its quoting a parallel proceeding of the King of France in a similar case: the petition prays Henry (if the Pope insists on payment) "to ordain in this present Parliament that then the obedience of him and the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome; as in like case the French King withdrew his obedience . . . and arrested by authority of his Parliament all such annates." The concluding words explain the extent and application of the menace.

Influenced, it may possibly be, by an exaggeration of this same idea, Mr. Blunt evidently considers that the doctrinal reform of Henry VIII.'s reign, as far as it was expressed by responsible ecclesiastical authority, was sufficient. It does not follow however that he means to say our present code of doctrine is too far advanced as compared with that; by no means: but that our present doctrinal position and the one achieved before the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth are in agreement. He says that in the "Ten Articles of Religion" of 1536 "there is not a word which is inconsistent with the principles of the Church of England as interpreted in modern times by her most learned divines" (p. 487). The observation indeed is made after a separate review of the last five of them, and it is limited to those. He however makes a similar remark at p. 480, as quoted above, in reference to the whole doctrinal reform of the reign. Another historian of the English Reformation, the late Professor J. J. Blunt of Cambridge, is far more cautious. The *Ten Articles*, he says, "rather indicate that a Reformation was abroad than that it was achieved:" and again *The Institution of a Christian Man* shows "that much still remained for the Reformers to do:" and once more, Henry VIII. bequeathed to Cranmer "a Church which was little better than a ruinous heap; its revenues dissipated, its ministers divided, its doctrines unsettled, its laws obsolete," &c. In such a trenchant sentence we pretty plainly see to what extent the Professor was feeling "its doctrines unsettled."

It is therefore no matter of surprise to us that Mr. J. H. Blunt manifests the utmost impatience of many of those worthies whose names are familiar to us in the suffering cause of the English Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII.: in his eyes they were rather marrers of it and deserved for their pains nearly as much as they got. Had he been a Roman Catholic writer he could not have expressed for them more unfeeling contempt. Of one of the number writes Latimer—"I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God" . . . who with Mr. J. H. Blunt is "Bilney bringing about his condemnation and death by a kind of recklessness in sowing religious discontent and sedition, which came within the then current definition of heresy" (p. 535), and much more, without a syllable of sympathy; and this is but a specimen of his remarks on every individual he brings to the stake. "The historian," he writes at the end, "however much he may try to be impartial, is tempted to write tenderly about them because of their piteous fate, or rather because of the manner of it" (p. 541). (Reader, please imagine the last clause italicized). And yet, though tempted, this historian does not write one tender word for them, while he has pages of tenderness to spare for the dispossessed inmates of the monasteries. "All that can be said in their favour," he adds, "is that they were among the best of their party, and that wrongheaded as they were, nothing which we should now call criminal was alleged against them." Then what must "their party" have been! He continually stigmatizes them as the "Anti-Church

party," or "Protestants," a word he never writes but in gall. "These men laid the foundations of that sectarian spirit which has been known for three centuries by the names of Protestantism, Puritanism, Nonconformity, and Dissent" (p. 523). The leader and arch-culprit of them all he considers William Tyndale (the translator of the New Testament). The truculent "Act of the Six Articles," he says, "was the strictest law ever passed respecting Protestant Dissenters" (p. 543). We need scarcely add that Wyclif—whom we must now no more think of as the "Morning Star of the Reformation"—is spoken of in coarse terms. Cardinal Wolsey is made the true Reformer of the Church of England, and the hero—the only one—of Mr. Blunt's book. The reader, as he peruses the pleasant account of the old monastic system of England and its violent suppression by Henry, which before he comes to the concluding portion of the work he will feel himself interested in, will stand doubly on his guard as to the allowance he must make for bias and animus.

We venture to say that if Mr. J. H. Blunt's pages truly portray the product of the English Reformation, if the Church that came out of that great movement is now fairly represented by his account of its doctrines and his tone in regard to other Christian bodies in England, or if from the prevalence of such publications this should come to be the popular view of the case, the time will be much shorter than is spoken of ere we see extant another edition of that disestablishment and disendowment of religious foundations which he has so graphically narrated, and there will be somewhat more heard of "greater" houses following the fate of "lesser."

C. H.

A Light on the Historians and on the History of Crowland Abbey. With an Account of Burgh (now Peterborough) in the Time of the History which is called the Ingulfus. By HENRY SCALE ENGLISH. London: John Russell Smith. 1868.

THE author introduces himself to the public as the writer of a book that came out anonymously some forty years ago, which he is now heartily ashamed of and which he himself characterizes with unsparing severity. He believes himself to be now wiser and competent to write a volume of elaborate historical criticism. We wish we could flatter the honest gentleman that we agreed with him. He has evidently paid minute attention to his subject; but to execute properly the task he has undertaken demands, besides this, very considerable tact and judgment only to be acquired by thorough literary training. His unwise Preface is followed by an incoherent text, while his style is only fit to break any one of an inveterate sin of underlining and italicizing, a service this book may be warranted to perform admirably, if anything can.

C. H.

The Life of Columbus, the Discoverer of America. Chiefly by ARTHUR HELPS. Author of "The Spanish Conquest in America," "Friends in Council," &c. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

THIS undying story was sure not to suffer in such hands as those of Mr. Helps. The volume is composed of materials taken from a former work mentioned in the title, with additions, and it is intended for one of a series of biographies preparing under the author's superintendence; but for which circumstance he would probably not have undertaken a subject which Washington Irving has so satisfactorily treated in nearly as brief a compass, and whose work we think is likely to remain the popular one in the English language. The idea of Columbus as a *Crusader* appears to Mr. Helps as an anachronism (p. ix.), much as if an enthusiast of Saint Louis's day had sprung up in those selfish times. But we must not forget that the Wars of the Cross were during Christopher's lifetime filling the ear of the world once more. The advance of the Turks in the East, and the retreat of the Moors in the West were the great facts of the age: Columbus heard of the capture of Constantinople and witnessed the surrender of Granada. The Moslem faith which had resisted the vassalled feudalism of the middle age was advancing on the one hand to cope with the rising monarchism of the Modern Times, while retiring before it on the other; and the defence of old Christendom as well as the winning of a new one out of the ocean was the most certain enterprise and would be the most natural dream of the mystic genius. Even Charles VIII. thought it worth while to profess

that an assault on the encroaching Turk was the ultimate object of his daring march upon Naples. That Henry the Navigator and Christopher Columbus should have been possessed as they were with the thought of extending Christendom, and that their success in maritime discovery should have brought to pass the results they dreamed of to so great an extent and at that juncture of the world, is one of the many interesting facts for the historic student to ponder.

C. H.

Recollections of Oxford. By G. V. Cox, M.A., New College, late Esquire Bedel and Coroner in the University of Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

FEW if any could give Oxford men a pleasant volume of gossip about the old place so well as this venerable ex-Bedel, who began official life in the year Pitt and Fox died and retained his gold staff till 1866, not to mention his boyhood spent in the school and choir of Magdalen College, circumstances which fully account for his affectionate expression, "beloved Oxford," and the zest with which he records everything belonging to it that came within his ken. Each man has his own post of observation, if he will but make the best of it. Mr. Cox's was not in the interior of College circles whence he could report the deeper workings of Oxford thought during the eventful period which his chronology covers. For this we must look into many biographies and study the many letters of many men which are now coming before the public by degrees. Mr. Cox's position made him more acquainted with official Oxford, and with University rather than College life. In his pages we see Vice-Chancellors, Heads, and Professors,—Esquire-Bedels of course—and that singular official the Proctor—the man of Fellowship honours, often the most gentle and refined of beings, turned out for a year with his pair of followers to play the policeman at night against both town and gown, the dictator of the streets, holding high position in every State pageant, and having once at least to face the general assembly of the gown, and be freely told by a cloud of Undergraduates aloft—generous young fellows they are too—how they think he has used his lease of power. We are sick of all those books—"Verdant Green" for example—that try to divert freshmen and their sisters and cousins with ridiculous anecdotes of the Oxford and Cambridge gown, and if Mr. Cox's book only serves to make such fustian scarcer and to present to strangers a worthier picture of a University, it is no slight gain. And he need not be imagined heavy: he breathes all the geniality of a younger man: he never omits the *jeu d'esprit*; and while he likes to preserve Oxford dignity, he is not loath to take off its foibles, which he can do with a delicate hand. We see some of those fine old Dons and stately Scholars who are now a part of our literature, Heads of Houses and Vice-Chancellors, in their dignified perukes—like George the Third's bishops, and expecting bishoprics themselves perhaps, every man of them—passing down "the High" or sitting in their chairs of state. What a scene it is!—Wardens, Provosts, Presidents, Principals, and Deans, kings of that cloistered world: and the female Heads of Houses too, how strange they must feel, transplanted into that sphere in mature years to keep their scholar-consorts' courts and nurse their declining years, blessed some of them with youthful nieces and daughters, whose pretty forms and faces (Mary Horne's, *e.g.*, at Magdalen) are always luring some undergraduate to the likely spot for a distant view.

But it is not by any means the mere outside of things and people that Mr. Cox's pen portrays; their learning, their works, their characters and defects, from his own observation or from the public opinion of Oxford, give us plenty of thought as we read on; their preaching too, and he tells us he has probably heard more sermons than any living man, from the time when "an inexplicable concatenation of hyperbolical incongruity" was about the fashion, to the days when the Sacredness of Rubrics, the duty of Fasting, and the mystery of the Succession were the topics in vogue. We thus find a sketchy record of many worthies whom we should be sorry to miss knowing but who will never figure in biographical collections.

Mr. Cox sometimes groups his subjects, but on the whole he adopts the method of Annals, so that we find events marching before us just as we used to talk of them, hear or read of them, when we were their contemporaries. How old-fashioned now the persistent annual petitions against the Roman Catholic

claim, and against the old Reform Bill; the protest against the Diocese line, and against the Commission; how strange too to come so perpetually on the Gladstone contests: and few perhaps recollect how often he had to fight for his place, while his colleagues sat it out so quietly and found "in for Oxford always in" true for them: then too the old party fights in the Poetry Professorship after the expiry of Keble's tenure. We see once more Dr. Arnold taking Oxford by storm with his Historical Lectures: the two storms of another kind that gathered round poor Hampden,—the last of which Mr. Cox thinks fairly broke him and made him the Episcopal recluse he was to his dying day. Then the Tractarian movement moves on, and our old friends who "went over" one after the other, and flew through men's mouths, and made such startling paragraphs, and then sank into oblivion under a system in which they have got to behave themselves and hold their tongues, crop out again in Mr. Cox's journal—Mr. Allies, and Mr. Dalgairns, and Mr. Faber and his two choir-boys. Here we read afresh of Dr. Pusey getting stopped for his two years and then quietly going on again with his sermons where he left off; the famous Doctor Faussett; Mr. Ward (cool wight!) and his "Ideal"—and his sequel; and splendid Henry Newman falling down at the feet of that obscure ecclesiastic "hovering about Oxford," Father Dominic yclept (fame enough for *him* for all time to come) at Littlemore. Well, and where are we now in 1868? In the age of Doctor Littledale, and of Mr. Purchas; good Doctor Pusey unbolting all the College Chests in Oxford, and Mr. Burgon frantic, and Mr. Denison posed, and fifty thousand pounds subscribing to find out the meaning of two or three clauses in the Book of Common Prayer.

We can sincerely recommend Mr. Cox's pages to any one interested in these serious topics. He does not indeed go very deep or into minute details, but there is no partizanship to provoke one; his tone is reverent and thoughtful and loyal to his Church, his views perhaps (to borrow from the elections which are going on) "Liberal-Conservative." Nearly all his good stories will be voted worth their place and his classical quotations will be enjoyed. We should very much like to have had a little more of that *Phrontisterion* attributed to the present Dean of St. Paul's. Boating men will perhaps wonder why the annual controversy with Cambridge on the Thames is not "recollected;" but Mr. Cox's forte is music. There is one thing, however, we must press upon the author's attention: he must get some younger eyes to scrutinize his dates, as personal recollections of a contemporary are apt to be regarded as authoritative, and his apologies for inexactitude are not sufficient. Thus p. 15, Hurdis' death is given wrong; p. 70, Bandinel's election in succession to Price does not tally with the account given in Mr. Macray's "Annals of the Bodleian"—and he ought to know; p. 95, Dr. Routh was certainly not in his seventieth year in 1820; p. 140, Dr. Crotch's birth is given wrong owing to the common sin of repeating the wrong figure; p. 162, Dr. Cleaver's death wrong; p. 308, Dr. Arnold's ditto. Was not the author of the "*Rustica Academiæ*" named Allibond rather than Allibrand? p. 214.

C. H.

III.—CLASSICAL.

Isocrates. Ad Demonium et Panegyricus. Edited by J. EDWIN SANDYS, B.A., Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Rivingtons. 1868.

THE editors of the "*Catena Classicorum*" have laudably diverged from the beaten track, and furnished younger and older scholars with two excellent samples of the famous rhetoric of Isocrates. Mr. Sandys, to whose able hands they have committed the preparation of the volume, has learned, by lecturing in the early part of the present year upon the "*Ad Demonium*" and "*Panegyricus*," to gauge the requirements of undergraduates as regards their elucidation and interpretation: but he has produced a work that merits more notice than if it were got up to meet a mere temporary need, and furnished a very complete and exhaustive handbook to the style of Isocrates, deserving to

find a place amidst more pretentious and bulky volumes on the same subject. With commendable succinctness he has contrived to say all that need be said on the literary history of the "Nestor of the Attic orators," on the peculiarities of his "periodic" style, on the circumstances that called forth the two pieces included in this volume, and on collateral topics, such as the text, various readings, and editions of his author. And so ably has he conducted his annotatory work that, with the help of "Liddell and Scott" (whom he occasionally sets right), more or less advanced students will be equally able to enjoy the wonderful charm of the father of Greek rhetoric, and to make pleasant acquaintance with two of his masterpieces.

For, although little known in comparison of the far-famed "Panegyricus," the letter to Demonicus, the son of Hipponicus, whom Mr. Sandys conjectures to have belonged to the island of Cyprus, has claims to rank among the more brilliant remnants of the literary power of Isocrates. And it is a token that this was felt amongst our earlier scholars, that in the ordinances for Shrewsbury School in the twentieth year of Elizabeth's reign the head-master is directed to teach for "Greke. . . . Isocrates ad Demonicum and Xenophon his Cyrus." Doubtless it does not, nay, from its very nature could not, come up to the "Panegyricus" as a sample of highest rhetorical skill, yet there is that about it which deserves even higher praise than Mr. Sandys' qualified approval in p. xl., namely, that it forms "a tolerably brilliant and far from unattractive specimen of the ordinary principles of Grecian ethics." It is owing, no doubt, to the natural difference in the style of a "letter of good advice," and a set and elaborate oration, that so many attempts have been made to impugn the genuineness of the "Ad Demonicum;" but there is, upon Mr. Sandys' showing, no real ground for a scepticism on this point; and the chief debt which scholarship owes to the doubters is the circumstance that they have called forth a champion so well able to dispose of their objections, and in doing so, both in his introduction and foot-notes, to exhibit much critical acuteness, and to enunciate many nice points of scholarship. To tell the truth, he holds his own against Benseler, the latest and most formidable invalidator of the genuineness of this letter, with as much firmness and as many resources as, in various disputed points, he displays in differing from the dicta of Cobet, though both of these might seem like Goliaths in the field of criticism. It is a comfort to find him setting up a decided front against insufficient repudiations of a work which is contained in all the best MSS., and evidencing, by so doing, a conservative rather than a destructive bias, from which we hope great things in his future editorial efforts. Even if there were less reason to rest assured that the "Ad Demonicum" was referable to Isocrates, we should be loath to part with a work which is worthy to rank with the best treatises on heathen morals, and embodies in very striking language much of the proverbial philosophy of the Greek sages and gnomie poets.

Those who peruse the "Ad Demonicum," even without much of an eye to the Greek, will be struck as much by the similarity of the maxims communicated to those of Theognis, Menander, and other Greek poets, as by the observance of those rules of style which mark Isocratean composition. Either aspect is interesting; and the treatise accordingly recommends itself equally to the scholar and the social philosopher. There is, doubtless, a certain atmosphere of self-seeking pervading the rhetorician's moral system. It is not so high, so nearly and almost Christian, as the highest soarings of Plato or Socrates. Yet, taken for what it is, practical every-day counsel as to life and manners, the letter to Demonicus will repay attentive perusal, and supply a curious commentary on average heathen ethics. The simplicity with which it is urged that you should do good to the good, because a favour laid up with them is a treasure that will not fail you (sect. 25), is a strange contrast to the Christian teaching that we should do so, "hoping nothing again;" but though there is more than enough of this sort of time-serving morality, it is very curious to see jets and sparkles of a purer light in section 38, where Demonicus is bidden to seek a vantage-ground of power, and then to use it moderately, "so that men may see that you are aiming at justice not because of weakness, but because of equity," a precept which Mr. Sandys parallels by a fragment of Philemon, which begins—*ἀνὴρ δίκαιός ἐστιν οὐχ ὃ μὴ ἀδικῶν—ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀδικεῖν δυνάμενος μὴ βούλεται*. Still more so, a little further on, in sect. 39, where the writer recommends his

young friend to prefer those who lose in doing justly to those who gain by injustice, because οἱ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν, i.e., the just surpass the unjust, if in nought else, yet "at any rate in good hopes:" hopes, as Mr. Sandys proves by comparing Paneg. § 28 *note*, not only for the present life, but also "of happiness in an after-world."

The subject-matter of this letter is far from being deficient in interest; and illustrated and explained, as it is in the edition before us, with equal clearness and accuracy of grammar and scholarship, it ought to form an acceptable field on which to exercise pupils who have made some little progress in reading Greek.

The "Panegyricus," it is superfluous to say, is a higher flight, and worthy, on most accounts, to be called the author's most characteristic work. It is wonderful in its form and finish, and the finest sample of his most highly-elaborated eulogiums on his native land. Doubtless it betrays that love of display which argues a preference for the immediate applause of thousands to the solid results of a well-explained policy. Yet, as we read section after section, and page after page, we are filled with something of the enthusiasm that possessed contemporary Athens under the charm of his rhetoric. Indeed, we need a candid, dispassionate editor, such as Mr. Sandys proves himself, to moderate our sympathies with a writer who knew so well how to make the most of his favourable matter, and gloss over or leave out of account whatsoever could damage his case: and to remind us, as we are borne along by the eloquence of a thorough partizan, of such convenient omissions as that where, in recounting the circumstances of the battle of Salamis, Isocrates leaves out all mention of the artifice adopted by Themistocles (see Herodot., viii. 75), to compel both Athenians and Peloponnesians to fight the Persians. It is in vain to attempt to detail the many beauties of this brilliant oration, or to give a just idea of the many-sided knowledge and research which Mr. Sandys has brought to bear upon his edition of it. We have found his judgment as regards the text (which, though based on that of Benseler in the Teubner edition of 1851, is often rendered clearer by the adoption of the readings of the Zurich editors), eminently sound and persuasive: and his notes, whether on matters of grammar or derivation of words (e.g., βάρβαρος, Paneg. § 3, *note*; καιρός, Dem. § 3; εὐκρινής, Paneg. § 46, &c.), or modern counterparts of peculiarities of expression and idiom, are equally reliable and curious. In a spirit of independence, justified by his mastery of his subject, he not infrequently differs from Cobet, Benseler, and others who have gone over the ground before him; but in most cases where this difference manifests itself, we are as well convinced by his reasoning as in the case where, in Paneg. § 109, he resists Benseler's attempt to explain αἰτίαν ἔχειν of "giving occasion." The clause runs—ἀλλὰ μόνοι δὲ τῶν τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν λαβόντων περιίδε μιν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορωτέρως ζῶντας τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων. It is far safer to follow Mr. Sandys in translating the last words of this sentence, "than those who have the reputation of being slaves," than to give them a distorted meaning, which the high authority of Mr. Shilleto, as well as Mr. Sandys, declines to accept.

Nothing has been overlooked which could make this edition thoroughly readable and handy. The summaries are excellently clear; the historical notes pertinent and accurate; the citations of Madvig and other grammars, so far as we have tested them, invariably correct; and, a feature which distinguishes it from every other volume of the "Catena Classicorum," this edition is furnished with useful and copious Greek and English "indices." Altogether, the volume ranks equal with the very best of the series, and Reptonians, past and present, will be as proud as Mr. Sandys' former teacher, Dr. Pears, that it is the fruit of accuracy and scholarship acquired in that ancient seminary of sound learning.

J. D.

The Odes of Pindar. Translated into English Prose, with brief Explanatory Notes and a Preface. By F. A. PALEY, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

No one who is acquainted with Mr. Paley's editorial and translational labours will be surprised to hear that the translation of Pindar, recently published by him, is the best English version of that very difficult author. The principle

upon which he translates, namely, that literalism should be observed in every point except the reproduction of Greek idioms—"a translation which reproduces idioms" being, as he well observes, a "travestie"—insures this in a great measure; and his preference of "plain unvarnished Saxon English" as a medium of translation, to "Spenserian" or "Ballad English," or to the high-flown and rather stilted language of Mr. Dawson Turner's translation, is an additional guarantee for a natural and truthful version. So far as we know them, all the poetical versions of Pindar in English are more or less failures. The latest of them all, that by Mr. Tremenhoe, failed utterly to realise the poet's spirit and peculiar vehemence of utterance; and perhaps, until a Gray can be found who will tie himself down to reproduction of the Boeotian bard's "*numeri lege soluti*" instead of elaborating imitative Pindarics from his own mint, a prose translation is the safest and best representative we can look for of the original. This representative will serve the purpose of such as, being not classical scholars, are nevertheless curious to know something of the mind and words of Pindar, and also of such as, being scholars, find a translation useful in the clear understanding of an author so confessedly difficult. He is, as Mr. Paley says, a poet who will repay "the work and study of years;" and the translation before us is an evidence that its editor has so accounted him, for it is made up of revised copies of careful and close translations done at different times in past years, while reading with pupils.

How careful, close, and vigilantly revised these are, may be gathered by any one who will turn, for a sample, to the 6th Olympian Ode, a beautiful ode in itself, and one which, having some difficulties and many doubtful phrases, is a very apt field for skill and tact in translation. We are scarcely launched in this ode before we come upon the words—

τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον
κῆνος ἀνὴρ, ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων ἀστών ἐν ἱμερταῖς αἰδαῖς;—

a passage which Mr. Dawson Turner mistranslates, "What praise can that man avoid, if he meet with the sweet songs of unenvying citizens?" Mr. Paley rightly connects *ἐπικύρσαις* with the genitive *ἀστών*, and makes *ἐν ἱμερταῖς αἰδαῖς* depend on *ἀφθόνων*: "Such a one cannot fail to be the theme of song if his lot has fallen among citizens that have no jealousy against much-coveted strains." This is a much truer rendering of the words in question, and the next line, *ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πιδίλῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων*, squares, as Mr. Paley has seen, with this interpretation; the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ πιδίλῳ* referring to the jealousy above alluded to—a jealousy which Agesias cannot hope to be exempt from, but which will not be unserviceable to his fame and fortunes. In the forty-third line of the same ode, *ἐπ' ὠδινός τ' ἱρατᾶς* is also more correctly translated by Mr. Paley than by Mr. Turner. The latter renders it "by the yearning pang of childbirth," an interpretation of *ἱρατᾶς* which is surely inadmissible. Mr. Paley interprets "by a happy travail," and in a suggestive note refers *ἱρατᾶς* to the belief among the ancients that "divine births were rapid and easy." Perhaps the epithet might be translated "enviable" in this case. It is difficult to see how the poet can have meant, except it were indirectly or by implication, to refer the words to "a travail resulting from an amour." In another passage, where Apollo is said to answer the prayer of Iamus, the forefather of Agesias (vv. 61, 62), there has been much doubt as to the sense of the words *μετάλλασιν τε νῦν*, following *ἀντροφικίζατο δ' ἀντιπῆς πατρία ὕσσα*. Buttman and Donaldson explain it, "addressed him;" but it is hard to accept either of their modes for investing *μετάλλω* with a sense which does not elsewhere attach to it. Mr. Paley, discarding this forced interpretation, renders the words, "asked where he was," and urges the plea, that the invocation was made in the dark (*νυκτός ἐπαιθριος*), to justify this question even from a god. If this is not wholly satisfactory, it is, at all events, safer than the other. In lesser points of translation, too, Mr. Paley will be found always reliable, which is not invariably the case with his compeers. In v. 41, for example, the context forbids, even if the grammar did not, Mr. Dawson Turner's rendering *ἔρκετ*, "she brought forth," the imperfectness of the action being evidenced by the next sentence. Mr. Paley's more accurate rendering, "was taken in labour with," is much more in keeping with the sense and the syntax. He gives good reason, too, for translating *ἀπὸ γλώσσας* (v. 13) "in eloquent language," as meaning "an elaborate funeral oration," like

that in the "Supplices" of Euripides, 857, &c., instead of, as Donaldson and Dawson Turner translate it, "openly;" and even when we come on what seems at first sight a doubtful interpretation, such as *παῖδ' ἰοβόστρυχον*, "a girl with clustering auburn locks" (Ol. vi. 30), it will be found on inquiry to be as justifiable as Turner's rendering, "dark-haired;" for by comparison of v. 55, *ἰων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτῖσι*, and the notes thereupon, we gather that *ἰων* is occasionally to be taken for *λευκόν*, the wallflower or stock gillyflower, and that it has its yellow shades as well as its purple. On the 46th verse, *ἀμυφῇ ἰὼ μελισσᾶν*, "the harmless poison of bees," we wonder that a note was not given to illustrate the "oxymoron" in the words "harmless poison," and the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* involved in the qualifying word *μελισσᾶν*, which would not have been looked for because *ἐράκοντες* is the subject of *ἰθρέψαντο*, but which is still of importance because it supplies the reason why the poison was harmless. We have based our remarks upon this particular ode for the purpose of succinctness and easy reference. It is one, too, which contains a line on which Mr. Paley lays so much stress in his Preface that it can hardly be overlooked, though our space is but scanty. Those who have read Mr. Paley's Preface to his Homer in the "Bibliotheca Classica," are aware that he there doubts whether "Pindar could have known the Homeric poems in the form under which we now have them." He imports the same scepticism into the Preface and notes of his Pindar, throwing down the gauntlet very fearlessly indeed, but without fully detailing the arguments for such fearlessness, and stating his conviction, based, *inter alia*, on a passage in the sixth Olympian, that "a written literature was entirely unknown to the Greeks, even in the times of Pindar" (p. 11). Now, until Mr. Paley has shown his hand and proved his case that the art of writing was unknown up to this date, at any rate for literary purposes, it might be sufficient to fall back upon the names of Thirlwall, Mure, and others, who have with more or less weight of argument upheld the contrary opinion. But the passage on which Mr. Paley greatly relies is remarked upon in his note, p. 29, and also dwelt upon at some length in his Preface, p. xi. Æneas, the poet's messenger, is there called *ἄγγελος ὁρθός, ἡϊκόμων σκυτάλης Μοισᾶν*, or, as Paley translates, "A correct reporter, writing-staff of the fair-haired Muses." He infers thence that "Pindar's odes were not committed to writing, but orally taught to a professional trainer, who in turn instructed his chorus." "The comparison," he adds, "with a writing-staff," the *σκυτάλη* used only for brief and confidential written communications, "is pointless, if Æneas carried with him a written ode." But it seems to us that he does not allow enough for poetic and figurative usage of a word which in its strict meaning is easily enough ascertainable. The *scytale* was a roller on which a strip of leather was wound slantwise, and then written over in characters lengthwise. The writing was unwound before sending to its destination, the roller retained by the sender; and thus the message it conveyed in writing was unintelligible save to such as possessed a similar *scytale* or tally. Why should not Æneas be designated such a "scytale" in the sense of a teacher and interpreter of Pindar's ode to the chorus; and what argument for there being no transmission of a written ode can be derived from the use of a word which is distinctly connected with the use of writing? It strikes us that in this case, as in the parallel passage of Archilochus (Fragm. 77, Schneidewin), *ἀχρημμένη σκυτάλη*, the poets do call Cerycides and Æneas messengers or letters, because they bear messages or letters, and that, especially in the case of the passage of Pindar, there is an additional significance in the fact that Æneas was, in some sense, both. There is nothing more absurd in "calling an errand-boy a note, because he carries a note," than in the use of "nuncius" in Latin for "messenger" and "message;" and that which seems to Mr. Paley proof positive of oral and not written transmission of odes, singularly enough presented no such assurance, but rather the contrary, to Dr. Donaldson and to Colonel Mure, when dealing with the passage. The "scytale," in its strict interpretation, implies a considerable knowledge of written characters in educated Greeks at the time Pindar used the word; and it is surely contrary to experience that an art so capable of superseding the stress upon the memory involved in oral transmission should be long confined to short despatches, when its value would be proportionately greater for perpetuating lengthier documents.

There is much to interest readers in Mr. Paley's remarks on features of

Pindar's style—his digressions, his allusions, by way of pointing a moral, to real or mythical events—his habit of drawing frequent metaphors from the contest he is celebrating. But we are disposed to think that the attempt to play Pindar against Homer, and to import into the study of the former poet a reinforcement of the arguments which originated in Wolf's *Prolegomena*, will not greatly enhance the value of a capital translation of Pindar, or do much to settle what is, after all, a question of opinion and assertion. J. D.

IV.—TRAVEL.

The Alpine Regions of Switzerland and the Neighbouring Countries. By T. G. BONNEY, M.A., F.G.S., &c., Member of the Alpine Club. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1868.

MR. BONNEY has made ten journeys on foot over the Alps, crossed eighty mountain passes, seen every peak of importance, and explored many remote valleys, and as he has brought to his task a retentive memory, a philosophical mind, and the most laborious application, his book is full of value. In the first place it is thorough. We are told when and where it is not exhaustive. Throughout there is plenty of material and no intentional book-making. After this, to say that Mr. Bonney will deliberately work up to a pun—that his quotations are chiefly selected from the most esteemed compositions of Dr. Watts and Mr. Longfellow, and that most of his moral sentiments are not far from being commonplace, may seem no great blame. But we must further admit that although there is methodical arrangement, the book is not put together with much literary skill. Hence what is said, though frequently important, is often dull.

The geology of the Alps is no doubt interesting to a large circle of readers, but to make it readable it should have been condensed (instead of spread about over five chapters), or else expanded into the form of a regular philosophical treatise. That Mr. Bonney's descriptions of scenery are often tedious, is no more than we might expect from one who is full of his subject, but does not possess much imagination or any particular power of language. But in truth scene-painting is at all times a difficult art, and scene-painting alone almost an impossible one. Kingsley's descriptions are backed up by a good story. Ruskin is generally pleading for some spiritual or æsthetic principle. Emerson and Carlyle paint with a few Turner-esque touches which bring the scene like magic before the mind's eye, and all these writers have a supreme command of what Mr. Hutton calls "the physical atmosphere of words." Mr. Bonney cannot claim any of the above merits, and his descriptions are not much superior to the woodcuts which adorn his book. These look like copies from bad photographs. But it takes many blemishes to spoil a good book, and it must in justice be said of this, that while the Alpine traveller will find many of the dullest parts useful, the general reader will meet with some excellent anecdotal chapters on the Alpine animals, insects, trees, and flowers. Mr. Bonney tells some capital stories about bears, foxes, vultures, &c. The bears can run faster than men, and occasionally poke their noses in at the windows of the Alpine cottages; the fox has the most amusing way of securing the badger's home for himself; the vulture has undoubtedly carried a child aged three years a mile and a half through the air.

But the best light reading in the book is the information collected about the chamois-hunter, the Alpine hay-cutter, and the wood-cutter. Most people are familiar with the sole modern representation of the antelope in western Europe, the chamois. These graceful creatures, once so plentiful, are every year growing more scarce in the Alps. The chamois-hunter is a well-known character. The chase seems to exercise a fascination over him which usually ends only with life. Avoiding glaciers and snow-fields, his prey is at home on the most precipitous rocks, can alight after a jump of many yards on a ledge of cliff not wider than the palm of the hand—can rebound after a

leap from the side of a precipice, and travel like a bird from crag to crag, flying over loose stones with the speed of lightning, and traversing as many as forty yards in a single bound.

The solitary hunter will stalk these animals for days, sometimes hanging, like them, upon the verge of precipices; at others, crouching upon crumbling rocks, forgetting cold, and rain, and hunger, and seldom succumbing to fatigue until the prey is captured. A chamois-hunter seems possessed with a lifelong restlessness, and seldom dies in his bed. "Sir," said one to a traveller, "my grandfather met his death whilst out on the hunt, my father did the same, and I am so persuaded that I too shall die in this pursuit, that I call this bag my winding-sheet, for I shall have none other—yet if you offered to make my fortune I would never abandon chamois-hunting." Two years after he was found dead at the foot of a precipice. Chamois hunting is seldom profitable, though a famous hunter named David Zwickey, of Mollis, near Glarus, is said to have gained as much as £560 of capital. But he was a prince amongst hunters. He knew every haunt of the chamois, and was hardly ever known to miss securing his game; he is said to have killed more than 1,300, and even at the age of seventy-five the old man was unable to rest from his labours. One Saturday night, taking his rifle and pouch, he went out on the mountain for the last time. He never returned; but nine months afterwards they found his skeleton in a lonely valley—nothing ill had befallen him, none of his bones were broken, he sat leaning back against a rock with his head resting on one arm, having apparently died in his sleep. For the wood-cutter, the hay-cutter, chalet life, and Bernard dogs, shepherds, and farmers, we must refer the reader to the book itself. Mr. Bonney has also given us half a chapter on the campaign of 1793, with some old but for ever memorable details of Napoleon's passage of the St. Bernard pass, and Macdonald's passage of the Splügen. In conclusion, to every Alpine traveller and pedestrian we commend the twelfth and last chapters, full of sound practical advice of this kind,—

"Seven or eight hours per diem for six days in the week is as much as is good for most men. Do not walk too fast, especially up-hill; do not eat much meat or drink much wine after a day of severe exertion, especially on the snow. Very weak tea, lukewarm, assuages the thirst better than anything, being a slight febrifuge and sudorific. . . . On the march it is better to wash the lips and mouth often than to swallow much. . . . Do not smoke whilst walking up-hill. . . . Avoid sleeping in chalets as much as you can—there, as a rule, the fleas and yourself are equally wakeful."

We have also excellent directions what to take, what to wear, how to pack, and altogether we seem brought so very near the Alps, that as we close the book we feel inclined to provide ourselves with a knapsack and start at once.

H. R. H.

The Paraná: with Incidents of the Paraguayan War, and South American Recollections, from 1861 to 1868. By THOMAS J. HUTCHINSON, F.R.G.S., H.B.M. Consul for Rosario, &c. &c., Author of "Impressions of Western Africa," "Ten Years' Wanderings amongst the Ethiopians," "Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings," &c. &c. London: Edward Stanford.

MR. HUTCHINSON is a singularly unattractive writer. He does not possess grace, picturesqueness, or flexibility of style, his notions of proportion are very vague, and his want of imaginativeness causes him to treat subjects which would be inspiring to any writer who possesses it, with tantalizing triteness and coldness. He is matter of fact without being concise, and abrupt without being lucid. The putting together of this large volume—for it is impossible to call the process an arrangement of the contents, so very disorderly is it—is clumsy and confused to a degree which would be fatally deterrent to any reader who would not resolutely surmount the weariness of the task of perusal, in consideration of the value and authority of Mr. Hutchinson's testimony to the real condition of a region very little known, but rapidly developing in historical and social importance. He has been for many years a respectable and active public servant; his previous works, with all their defects of style, and their clumsy method, have furnished practical men with the most reliable data procurable concerning many modern fields of enterprise, and have aided the advance of geographical knowledge not a little. He is one of the many writers who would do better to place the materials in their possession in other hands for completion

and arrangement; but this is one of those things which it appears peculiarly difficult to human nature to do. It is so hard for a man who really has something to say, to perceive and acknowledge that he does not know how to say it. In this instance, Mr. Hutchinson says, very badly, a number of interesting and important things, and though he does not make that dense occidental mystery, the Paraguayan war, absolutely clear to European perception, he gives us some idea of the *personnel* of the leaders, and of their immediate objects, and he reduces the sense of humiliation which we might be supposed to experience in consequence of our ignorance on such a subject, by acknowledging that even to those on the spot—the “spot” being only the continent of South America—“the difficulty of arriving at the truth in regard to the contingencies or corollaries of any event, is the most distressing thing connected with official or newspaper reports, or public or private talk.” The most distinct conviction one gains from the book is, that Monte Video is an unpleasant place “in troublous times,” which periods occur with a frequency which entitles us to regard revolution as the chronic state of the people of the Paraná.

Mr. Hutchinson prefers to give the old name, Paraná, or “resembling the sea,” to the territories known as La Plata, which boast of wonderful beauty and wealth, great salubrity, unlimited facilities of colonization and civilization, and also offer to the ethnologist and the general student strange and interesting varieties of the human race. Into all these peculiarities Mr. Hutchinson enters, but the confusion of his style renders it difficult to follow him, and to disentangle the various subjects. The task is worth the trouble, however, and especially in the case of the Gran Chaco and its tribes. The country is very beautiful and grand, the large scale on which nature there exhibits her phenomena renders them peculiarly attractive to the European fancy, and the rapidly-decreasing Indians present many features of interest and difference from other wild races of the American continent. The Tobas are a very fine people, grand and noble in their ideas, brave in war, very intelligent, bound by no debasing superstition, but sun-worshippers. The description of them resembles that which made the ancient Peruvians romantically interesting long ago, when we did not know so much about savages as we know now, and divided our faith pretty equally between Washington Irving and Fenimore Cooper. The author goes into the history of the tribes fully, and into that of the various colonies which have been founded, the industrial enterprises which have been attempted, the mining projects and performances, the aspects of government, commerce, and social life. He gives ample details of the Argentine beef-supply speculations—indeed, the chapters devoted to these are the most practically useful in the book—and also of the prospects and possibilities of Argentine agriculture; constantly opposing to all the bright and promising pictures which he draws, the baneful and deterrent effect of the perpetual political disturbances which destroy commercial security and arrest enterprise.

Mr. Hutchinson is anxious to make known to the inhabitants of the British Empire the advantages offered to emigrants by the Argentine and Paraguayan republics—which are numerous and indisputable. They include geographical position, mildness of climate, purity of virgin soil, and navigable rivers. There is strong practical encouragement in the fact that nine-tenths of the material progress and industrial development of these fine territories are entirely owing to the introduction of foreign capital, energy, industry, and intelligence, in all which “the native element,” as Mr. Hutchinson oddly styles the South American white races, is deficient. But the classes of immigrants demanded by the Argentine provinces are but two—men who have money, and labourers; there is no place for others. Disappointed professional men, men of letters, men with “a little means,” men who, having never done anything in particular at home, think something is sure to “turn up” abroad, had better not go to the Paraná. After all, this is only the story of new colonies everywhere; they do not provide for the people who are *de trop* in the old ones. A few serious and stubborn facts meet the two classes for whom the Argentine provinces seem specially calculated to provide, and must materially interfere with extensive emigration. Spanish is the language of the country; the governments are not founded upon stable bases; no government affords any protection to immigrants; so that the English emigrant must have the sinews of war, in every sense, to do well in the Paraná.

F. C. H.

V.—POETRY AND FICTION.

The King and the Country: Cavalier and Puritan Song. Selected and arranged by HENRY MORLEY, Professor of English Literature, University College, London. (Rayard Series.) Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1895.

THE "Rayard Series" is, in respect of form and print, the only rational thing we have ever had in the way of real railway reading, though it is not ostensibly called by the old name. It is printed in good large type; it is bound in thin covers which will sit flexibly in the pocket without making holes by the pressure of sharp, hard corners; the size is just what it should be; the books themselves are none too long to be read during a journey; and some of them are, what railway books ought to be, works to dip into, not to read straight through. The present volume is not the least acceptable of the series. In quantity of song, the Cavaliers have the best of it; their portion of the book being nearly double that of the Roundheads, though in the latter Milton is largely—we think too largely—quoted from. In grace, colour, freedom of movement, frank adhesion to natural beauty and mirth, to say nothing of their love-poetry, the Cavaliers have also, of course, the best of it. A few slips in the punctuation, and a very few misprints, have been pointed out by our contemporaries already. The chief interest of the book—at all events, to readers who are familiar with the poetry of the time—lies in Mr. Morley's thoughtful and genial Introduction. This is wise and kindly, and gathers together a good deal of information about the poets of the epoch; but a large portion of it consists of Mr. Morley's deliberate vindication of his opinion that the much-discussed "Epitaph" is Milton's.

Some of the objections raised against that opinion, while the strife was hot in the newspapers, were ignominiously absurd; for example, that about thyme in woods. To the instance given by Mr. Morley (*Oranham Woods*), we beg leave to add the authority of a better observer of nature than we can pretend to be, *Addiestrope*, and *Whichwood Forest*. The objections taken to the rhymes in the *Epitaph* were beneath contempt; but, fortunately, Professor Morley and others had the patience and the good-temper to answer them. Equally absurd were the objections to the "blubbering rills" and the "tuned quills." But the height of folly was surely reached when we were told that *Helicon* was not a stream, but a hill. Mr. Heyworth Dixon speedily smothered this absurd criticism by producing very numerous instances, including one from Spenser, in which the precise metonym of the *Epitaph* appeared.

Some other objections still appear to us to have considerable weight. "Blubbering" was a legitimate poetic word at the time; but is it dignified enough for Milton in an *Epitaph*? Again, although Milton, like others, left grammatical errors in his poems, the couplet,—

"Infant nature, cradled here,
In its principles appear,"

does really appear too *crudely* wrong in construction to have come from the pen of Milton, even in a rough draft. The instance quoted by Professor Morley from "*Lycidas*,"—

"Bitter constraint and sad occasion, dear,
Compels me to disturb your season due,"

we should not call wrong, the first line containing a metaphysical unit, though the nominatives are two. The case quoted from "*Comus*,"—

" . . . Those thick and gloomy shadows damp" &c.,

where, three lines afterwards, we have it, making a false correspondence with the *Comus*, is evidently an instance of pure oversight. Either in copying or printing, a line has been left out (in spite of Milton's care in correcting); but in the case in the *Epitaph* there are only eight words, and the grammatical discord is very obtrusive. Again, in the first four lines of the *Epitaph*, we

can, by an effort, refer the "with whom," in the third line, to "the Muses" in the first; but the construction is harsh. The line—

"Then as I am I'll be no more,"

is, we cannot help thinking, too bad to have been written by Milton under any circumstances. Again, in the couplet,—

"When this cold numbness shall retreat
By a more than chymick heat,"

we have an awkward, though, of course, not impossible or unfamiliar construction. As for the frequent use of the word "it," there is at least one instance in the Epitaph in which its use is inexplicable:—

"For so this little wanton elf
Most gloriously enshrined itself."

Surely this was a case in which Milton would not have used a neuter?

Other objections are, that the poem wants continuity and unity; and that its use of adjectives is weak and excessive; e.g.—

"This heavy and this earthy mould,"

and—

"When this cold numbness shall retreat."

The questions of the signature and of the handwriting are not so easy to settle as might be thought. But if the poem is Milton's, it is certainly only a rough draft; and, though Professor Morley has, in its Introduction, made out a very strong case, his success lies principally in answering objections which differ either in form or in substance from those which we have just noted down. It was, besides, scarcely possible, if possible at all, for Professor Morley to address himself to those whose hesitation is mainly founded upon a *feeling* that the poem is not in substance strong enough (apart from its numerous faults) to have been written by Milton at forty. The first opinion of the present writer was strongly against Mr. Morley's view, but upon carefully reading this Introduction, all he can now say is, that he is unable to overcome his doubts, though the case on the other side at present appears to him to be a very strong one.

M. B.

Minor Chords. By SOPHIA MAY ECKLEY. London: Bell and Daldy. 1869.

Cassandra, and other Poems. By R. WHIELDON BADDELEY, Author of "The Squire of Chapel Daresfield," &c. London: Bell and Daldy. 1868.

BOTH these volumes of verse belong to the class which gives so much trouble to reviewers, because they happen to stand just at the boundary-line of another class. Verses like these can never take rank as minor poetry that will be remembered, or even that has a chance of being remembered; and yet there is in them sufficient of what is called poetic feeling, and sufficient verbal skill, to make it unpleasant for a reviewer to put them in a category to which no permanent interest attaches. Such poems simply reflect the more elegant moods of cultivated people, and no doubt give pleasure to the friends and acquaintances of the authors, but they have no other obvious value; and whilst there is so much real minor poetry which only receives imperfect recognition, it would be unfair to write a line which could help verses that have for the public no *raison d'être* to any kind of factitious popularity.

Absolutely at random we take a verse or two from "Minor Chords:"—

"The night stole into the valley,
And buried the mountains from sight,
There glimmer'd no light in the village,
Nor one star illumined the night.

"At my window I long had been standing,
To hear the wild cataract pour,
As it rush'd through the sombre forest,
With the burden of death in its roar.

"How black grew the darkness around me,
Which yawn'd like a pitiless grave,
And smote on the mind like those death hours,
When love, hope, and prayer may not save."

It is one of the irritating small mysteries of life that there should exist people who call such writing as this poetry. Yet some of the reviewers of Mrs. Eckley's first volume compared her to Heine and Uhland, and assured the world that her "gift of song was genuine." We can only say that we read these things with utter astonishment at the time, and that our astonishment is renewed on looking at the extracts appended to the present volume. It is from no desire to give pain, but from a sense of duty (founded partly on the reason we have given), that we affirm that "Minor Chords" contain no qualities whatever which fit them for the eye of any but friends. The three verses we have quoted will justify us. They are not only not poetry, or even fairly good verse—they could not possibly have been written by any one who was capable of poetry.

Over Mr. Baddeley's little volume we hesitated longer than over "Minor Chords." The author has intelligence, and, if he took great pains, might write verse that would give unmingled, though not strong or even permanent pleasure. But since, though he occasionally makes a point, he never strings together as many as a dozen lines without including in the dozen some thoroughly clumsy or weak ones, we must hang his picture, also, below the line. B. W.

The Rivulet: a Contribution to Sacred Song. By THOMAS T. LYNCH. Third Edition, enlarged. London: Longmans & Co. 1868.

THE fact that this little book has reached a third edition since its first publication (eight or ten years ago, we do not remember exactly), shows that it pleases a good many pious people. Some of its sacred songs are very good, as for example:—

"O, where is he that trod the sea?"

and—

"O, break my heart; but break it as a field;"

and—

"O, were I ever what I am sometimes,
And never more what I sometimes have been;"

with a few others of about the same rank; but the verse, taken generally, is of unequal merit. In the best of it, one does, undoubtedly, hear the lyrical cry, and does, undoubtedly, recognise the work of a writer who is familiar with the best models. There is, also, a reason why we feel free to speak less critically of a book of fairly good sacred verse than of a book of verse of about similar quality, only not sacred in character; the reason being that the majority of our sacred verse is so bad that anything that is better than usual is entitled to a welcome.

But while we have only kind words for the "Rivulet" on the whole, we wish the author had omitted in his *Envoi* that reference to the early history of the work. "The faith that works by hate" is not a badly-turned phrase; but it strikes a discord in a small, gentle book like this. When the "Rivulet" first appeared, perhaps our readers may recollect that it was fiercely assailed by a certain vulgar great-little *malleus hæreticorum* of Dissent, who said that the author was "not even at the bottom of the scale either as poet or divine." That writer's opinion was not of the smallest consequence; and some of his statements of fact, as to the contents of the work, were untrue, and were effectively contradicted. The objection to the book was that it omitted "the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel," by which men of a certain stamp always mean such things as hereditary depravity, everlasting damnation, and vicarious atonement in its crudest shape. If you represent to them that the Lord's Prayer also omits all "the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel" (thus understood), they promptly answer that the Lord's Prayer is not Christian at all; was dictated before what they call "the Christian dispensation" commenced; and is not, of itself, a model for Christian use. But if such people really believe, as millions of them do, that every soul is in peril that does not receive their Gospel, we do not see what they can do but say so. At all events, it is this book's own fault that some of its readers must be reminded of unpleasant by-gones.

On reading the proof of this notice, we find it not warm enough. Perhaps we shall best do justice by speaking the whole truth. Frankly, then, most of the poems are deformed by timidity of expression; about two-thirds of them are only fair; the remaining third are good, sometimes *very* good; and there is in many of them a deeply pathetic accent of personal experience which goes straight to the heart, and strongly tempts a reviewer to offer words of personal respect and kindly feeling in return. B. W.

Lucretia; or, The Heroine of the Nineteenth Century. A Correspondence, sensational and sentimental. By the Author of "The Owllet of Owlstone Edge," &c. (Rev. F. E. PAGET). London: Masters.

THE reader of this designedly absurd book has many a qualm to the effect that he is being humbugged, as he plods through its wild story. The young lady who writes the letters is, though an heiress, the unhappy owner of a plebeian name, "Luckie Frummage," which she has changed into "Lucretia Beverley." She is destined to be the inmate of the dull house of her bucolic uncle, old Zachary Frummage. Thence she elopes with a cowherd, who gives himself out to her as a persecuted stepson in high life, but who turns out to be a ticket-of-leave burglar. She is pursued and brought back, confined by her uncle to a garret, whence, after acting mad for a day or two, she escapes up the chimney, and breaks a leg by a fall from the roof. Then an odious Miss Stiffkey is got as a companion for her, who turns out to be the agent of a Colonel Kyklesley, who wants to marry her for her money. Matters proceed as far as the lawyer's office, where he discovers, on calling to arrange the settlements, that her money is not at her own disposal, and the thing is broken off.

The excuse for the outrageously absurd story is, in Mr. Paget's own words,—

"I have attempted to describe the kind of follies, scrapes, and difficulties, into some of which a girl might not improbably fall, who should take the sensational novel as her guide in the common-place events of everyday life."

We own to a doubt whether this kind of warning against sensational novels, on the principle of "a hair of the dog that bit you," will ever cure any one of writing, or reading them. Mr. Paget has in fact only committed a little more clumsily than usual the sin which he is satirizing.

"The same reason which has kept me back from naming any sensational novel by name, has prevented me from bringing Lucretia into any but the tamest scenes (as they would now be considered) of sensation. I dare not run the risk of teaching evil."

This is very well to assert: but surely there is evil enough, if not openly described, yet implied beneath the surface, in the story which we have sketched out. And we very much fear that Mr. Paget's antidote has been so sugared over with the baneful mixture, that it will be taken as part of the bane, and will only whet the appetite which it is meant to extinguish. H. A.

Olive Varcoe. A Novel. By FRANCIS DERRICK, Author of "The Kiddle-a-Wink," "Mildred's Wedding," &c. Three Vols. London: Saunders, Otley, & Co.

"OLIVE VARCOE" is the most ingenious and exciting romance we have seen for some time. We do not intend to be as unfair to its author and its readers as some of the reviewers have been, and disclose the plot; but we will suggest a way of heightening the interest. Let A read the first volume and hand it over to B. Let B take note of the facts of the narrative so far, and exercise his wits upon the problem, Who is the murderer? while A is going through the other volumes. One would like to see what a man of the stamp of Edgar Poe would make of the question.

Olive Varcoe, a bewitching girl, with Eastern blood in her veins, is in love with her cousin, a Cornish baronet, Sir Hilton Trewavas, who, however, at one time, seems likely to marry Eleanor Maristowe, who is a far more "suitable match." Olive is, of course, jealous of Eleanor, who is at last found drowned, with a silk cord of Olive's round her waist. There is another important personage in the story, John Trewavas (brother to Sir Hilton), who is in love with Eleanor Maristowe. And this is all we shall say of the story, except that it is one Charles Vigo who unravels the mystery.

The book, though often powerfully written, contains some small errors.

On page 255 of vol. i., Olive's dress is silk; on page 262, it is satin. Champagne is sometimes opened with a corkscrew, but not so often that one can avoid a little surprise when Sir Hilton calls for one (vol. i., p. 131), apparently for no real purpose but that of stabbing his own hand. There are other small slips, but there is nothing nearly so bad as mistakes which have been made by both Dickens and Thackeray, and nothing so incredible as the Burchell masquerade in the "Vicar of Wakefield."

The most important criticism of all we could not make in detail without disclosing the plot; but the reader will note for himself how much in the shape of character the author has had to sacrifice to the exigencies of the story. It is only just to say that there will be few readers who (in spite of the extravagance of the whole of the corkscrew scene) will feel the improbabilities of the tale till they have had time to get over the excitement which it carries with it. The author has evidently a good knowledge of the world, and pays a well-deserved tribute to the honourable reticence of the medical profession with respect to the awkward secrets that are necessarily made known to its members in the course of their duty.

It is safe, in parting with "Olive Varcoe," to repeat the reviewing commonplace, and to say that no novel-reader who takes it up will lay it down unfinished.

B. W.

Kathleen. By the Author of "Raymond's Heroine." In Three Volumes.
London: Hurst and Blackett. 1869.

If any of our readers wishes for a new novel, with a lively, well-constructed plot, a succession of natural yet stirring incidents, and a sustained interest from beginning to end, such a one cannot do better than make speedy acquaintance with "Kathleen." Unlike novels of the sensational school, this story of everyday life is made up of characters and scenes which it is quite possible to meet with in one's daily course, deals rather with realities than romance, and subserves an excellent end by upsetting card-palaces, demolishing castles in the air, and making its moral consist in the illustration of the old English adage about the "silk purse" and "the sow's ear." We have had enough and too much of noble maidens mating with their grooms, and similar condescensions *vice versa*; but in the novel before us, though the reader, on taking it up first, will fancy that he is going to peruse a tale of the sort referred to for the hundred and first time, a fuller acquaintance with its pages will show that the meed of praise is given to sweet natural faith and affection, and to manly self-respect, but withheld from, or accorded in far less measure to, the imperfect and dreamy characters who occupy the foremost places on the canvas. Kathleen is an heiress with five thousand a year. George Williams, a young counter-skipper, with a doubtful parentage and a home for which he is indebted to some kind folks in a humble way at the harbour end of a watering-place, has the luck to win her romantic and ill-regulated fancy by pulling her out of a stream, about the depth of which she adopts the exaggerated account. Though he is all but engaged to the daughter of his foster-parents, his head is soon turned by Kathleen's unwise forgetfulness of the disparity between George's station and her own, and by her eagerness not only to better his condition by getting him a clerkship in a London office of note, but also to endow him, as she is led to do, with her love and her prospective fortune. Very soon after the interest of the story commences, we discern that this high-flown damsel is incapable of understanding herself, and of reading the real character of her lover. It is all romance, all sensation to her; and the charm of a mystery as to George's parentage enhances her excitement, and fires her with a zeal to repay him, to whom she owes her life, with a discovery, by hook or by crook, of the august forefathers to whom such a hero must needs belong. While the ill-educated, raw, vulgar linendraper's apprentice is being launched in the low life of London by the canny Scot who is his sole acquaintance, and is forgetting the good advice of his foster-parents in a round of dissipation and folly, Kathleen is, as it were, compelling destiny to give up the reins to herself, and for a time seems to have established the truth of the fancy-gilded fabric which she has woven out of imagination and romance. Things go so far that George is actually recognised and welcomed as grandson by an old squire who had married a

peer's daughter, and who owns a fine estate at Northington. Parish registers confirm the story; all goes well; the putative heir is thrust out, and George is installed in his stead. Then begins the disenchantment. Excitement abates, Kathleen has time to go into the merits and demerits of her "silk purse." George is a very poor creature, ungenerous, unmanly, ill-bred; and, as if illustrative of another adage about "beggars mounted," his prosperity develops all these features with unmistakable clearness. Not only does he take a vulgar pleasure in triumphing over the nephew of Mr. Northington, who has been so suddenly dispossessed by him, not only does he outrage his lady-love's delicacy by a thousand gaucheries, which, while he was poor, she did not notice, but he works his own fall from his high estate by his bullying airs towards a mysterious individual, named Armstrong, to whose information he owes his rise in life, and who, on many accounts, vagabond though he was, was entitled to toleration from George Williams. When the "house of cards" comes down with a crash, and when the rightful heir, Hugo, is reinstated, George has to go back to his employers without a shadow of hope that he will be able to replace some £200, of which he had defrauded them. His failure to get the money from the Jews, from his Scotch friend, from Kathleen, who, though disenchanted, has not yet given him up, drives him into a brain-fever. The fraud is discovered; the true love of the humble and faithful Alice is potent to get it compromised; she is the ministering angel who repairs in his adversity to the crest-fallen, humbled scape-grace, whom the ill-judged admiration of Kathleen had raised above himself in his prosperity. Those who take our advice and peruse the story, of which we have given but the vaguest sketch, will find poetical justice done to merit and deserts, and the due amount of humiliation allotted to the unreal characters (George and Kathleen), whose foibles and weaknesses constitute, in the main, the moral and the lesson of the book. The rewards of virtue and manliness are not meted out with undue lavishness; the punishments of folly and self-pleasing are not made too severe. A strong air of common sense and of probability pervades the volumes of "Kathleen," and the story ought to act as a first-rate antidote to ill-assorted unions, and attempts to overleap disparities of rank.

It would convict us of defective observation, if we failed to add that the author of "Kathleen" exhibits in her clever pages a remarkable gift of portraiture. Take the group of Williamses, as we find them each time that we are introduced to the haberdasher's back parlour or kitchen at Stornmouth;—good, easy, ponderous Mr. Williams, and his more active better-half, whose bark is worse than her bite, and whose much plainness of speech is quite consistent with a tender heart and a thorough knowledge of human nature; and grave, quiet, sweet-tempered Alice, their daughter—and test this group by its treatment of George, in good report and ill report, at the flow and at the ebb of his fortunes, and it will, if we mistake not, be found eminently true to nature, and characteristic of such circles, in which the grace of real charity has taken root. Or glance at the London office, "Rumney and Rumney," with the austere Mr. Rumney in the room marked "Private," Mr. Finney, the manager, and the smart, fashionable nephews of the principal, who never so much as vouchsafe a look or a word to the new arrival in the counting-house; or at the evenings at home in Islington, when George's cigars are smoked, and his weaknesses seen through by Sandy Macpherson, the Scotch clerk, who has initiated him in seeing life; or, again, at the interior of the railway carriage in which poor George travels with Barry Edmunds and other sharpers to the Rockley races; and it will be impossible to disallow the claim of the writer of "Kathleen" to great skill in portrait-painting. The admirable scenes in which George is introduced to, high circles at Northington Hall; the background and the by-play in which the flaxen-haired flirt, Miss Lambert, detains or dismisses Hugo Northington, according as his luck is up or down; the capital chapter which introduces the deputation of tenants, and, indeed, all the scenes in which the gentler and higher life of the story is depicted, are equally clever, and as much the result of accurate appreciation, as the sketches of a lower grade of society. Little touches, too—here, there, and everywhere—such as that of Mr. Scruby, the head tenant, calling the address from the tenants "a sort of memento mory of the occasion, as I may say" (ii. 299), evince a quaint and observant humour, which, though it does not usurp too much space, is never

long absent from the pages of "Kathleen." But, indeed, the whole process of the gradual cooling down of the heroine when she sees George as he really is, and finds how much nearer to the standard of manhood and high breeding is that "poor Hugo," of whom she has at first thought such scorn, is, in itself, a description replete with humour, though it be humour of a subdued and refined kind. For the nearest approach to a sensational chapter we commend the reader to the "Valley of the Shadow of Death," in the third volume; and for a very touching and natural scene, better than the most thrilling sensation, to the chapter entitled the "Hour of Need," wherein first Kathleen discovers, by the delirious utterances of George, that she has been the unintentional means, so long, of robbing Alice of a love which, to speak sooth, was hardly worthy of her.

Wherever—in these volumes—there is any field for the description of scenery, their author has an eye for foliage and landscape, an ear "for the chirp of birds and the booming song of insects," a keen sense of "the sweet-smelling hill-side." Such perceptions do not, with her, minister to mere book-making; they do not force themselves upon us out of season; they make themselves felt at the proper moment, and contribute to the general air of *vraisemblance* which is the charm of the story. It would be hard to single out passages for presenting separately to the reader; but this is only a proof how well the whole tale is compacted and hangs together. If it be urged by adverse critics that Kathleen is an imperfect heroine, they are welcome to this *prima facie* truth; but our answer is that Kathleen's imperfections are compensated by the perfectness of Alice. While the action of the story is developing the processes whereby Kathleen is cured of romance, and taught to know herself better, it furnishes in Alice a sweet picture of calm, devoted womanhood, content to bide her time, and to be truest in the hour of ill-report and of adversity. We hope to meet the authoress of "Kathleen" again in the pleasant fields of fiction, which she cultivates so successfully.

J. D.

St. George's Key; a Tale for Boys. By G. W. E. COGHLAN, B.A. London: F. Warne & Co.

THIS is a charming tale from Honduras. It comes from a country where the crabs run on dry land, oysters cling to the branches of trees, and the rats are so "shockingly tame" that they come and warm themselves by the fire, undisturbed by the presence of human beings. *St. George's Key* is the name of an island about seven miles from Belize. Here, in the end of the last century, lived an English colonel with his wife and three children. The colonel's life furnishes Mr. Coghlan with many exciting stories about robbers and pirates, and gives him many opportunities of describing the scenery and natural history of the island. This book will be read eagerly by young people.

J. H.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Indian Policy; a View of the System of Administration in India. By GEORGE CHESNEY, Accountant-General to the Government of India, Public Works Department, Fellow of the University of Calcutta. London: Longmans. 1869.

MAJOR CHESNEY's work is no light reading, and is not likely to offer much attraction to those who do not know something already of its subject; but by those who do, it will be found replete with information, exhibiting, as it does, the machinery of the Indian Government with a thoroughness and completeness not to be met with elsewhere. That it is not equally full and satisfactory on all points—that "the army" and "public works," for instance, should occupy, the one eighty-two, the other seventy-two pages, the "judicial service" no more than six, whilst the relations of the Indian Government to the native States are only referred to in a few pages of an introductory historical chapter—is

nothing but what must be expected. A man cannot be an encyclopædia; and Major Chesney's field of experience is already so large as a soldier and a financier that we cannot but appreciate his honesty in touching with but a light hand on those departments of the Indian service with which it may be presumed that he is less thoroughly acquainted.

The main idea of the work is perhaps expressed in the following words of its contents: "India is a federation of States under a supreme Government." Major Chesney shows that this federation is at present utterly chaotic; he urges its being definitely organized. In so doing, he takes great exception to Mr. Bright's proposal, that India should have about as many independent Governments, corresponding directly with this country (like the neighbouring colony of Ceylon, whose development has so far outstripped that of any equivalent area of Indian territory), as it has twenty millions of people. Mr. Bright would thus retain in England the pivot of government for all the separate Indian colonies, if we may so call them; Major Chesney would, on the contrary, place it in India, making of the central Government a mere controlling power over all the provinces composing the federation. But with this important difference, Major Chesney's views tend in many respects in the same direction as Mr. Bright's. He would apportion British India into ten provinces, each under a governor, dividing Bengal into three, viz., Bengal, Assam, Orissa, British Burmah, Oudh, the North West Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras (probably, if Major Chesney's experience of the West of India had been equal to his experience of the East, he would add Sind at least to the number). He shows clearly the evil results arising from the present financial system, under which "the provincial Governments have no direct share or interest in raising the revenues," and "cannot increase a single item of the public establishments without the sanction of the central Government," and urges "a radical change," viz., that "the revenues of India, instead of being dealt with as one income, . . . should be regarded as distinct provincial revenues;" each province being "charged with its quota of the general expenses of the empire, which it should be required to contribute to the imperial exchequer," whilst "the remainder of its income should be left at its own disposal." Again, recognising the momentous fact, so ill understood by English statesmen, that "no tax that can be named is suitable to the conditions of the whole country," he urges "the substitution of diversity for uniformity in taxation." To all who know anything of or about India, it will be obvious that these would constitute two momentous steps towards practical decentralization. On the other hand, Major Chesney advocates the fusion into one of the three civil services on the one hand, and the three armies on the other. He seems to have indeed almost a personal spite against the term "presidency," which it is no doubt true that Indian administration has by this time quite outgrown, and pursues it relentlessly into these its last sanctuaries. Major Chesney's criticisms on the defective character of the military amalgamation scheme are searching and effective. Under it, the condition of the regimental officers is so peculiar that, whilst the substantive army promotion of officers depends simply upon their periods of service, their regimental advancement turns entirely on selection. Hence,—

"So strange a combination of rule and caprice has never before been applied to any army. The bearing of the case may perhaps be appreciated by supposing that in the British line . . . a regiment might be commanded by one of the captains, the lieutenant-colonel be employed as a major, and the majors holding charge of companies. Such an analogy, so far as analogy is possible, represents the condition at which the Indian army will ultimately arrive, so soon as the system lately established shall be fully developed."

All tie between the officer and the regiment is thus destroyed, and the army becomes "a mere congeries of battalions:"—

"Under such a state of things, a proper bond of union between officers and men is impossible. The evil becomes intensified during war. . . . The campaign of 1865 in Bhootan—almost the only one the Bengal army has been engaged in since the new system came into force—was an exemplification of this. One regiment marched to the expedition under a commandant who had joined it two days before; the second in command was officiating for an absentee, and had been with the regiment about six months; the adjutant had also been brought in temporarily from another corps, and so

was one of the junior officers; altogether only two out of seven belonged properly to the regiment. . . . Such a state of things is fair neither to officers nor men. It would be utterly unsuited to European troops; how much more, then, must it be improper for natives, who, it is generally admitted, require 'leading' in action by officers whom they know and have confidence in."

In fact, Major Chesney assures us in his preface that, "after all the discussion of late years," the "real reform" of the Indian army "has yet to be undertaken;" that what has been done so far is "at best only a provisional arrangement, suited for a temporary emergency."

Space fails me here for entering at due length on Major Chesney's observations as to public works and the currency. He is a strong opponent of the railway guarantee system, and recommends that the employment of joint-stock enterprise should be confined to the making of railways, the Government directly assuming the management of them when made. Irrigation works, he considers, should be entirely in the hands of Government. Of his proposal of a double metallic standard for India, it must at least be observed that it runs counter to the most matured views of political economists at the present day; whilst that of a universal Indian paper-money circulation, all district treasuries being made offices of issue and payment of notes, would seem likely to be attended with much difficulty and danger,—such as the English reader may figure to himself by supposing that Bank of England notes were issued and made payable in specie in every European capital except Stockholm, Christiania, St. Petersburg, and Moscow. The future *may* see the realization of such a dream; but such realization is hardly near at hand.

It may be added that Major Chesney strongly recommends a larger admission of the natives of India to participate in the government of their country; the raising "the salary of every [native] judicial officer and servant connected with the courts throughout the country, up to a point which shall place him beyond temptation;" improved prospects of promotion for native officials; avenues opened to high office for natives of rank; the extension of their agency as an unpaid magistracy; the occasional appointment to the civil service of "the most distinguished and well-conducted" native students; and the granting of commissions to "distinguished native soldiers," or "natives of good family who are otherwise qualified," which shall place them "on a footing of professional equality with European officers"—the native commissioned officers *now* taking rank below the youngest European subaltern. J. M. L.

Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church. By J. E. T. WILTSCH. Translated from the German by JOHN LEITCH, Esq. With a Preface by the REV. FREDERICK DENISON MATRICE, M.A. Vol. II. London: Thomas Bosworth. 1868.

THIS volume follows the first after an interval of nine years, a delay accounted for by the translator. The original German appeared in 1846. The present portion of Mr. Leitch's labours embraces the fourth and fifth periods; the former commencing with Pope Gregory VII., 1073, and ending with the death of Innocent III. in 1216, and the latter concluding the work with the death of Leo X. in 1521 on the eve of the great ecclesiastical revolt from the Primacy of Rome.

The plan of this learned treatise is excellent, embracing a survey of the whole Christian world, and expressing in the fewest words, with authorities scrupulously detailed, the organic relations to one another and to the See of Rome of all the Dioceses of the Church. We are taken through every country in succession and shown the Archiepiscopal provinces, and when their archbishops first received their Pallium from Rome, which was the sign of their reception into the Papal dominion. Then we are shown the Suffragan bishoprics included within each province at the various periods; next we obtain a list of the monasteries which the province contained; and lastly an enumeration of the places where Councils were held, with the dates of their occurrence. These several views furnish us with materials for determining ecclesiastical geography, for there is no attempt at the delineation of boundaries, nor is the work accompanied with maps; nor yet, we may add, is there any recognition of those Palatine territories under the temporal sway of the mediæval prelates, as, for

instance, our Durham, and more especially the ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine and other German lordships of the Church. Spiritual jurisdiction alone is noticed by Wiltch. The student who requires more must go to Spruner's important work. Besides acting as a territorial guide, the enumeration of the monasteries and the Councils in each province is considered as furnishing an index to its religious activity within the period under review; and thus too we have a basis of comparison of province with province and country with country in this respect.

The work exhibits a great condensation of matter and considerable and meritorious research. We have sought to test the value of it by turning to the "Church Provinces of Ireland" for the Fourth Period, this being an important subject of study just now and offering some points of complication. Ireland was one of the last of the old National Churches to admit Papal supremacy, having run a fine course of some seven centuries of independence before receiving the Roman Pallium. But prior to entering into this direct relation with the Papal See the bishops of Ireland had placed themselves under the Primacy of Canterbury. Nor is this the only complication. Irish Christianity about the same period was running on in two distinct and rival lines, the Danish settlements on the east coast having separated their Church from the native one; so that the separate action of these two bodies in relation to Canterbury has to be kept free from confusion. We are compelled to say that we found Wiltch's account of the diocesan relations of the Irish Church in this important period, his Fourth, by no means lucid. Concise information and studied brevity in the record of facts demands a style and diction beyond everything well weighed and exact. The same faults have not struck us in other parts of the volume, and we are glad to be able to add that every student of Church history will thank the translator and publisher for adding this valuable work to English literature.

C. H.

Phrenology, and its Application to Education, Insanity, and Prison Discipline. By JAMES P. BROWNE, M.D. (Edinb.), formerly Pupil Dissector for Lectures to the late Dr. James Macartney, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery (Trin. Coll., Dublin). London: Bickers and Son. 1869.

The Fundamental Principles of Phrenology are the only Principles capable of being reconciled with the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul. By JAMES R. L. CARSON, M.D. London: Houlston and Wright. 1868.

WE do not admire the title of the second of these books, but the work contains some very amusing matter. The author says, smartly enough, that the delineations of character given by a lecturer on phrenology whose lectures he once attended, were so accurate, that "if he had denied the truth of phrenology, he must have admitted the inspiration of the delineator." And he tells a capital story about a clergyman who was once in love with phrenology, but changed his mind for a reason which has operated in cases within our own personal knowledge. This clergyman believed in phrenology, and used to "delineate" character himself on phrenological principles. One day he proposed to Mr. Carson to go to a phrenologist's and have his own head examined. Mr. Carson made him take off his white neckcloth, and they went together to the magician's study, the clergyman promising to come out to Mr. Carson when the examination was concluded. Now, half-an-hour was quite long enough for the purpose; and when three hours had passed without the clergyman's keeping his promise, Mr. Carson thought it was high time to look him up. He did so, and found him engaged in a loud altercation with the phrenologist, because his "character," as written out, was not quite up to his own expectations. The phrenologist refused to alter his delineation; and Mr. Carson, being appealed to, confirmed its accuracy. The clergyman, who was still dissatisfied and angry, insisted upon referring the document to a lady who knew him well. The result was again the same; and the lady declared that, whereas she had formerly thought phrenology nonsense, she should now begin to think there was something in it. The clergyman, however, maintained that his "character" was very incorrect, and said he should in future think phrenology all "humbug." We regret to have to add that there is a humorous bonhomme about Mr. Carson's style which is not represented by our abstract.

We once took, at his own request, a mechanic to have his head examined by a phrenologist. He was evidently hurt at some of the magician's criticisms, and turned very red in the face, though he made no complaint. Evidently thinking to pose the good man, he asked, "Come, what should you say I was?" "Well," replied the phrenologist, "I should say you had something to do with maps." Now, the man was a map-engraver; and this—to employ a vulgarism—shut him up; it looked so very much like magic! Yet nothing could be simpler. The man was evidently a mechanic of some kind. He had large Locality, Form, and Constructiveness. If he had had an enterprising head, with a more energetic temperament, the phrenologist might have said, "You are, or would like to be, a traveller." If he had had larger Concentrativeness, with good Number, and a better intellectual region, the answer might have been, "You are a chess-player." As it fell out, the answer was an intelligent guess, made by a man who knew the world, but founded on true phrenological reasons.

The attitude of physiologists towards phrenology at the present time is well known to be hostile; in some cases, contemptuous. Mr. Bain, a psychologist of the "Ganglionic school," has, it is notorious, written a book-full of objections to the science, scarcely one of which appears to the present writer to have an atom of weight. As these notices are all signed, we are only expressing our individual view, when we say that we, personally, have a much firmer faith in the cranioscopy than we had twenty years ago; and that we believe the psychology, imperfect as it obviously is, is incomparable as an instrument of analysis. Its value is, indeed, partly admitted by the fact of the gradual adoption of so large a portion of its terminology into common use. Of course, cases on one side only prove nothing, and a row of heads in which a certain special faculty and a certain special configuration coincide, is of no use if you can produce another row in which the two things are shown to have no connection. But it is impossible for us to conceive a stronger empirical presumption in favour of any conclusion than that which is afforded in favour of the cranioscopy by the simple observation of heads ranged in characteristic groups—heads of poets, heads of devotees, heads of actors, heads of painters, heads of musicians, heads of soldiers, and so on. Or, again, by contrasting the male and female head, where the phrenologists mark the busts for Attachment and Love of Children. Or again, by studying the progress of the science under the hands of Gall and Spurzheim. Take Spurzheim's first raw hint of what they had observed with regard to persons who saw visions and readily believed in wonderful stories, and note the gradual accretion of facts, till you get, at last, the demonstrated organ of Wonder. The very mistakes made in the process are among the most striking suggestions of the substantial truth of the result—a thing which often happens in other pursuits. Yet phrenology makes but little way in this country. Spurzheim prophesied that the science would languish for a long while after his death and that of Gall, and he gave a good reason. Everything, he said, has many students, but only a few philosophers; and phrenology will, in all probability, have to wait a long while for its next architect, however numerous the hodmen may be. There was no arrogance in this, for physiologists, with one accord, admit the value of the labours of Gall and Spurzheim, and the improvements which their labours have led to in the treatment of the insane, the sick, and the young, are incalculably great.

One reason for the decay of the impression made in England in favour of phrenology by Gall and his coadjutors, is, no doubt, the insincerity of so many of its professors when a case which appears anomalous is presented to them. Instead of frankly admitting the difficulty, and letting it rest till they find (if ever) a solution which exactly fits it, they do—what, in another place, some of the Christian apologists denounced by Mr. Farrar in the last number of this Review do—they invent the best reconciliation they can. Now it is perfectly plain—it ought to be plain to a child—that the psychology is exceedingly incomplete; and that, while it is so, difficulties must often meet us.

In America we believe real progress has been made in the cranioscopy; and the manuals that come from that side are exceedingly shrewd, particularly on questions of temperament. In their bust will be seen marked a new "organ," which they very oddly call "Human Nature!" This is an unconscious *mauvaise*

plaisanterie; but we have not the least doubt that there is something in this new indication. Then, again, they have divided "Ideality" into two parts: the upper, which abuts upon Wonder; and the lower, which, by the path of Humour and Music, communicates more directly with Colour and Form. Amativeness they have also divided into two—the gregarious and the selective Amativeness. The same with Adhesiveness or Attachment. It may seem to careless people that the eye or the hand could not possibly distinguish such fine gradations of size and figure as all this carries with it; but the fact is, the eye and the hand are equal to much finer tasks than these: the eye is equal to the task of consciously measuring a very small fraction of an inch; and the hand can tell the age of a picture at a single touch. Undoubtedly, however, the combination of psychological intelligence, knowledge of the world, and manipulative skill requisite to make the phrenological philosopher must be a very rare one.

The two books before us we neither commend nor discommend. Phrenology was always, we believe, more popular in Scotland than in England, and it is interesting to find that it is still attended to by intelligent and cultivated men who have much physiological knowledge. But Dr. Browne and Dr. Carson are far too discursive; and while, in our opinion, disposed to claim too much for phrenology, far too ready to acquiesce in *quasi*-medieval ways of putting religious truth—ways which create gratuitous difficulties that necessitate round-about and gratuitous solutions. Phrenology leaves every religious question exactly where it was. If there is any difficulty whatever in believing that man is immortal, because he has a body which dies, phrenology, obviously, only pushes that difficulty a step further up. If it has any bearing on the question of human responsibility, that question need not be discussed with opponents who believe in hereditary depravity. Nor with those who believe, as most people do, that every one is born with a definite, though modifiable character; because that is just what phrenologists themselves assert. As for those who assert that our characters depend entirely upon training and circumstances, they are, in the first place, not worth powder and shot; and in the second, they may be dislodged from their ridiculous position more easily without the help of phrenology than with it.

B. W.

VII.—GERMAN LITERATURE.

[Most of the Books noticed in this and the following Section are supplied by MESSRS. WILLIAMS and NORGATE, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.]

Molière-Studien. Ein Namenbuch zu Molière's Werken, mit philologischen und historischen Erläuterungen von HERMANN FRITSCHKE. Dantzig: Verlag von Th. Bertling.

In the opinion of Herr Fritzsche, Molière, although abundantly commented on—of late years more especially—by his admiring countrymen, has not yet had his works treated with proper critical method. There is great need, he considers, that German erudition and patiently minute investigation be brought to bear upon the great comic dramatist, and his own work is only offered as a contribution to such an exhaustive Molière-Lexicon as he yet hopes to see produced. To us, we own, the laborious production before us looks almost like a burlesque upon German criticism. It occupies itself exclusively with the proper names that appear in Molière's plays, and the author lays great stress upon the importance and significance of their varied derivations. The greater number by far, he gravely informs us, are either of Greek origin, or French names in common use! The rest may be divided between Latin, Spanish, and Italian; some few are mere inventions; still fewer are derived from Semitic sources, no name directly drawn from German, or Germanic tongues. But who—out of Germany—who that knows and enjoys Molière will care to have his notice directed to such accidents as these?

L. C. S.

Paläorama-Oceanisch-Amerikanische Untersuchungen und Aufklärungen mit Wesentlicher Berücksichtigung Der Biblischen Urgeschichten. Aus dem Nachlass Eines Amerikanischen Alterthumsforschers. London: Williams and Norgate.

THIS is, at all events, an original book, aiming at nothing less than a complete inversion of our geographical and historical systems. Dr. George Brown—a learned Philadelphian, now deceased—found himself, it appears, greatly perplexed in his biblical studies by the complete omission in the Pentateuch of any reference whatever to the great continent of America. Here was a book that he accepted as an infallible authority as to the origin and earliest history of the human race, and yet his most careful investigations, both of the sacred text and a great mass of commentaries thereon, left this perplexity wholly unremoved. Dr. Brown determined that, as a record of the world's history, the Bible must have been hitherto entirely misunderstood, "closed with seven seals," "covered with a veil" which his hand was destined at last to raise. One idea, one principle, one method flashed into his mind, whereby "into the darkness light might be brought, into contradiction harmony, into confusion simplicity and order." The clue to the whole mystery was this. America was the old world, our hemisphere the new. The original appearance of man, indeed, took place in a vast island between the two, which he believes to have been situated in the Pacific. Hence the first human family migrated *eastward*; therefore America was the land first peopled, America the scene of all the events narrated in Genesis. It was there the gigantic tower of Babel was built, there that the confusion of tongues ensued. Noah's Ark grounded on the island of Cuba, not the peaks of Ararat. The events we associate with the land of Egypt really occurred in Central America, and Moses led his people northwards, not across the Red Sea of the east, but that of California, and thence over by Behring's Straits into the *new world* of Asia. These views Dr. G. Brown put out in a course of lectures delivered to a select few in his own country about thirty years ago; but the lectures form a very small part of this strange book, of which, perhaps, the strangest feature is that Dr. Brown's hypothesis should be adopted, and at the present time fervently advocated, by a learned German editor whose name is not given. In his introduction he reminds us, in capital letters, of the origin of the Copernican system. How, he asks, was astronomical truth got at? By an inversion of the views before hold. The editor has great faith in inversion, and by freely employing this process in the matter of the two hemispheres, he flatters himself he is able to reconcile the text of Scripture with the known course of human events. The book mainly consists of his notes on the lectures, notes in which much erudition and ingenuity are displayed, and from which a good deal of curious information may be gathered.

L. C. S.

Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

THIS volume consists of 956 closely-printed pages, and contains long and elaborate articles on all imaginable subjects, as French politics, tobacco duty, Victor Cousin, Alfred Tennyson, Heinrich Heine, Austria, German painters in Abyssinia, immortality, and the newest German philosophy. It is the volume for the half year of what we may call the German Contemporary Review.

J. H.

Der deutsche Protestantenverein, und seine Bedeutung in den Akten dargestellt. Von Dr. DANIEL SCHENKEL. Wiesbaden: C. W. Kreidel's Verlag.

AT the present time when progressive and reactionary tendencies in open conflict within the pale of our own National Church are engaging so much of the attention of earnest-minded men, this pamphlet, put out in explanation of the Protestant Union of Germany, can hardly fail to be read with interest. Dr. Schenkel, who comes forward as the champion of its principles, accepts the entire responsibility of the present work, the spirit of which will be at once apparent from one or two of his introductory remarks. "Protestantism," says he, "has broken with the mediæval form of Christianity in three particulars. First, it rejects all priestly mediation, all priestcraft whatever. Secondly, it requires an independent confession of faith, a personal conviction; a merely traditional and passively received belief having no value in its eyes. Thirdly,

it lays no stress on external forms; spiritual peace and fellowship with God being, it holds, independent of these."

There is a conflict now going on, the writer states, between Catholicism and Protestantism, in the very midst of the German Protestant Church itself, and the object of the Union is "the renewal of the Protestant Church in the spirit of *Evangelical Liberty*, and in *Harmony with the universal 'Culture-Development' of our time.*"

The Protestant Union held its first meeting at Frankfort in the autumn of 1863, its last at Bremen in the June of the present year. As may be supposed, the greatest freedom reigns in its discussions, and very widely divergent views are held by its members. As may also be supposed, its opponents, whether Roman Catholics or belonging to the so-called orthodox party within the Reformed Church, do not scruple to charge it not only with every form of heresy, but utter irreligion. This charge Dr. Schenkel fervently rebuts. Religion, according to him, is inherent in human nature; its forms may be transitory, its spirit eternal. "Even though man should forsake God, God," he holds, "will not forsake man." But it is one of the fundamental principles of the Protestant Union to distinguish between religion and dogmatic theology. Very decided diversities of opinion are, it proclaims, quite consistent with unity of spirit and unity of action.

"Let some," says Dr. Schenkel, "think with Luther, others with Zwinglius; some stammer forth the mysteries of the Godhead in Arian, others in Athanasian formulas; some serve their God with the deep heart-piety of a Spener, others with the intellectual acuteness of a Schleiermacher; so only that all join hands in the spirit of godly sincerity and brotherhood that the Master has taught us, so only that all let their light shine before men, and wear the badge of that love which the Master has declared the one essential distinction betwixt Christian and non-Christian." L. C. S.

Bibliothek Humoristischer Dichtungen. Herausgegeben von GUSTAV HALLER.
Halle: Verlag von G. Emil Barthel.

THE series of little books appearing under this title, according to their programme, comprehends the humorous in all its branches—comedy, burlesque, and satire; neither is any poetical form to be excluded, the plan embracing drama, epos, lyrics, romance, &c. And, moreover, translations are to be freely given as well as original poems. Of the three volumes that have already appeared, one is a translation of a play of Aristophanes; the others contain collections of short poems. It is, we all know, difficult for one nation to enter into the humour of another; and most of us, probably, have a preconceived opinion as to the ponderous and dreary nature of German wit, that most certainly the perusal of these selected specimens will not tend to remove.

L. C. S.

Das Beständige in den Menschenrassen und die Spielweite ihrer Veränderlichkeit. Prolegomena zu einer Ethnologie der Culturvölker. Von Dr. A. BASTIAN.
Berlin.

WHEN Pope wrote his famous line,—

"The proper study of mankind is man,"

he little dreamt what the study of man would become under its new form and title of anthropology. We have here before us the Prolegomena, in old-fashioned terms the Preface or Introduction, to a work on the ethnology of the civilized races, and this Prolegomena alone constitutes a voluminous work, a very closely printed octavo volume. According to the title it bears it should be limited to the preliminary question of the constancy of race or the limits of change; but his subject carries the author over a wide field of fact and speculation, and the result is a very substantial work on anthropology.

Dr. Bastian appears to have read everything; this man's facts, and that man's theories, all that can be gathered from books, seems familiar to him; and those of our countrymen who read German with so much facility that a very erudite and cumbrous style is no obstacle to their enjoyment, will find in his book a fund of information and of thought. It strikes us as deficient in order and method, but we must confess that we have not had leisure to do full justice to it.

It is an ambitious work, what, in common parlance, is called metaphysical,

that is, the author seeks always some last generalization. Thus he commences with a definition of the individual. The attempt, we think, is more ambitious than successful. He represents the individual product of nature as a "Mikrokosmos," which knits up some portion of the ever-flowing Macrocosm, into a new centre capable of resisting the influence from without. What do we learn from this word "mikrokosmos?" And when he proceeds to say that the condition of individuality is best fulfilled in the mineral, the inference is that the height of individuality consists in the quality of unchangeableness. Surely that is the highest individuality where there are most points of relation with the external world or macrocosm, and these points of relationship all signify change of some kind.

We ought to mention that the volume is accompanied by an ethnological map, the combined work of Dr. Bastian and Professor Kiepert, which the student will find very useful.

L. C. S.

Logarithmisch-trigonometrische Tafeln mit sechs Decimalstellen. Mit besonderer Rücksicht für den Schulgebrauch bearbeitet von DR. C. BREMIKER. London: David Nutt.

THIS is a new, improved, and enlarged stereotyped edition of Dr. Bremiker's Logarithm tables. The work has already passed through several editions, and great care has been taken to rectify mistakes. The author hopes that the six-decimal place tables will find an entrance where the inconvenient sevens are now in use.

J. H.

Der deutsche Krieg von 1866, historisch, politisch, und Kriegswissenschaftlich dargestellt. Von HEINRICH BLANKENBURG. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1868.

SHOULD there be any one of our readers desirous to take a comprehensive survey of the causes, the course, and the results of the late German war, he cannot do better than place himself under the guidance of Herr Blankenburg, who has collected a series of essays, that have already excited attention in a German periodical, and now offers them in one substantial volume, liberally illustrated with maps and plans. But it must not be supposed that the work is by any means a mere military history. Although military details are copiously given, it is both intended and calculated to excite far wider interest. The author assures us in his preface that he has aimed at "strict objectivity," but candidly admits that his firmly rooted faith in the great mission Prussia is destined to fulfil, may perhaps here and there make itself more apparent than quite consists with the impartiality of critico-historical research. This faith, however, he feels persuaded, will be found justified by the facts his work contains from its first page to its last; and whether those who read it agree with him in this conclusion or not, there is no doubt that a fervent personal bias, besides being inevitable in treating of such recent events, gives life and spirit to historical narrative.

L. C. S.

Tagebücher. Von K. A. VARNHAGEN VON ENSE. Neunter Band. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe. 1868.

THE character of Varnhagen von Ense's Diary must be by this time perfectly familiar to those interested in German literature, for this is the ninth volume that has already appeared. It only contains the daily jottings down (books read, visits paid, thoughts suggested) of one year—1852, and, as might be expected, is full of fervent indignation against Louis Napoleon, whose name is hardly ever mentioned without one or two significant dashes prefixed; and of deep dissatisfaction with the measures of the King of Prussia, and the course of European policy in general. Altogether, in spite of the remarkable mental activity it records, it gives us rather a depressing picture of advanced life. One of its most interesting features is the enduring and enthusiastic love revealed for the writer's wife, the gifted Rahel, who had been taken from him nineteen years before, leaving a permanent void in the life both of his heart and mind. Here is a touching entry:—

"Sunday, April 18th, 1852.—Worked at Rahel's papers, copied letters to Pauline Wiesel. I could hardly bear it, so powerful the electric current flowing from those old pages into my soul. That twenty years after Rahel's departure that life should still be

so fresh. All that she suffered, bore, and did—her whole destiny—I feel as if still present, and my destiny as well. What supernatural powers, what magic of being, what wealth of thought and feeling were enclosed in this sad reality, and how it shone with the splendours it contained! This teaches me the fearful force of living on, the irresistible alteration that everything undergoes, the world, one's self, even memory. I have grown old, and now see Rahel differently to what I did twenty years ago; not as less admirable—God forbid!—I only see her more correctly, but yet differently, because I am different. "Boys read Terence one way, Grotius another." Like Goethe, I must admit the truth of this sentence. Blessings, thousand blessings on Rahel!"

L. C. S.

Römische Geschichte von Wilh. Ihne. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann.

THIS is the first volume of what promises to be a very interesting history of Rome. It is clearly and elegantly written, and in that kind of German which is agreeable to the English reader. This volume embraces the history from the foundation of Rome to the first Punic war.

J. H.

Oestrich und Deutschland im Revolutions Krieg. Ergänzungshaft zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit 1789 bis 1795. Von HEINRICH VON SYBEL. Düsseldorf: Verlagshandlung von Julius Badaeus.

THIS is not only a history, but a controversy; not only a record of an eventful period in the past history of Germany, but an illustration of the conflicts of opinion going on there at the present day. The recent struggle between Prussia and Austria excites, it would seem, too vivid and personal an interest for historians, even when treating of earlier relations between the two countries, to attain or at all events to be accredited with impartiality. Herr von Sybel gives us in his Preface an account of the opposition he has had to encounter from different quarters. That of Herr von Vivenot he can take very calmly, since "a thoroughly loyal and equally uninformed patriot, who can only see in historical censure or political antagonism to the upright and German-loving House of Austria, a proof of malicious obstinacy and wilful hardness of heart," is manifestly too one-sided for argument. But when a colleague of Von Sybel, Professor Hüsser, of Bonn, in his recent work on "The Attitude of Austria and Prussia towards the French Revolution," accuses both Von Sybel and the lamented Häusser of displaying on the Prussian side a partiality fully as egregious as that of Von Vivenot on the Austrian; our historian is roused to self-justification.

The special point at issue, that at least to which he confines himself in the present volume, is this: "Was Austrian policy during the Thugut ministry mainly influenced by its reference to the interests of Germany, or were these a secondary consideration?" The reader who already shrewdly suspects the latter to be the true state of the case, will find his notions supported by Herr von Sybel's lucid narrative and the numerous authorities by which it is authenticated.

L. C. S.

Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte. Von K. A. VARNHAGEN VON ENSE. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

THE German press seems at the present time to be somewhat deluged with the posthumous publication of everything that fell from Varnhagen von Ense's indefatigable pen. These two large volumes only present us with the recorded events of four years, 1819—1823. They are highly extolled by their editor, Ludmilla Assing, the niece of the writer; are said by her to contain many details respecting the Prussian history of that period never before made public, and to exhibit, in a remarkable manner, the profound sense of justice and the impartiality of her uncle's character. No doubt this lively political gossip, jotted down in the form of a diary, gives interesting glimpses of many distinguished men, and will find its circle of readers; but it is impossible here to particularize further respecting a work of such discursive character. As we turn over its pages we find occasional mention of revolutions in Spain which read like extracts from a newspaper of our own day, but the general impression is of the remoteness of the period, the thoroughness of the changes wrought since Varnhagen dissected princes, courts, and ministers of fifty years ago.

L. C. S.

Die Gründung der Universität Bonn. Von HEINRICH VON SYBEL. Bonn: Verlag von Max Cohen und Sohn.

THIS is an address delivered on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Bonn University, by its Rector, and giving an interesting account of its origin and its aims. When, in the early part of the present century, Germany shook off the French invaders, and the Vienna Congress secured the Rhenish provinces to Prussia, in the whole valley of the Rhine, from Basle to Holland, the only institutions deserving the name of Universities were Heidelberg (which had then fallen from its past renown and was still further from its present importance); two chairs of jurisprudence, founded by Napoleon in Coblenz and Wetzlar, which never came to anything; and the decayed old College of Duisburg, at that time only possessing three Professors and a scanty attendance of students. No wonder, then, that when in 1815 Frederic William III. proclaimed his intention of establishing a new University on the banks of the Rhine, a "population thirsting for German culture" should hail the prospect with delight. Great was the competition between several rival cities, but, however, it soon became evident that the choice must eventually lie betwixt Cologne and Bonn. For a whole year a fierce controversy was waged between the partisans of these towns, a controversy, Herr von Sybel observes, that it may still interest us to review, because the necessity of weighing and deciding between the claims of the two, obliged the Government very clearly and positively to define its own ultimate ideas with regard to the future foundation. On the side of Cologne were ranged all the reactionary and mediæval tendencies of the day, all its romanticism and ecclesiasticism. The party of liberality and progress pleaded with equal zeal for Bonn, and pleaded successfully. In May, 1818, the King gave the final decision in its favour, founded two theological chairs (the one Catholic, the other Protestant), and the lectures began in the autumn of the same year. Since then the Rector declares Bonn to have been the seat of "learned industry, theological concord, and moral earnestness." Long may it continue so!

L. C. S.

Ludwig Häusser's Geschichte des Zeitalters der Reformation, 1517—1648. Herausgegeben von WILHELM ONCKEN, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Heidelberg. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

ENCOURAGED by the almost unanimous approval bestowed by German critics on Häusser's "History of the French Revolution," which appeared in December, 1867, and was briefly noticed in our pages, Professor Oncken of Heidelberg now brings out Häusser's "History of the Period of the Reformation," a work, like its predecessor, taken down by him in shorthand, from lectures delivered by his eminent friend, this volume being the result of the course of 1859-60. It gives us a rapid but spirited and comprehensive survey of the influence of the Reformation on the course of thought and action not only in Germany, but France, England, Denmark, &c., during a period of more than a hundred years. The names both of the author and editor are sufficient guarantee of its erudition and general merit.

L. C. S.

VIII.—FRENCH LITERATURE.

La Géographie du Talmud: Mémoire couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Par ADOLPHE NEUBAUER. Paris: Michel Lévy frères. 1868.

WE have heard a great deal of late about the interest and curiosity of the Talmud. The most successful article which we can remember has been concerned with this subject; and however opinions may differ as to the positive originality of that article, no one can deny to it the merit of having strongly aroused public attention. All depends now upon the Talmudic critics themselves; the first steps towards a favourable hearing have been already taken,—we are all of us interested in the Talmud, and only desire to learn more about its contents.

M. Neubauer, a learned Jew, devoted to this portion of his national literature, has undertaken a series of "*Etudes Talmudiques*," the first of which we here introduce to our readers. Like several others of classical authority,—like Renan's "*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*" and Pictet's "*Origines Indo-Européennes*,"—it owes its existence to a prize proposed by the French Academy. The notices on History and Philosophy still remain to be investigated; and though some of us will be inclined to regret the precedence given to Geography, still so lucid a display of the traditional material will form an opportune complement to the results of the Palestine exploration.

Those who wish for a preliminary survey of the epoch of which the Talmud is the monument, cannot do better than read M. Neubauer's preface, which, though very unadorned in style, is all the more easy to retain. We need not stop to analyze what, after all, has only a general connection with the subject, though certain statements as to Biblical questions carry somewhat of an air of paradox. Our author's division of the Old Testament, for instance, into legal, narrative, and mystic literature—the latter including Ezekiel, the Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes—is one which we scarcely anticipated. And it seems rather hard on the first book of Maccabees, which the most recent German critic calls the most historical in the Old Testament, to class it with the second of the name, with Tobit, and the third of Esdras, as "belonging to the domain of Agadah." (Preface, p. xiii.) If the word Agadah be applied so freely, it will end by swallowing up nearly the whole of the Old Testament.

The difficulty of compiling a systematic conspectus of Talmudic notices is by this time a familiar idea.

"The Talmuds," as M. Neubauer observes, "do not form a regular encyclopædia, where the different branches of science are classed in more or less order; they are only Halachic or Agadic treatises, and it is mere chance which induces the doctors to speak of anything different. . . . Unless the dogmatic discussion forces a doctor to sustain his arguments by relating a historical fact, or indicating a locality, there is no trace of history or geography in the Talmudic books. To the names of the doctor there is habitually added that of the place of his birth; thanks to this custom, the designation of a good number of places has been preserved to us in the Talmuds, but their identification always remains doubtful, because one can only rely on the similarity of pronunciation." (Preface, p. xxxiv.)

M. Neubauer candidly admits that many of his results are purely conjectural, and simply claims the merit of greater completeness than previous writers have attained. One distinct book of the "*Geography of the Talmud*" is occupied by the countries outside Palestine. We have here, in fact, the first-fruits of the recent revival of Jewish scholarship. In a few more years we may hope for a critical text of the Talmuds, which will enable our author to remove those many topographical obscurities which are solely due to the errors of copyists.

We may remark that the most remunerative portion of the work is that relating to Galilee, and, next, that relating to Babylonia; just as we should expect, when we remember that Galilee and Babylonia were the countries in which the two Talmuds were redacted. In the chapter upon Judæa, the most important inquiry refers to the town called Bettar, which, though mentioned in Scripture, is famous for the siege of three years and a half which it sustained under Bar-Coziba. The exaggerated account of it in the Talmud is familiar to most of us from other sources. After discussing the other identifications, M. Neubauer concludes, that Bettar lay in the environs of Beth-Shemesh, which is confirmed by the rendering of the LXX. in 2 Sam. xv. 24, 1 Chron. vi. 59.

In his very interesting introduction on Galilee, the author draws attention to the Galilean neglect of tradition. Hence the contempt of the Pharisees, whose flexibility was flouted, as it were, by so strict an adherence to the ancient Halacha. Dr. Griger, we are informed, goes still further. He maintains that it was a Galilean, R. Yose, who created the *Ægadic* exegesis, the poetic, untrammelled Galilee being the natural birth-place of parables and legends. (P. 185.) In page 190 we meet with a singular theory as to the true birth-place of Christ. The Galilean Bethlehem received the epithet *Carieh*, perhaps an abbreviation of *Nacarieh*, i.e., near Nazareth. "It would be possible that he who was born in this Bethlehem, doubtless an unimportant village, might be named as if he had seen the day at Nazareth." The form *Ναζαρηός* is

explained by supposing the Arabic case-ending *un* to be attached to the primitive name Naçer.

Tiberias, in the time of our Lord, who never entered the city, was regarded as unclean. "A certain Rabbi Simeon, inspired," says the Talmud, "by the Holy Ghost, removed the bann in gratitude for his cure at the waters of the neighbourhood."—(P. 211.)

The Magdala which conferred a name on Mary the Magdalene is supposed by Lightfoot to be a place not far from Jerusalem. But his only ground appears to be that a certain schoolmaster is said to have arranged the lights in the synagogue on Friday, then to have gone to Jerusalem to pray, and to have returned to Magdala in time for the lighting before the Sabbath. This, however, is merely a hyperbole to express the easiness of communication between Galilee and Jerusalem; compare a similar instance, quoted by our author of Lud or Lydda, p. 76. A most interesting illustration of 1 Pet. v. 6, *ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι*, is suggested by the notice of Nehardaa, the seat of a famous Jewish community. If there were Christians anywhere in Babylonia, there must have been some at Nehardaa. But our author assures us, on Talmudic authority, that "till towards the end of the third century, there were no *Minim* (Christians) at Nehardaa; they are known there in the fifth, and this town is mentioned under the name of Nonharda, or of Bê-Nonharda, as an episcopal see." (P. 351.) Are we prepared to bring the 1st Epistle of Peter down to the fifth century?

The derivation of Ecbatana, the Talmudic Hamadan, Biblical Achmetha, has been much disputed. Our author gives plausible reasons for supposing it to mean "city of friendship," from the Zend *Hakhma* and *stāna* or *thana*. "It is probable," says he, "that the kings gave banquets at Ecbatana, to which they invited friends. It was the Compiègne of the time."—(P. 376.)

Here our extracts must cease, but enough has been given to show that the "Geography of the Talmud" is a work indispensable to the student, and not devoid of interest to the general reader. For calmness of statement and accuracy of facts it may serve as a model to many English writers.

T. K. C.

L'Europe et les Bourbons sous Louis XIV. Par MARTIN TOPIN. Ouvrage qui a obtenu le prix Thiers de l'Académie Française. Paris: Didier et Cie.

A DESIRE to do justice to Cardinal Polignac, a diplomatist of the reign of Louis XIV., whose merits, M. Topin thinks, have been unfairly obscured, led to the composition of the present work. The events in which the cardinal was concerned grew in importance before the eyes of M. Topin, and what was intended to be a biographical memoir, became an historical picture.

Perhaps the author would have done more wisely had he kept to his original intention, and grouped his facts round his favourite diplomatist. "Europe and the Bourbons under Louis XIV." is a vague and pretentious title, for what, in reality, is nothing more than fragments of the history of the reign of Louis XIV.—fragments that were at first selected because of their connection with Cardinal Polignac. We are not disposed ourselves to discuss the Treaty of Utrecht with M. Topin, nor to trace just now the proceedings by which a Bourbon was put on the throne of Spain. Nor do we greatly admire the diplomatic hero who still occupies so conspicuous a place in his canvas. Cardinal Polignac was a man of many accomplishments: poet (of a kind), antiquarian, collector of medals, conversant with philosophy and science, and above all, and throughout all, the consummate courtier, the born diplomatist. But, whether it be from the manner in which M. Topin handles the pencil, or from a certain artificiality in the great cardinal himself, the impression which he makes upon us, as here portrayed, is anything but agreeable.

The Château de Polignac, which gave the name to the family, is built, we are told, on the spot where, in Pagan times, a temple to Apollo had been raised. *Polignac*, in some way or other, comes, or *might* come, if you will not look too closely at it, from *Apollo*. It was quite in keeping, therefore, that our cardinal should write a Latin poem—his "Anti-Lucretius"—in which he defended the gods; in which, as M. Topin puts it, he has "le singulier mérite de réfuter Lucrece dans la langue même de l'auteur latin." From poetry the favourite of Apollo turns to science, and makes experiments on light and colour, and

prepares a report of his experiments, "which astonished the whole Academy, and Newton himself." When at the Sorbonne he had already signalized himself as a master in philosophy. Here he had first shown the surprising "souplesse de son esprit;" for in the morning he was the invincible champion of Aristotle, and in the evening the equally invincible Cartesian. The young abbé had both philosophies at his finger ends, and could make either triumph at his will. Then his manners, of course, were perfect; he was tall and handsome. To that air "de grand seigneur," which he received from his noble birth, the Church had added "la douceur et l'onction du prêtre." The dignity of the nobleman and the unction of the priest—the combination is not captivating; to these we are further to add the blandishments of the courtier. It is meant to be very flattering; yet if we had any interest in Cardinal Polignac, we should be glad to get him, as soon as possible, out of the hands of M. Topin. L. C. S.

Les Luites de l'Autriche en 1866, rédigé d'après les documents officiels. Par l'Etat-major Autrichien. Traduit de l'Allemand, annoté et publié, par FRANZ CROUSSE. Bruxelles: C. Muquardt.

As this work is made up of official documents, the reader will not expect much more than a statement of facts. We have only the first volume, which is chiefly occupied with an account of the different armies. There is prefixed a good portrait of the Emperor of Austria, and there is added at the end a very fine map of the theatre of war. J. H.

Les Nations Rivaies dans l'Art. Par ERNEST CHESNEAU. Paris: Librairie Académique, Didier et Cie.

WHETHER we have or have not been among the fortunate many who contemplated the treasures of art displayed at the great French Exhibition of last year, we may take up M. Chesneau's book with the certainty of finding it both amusing and instructive. Even when we are not disposed to agree with his criticisms, we shall do well to give them our thoughtful attention. Another recommendation is that there is no need of any special artistic knowledge to follow his descriptions, commendations, or strictures. Never was there a work on art less encumbered with technicalities, or pleasanter guidance offered to the general reader.

It is probable, indeed, that our national self-complacency may be a little ruffled by the estimate formed of well-known pictures by some of our most eminent English artists; but these artists we know were not adequately represented at the Champ de Mars. Here, however, is one of M. Chesneau's intelligent observations on contrasting peculiarities of the French and English schools, where the balance is made to incline in our favour. Ours he pronounces an eminently national art; subjects, types of character are almost exclusively English—nay, "the cloth the figures wear, the glass out of which they drink, the knife they use, the piece of furniture against which they lean, are all of English manufacture, all local, peculiar to the soil and insular genius of Great Britain." Now whether from their greatness or their weakness, the French, according to M. Chesneau, tend inherently to the abstract, are intolerant of precision of detail, and absolutely and radically suppress the accidental! Hence the French life of the present day, national manners and customs, are leaving no impress on French art; and the writer asks himself whether "future archaeologists, and future authors desirous to construct a history by means of monuments of art, may not, when they come to the word 'France,' have to leave a blank page for the nineteenth century." And while bewailing the crudity of our colouring, and our indifference to the laws of composition, he owns that he is disposed to envy us the privilege of having a decidedly National School, a privilege he considers, at the present time, to be almost exclusively confined to England.

But if our colours are too glaring, there is, it seems, an opposite danger into which French painters are fast falling. "Every year," says M. Chesneau, "we lower by a tone the normal diapason of colour. Grey is submerging us." It would be pleasant to quote some of his spirited descriptions of great pictures by great French artists (familiar doubtless to those who visited the Paris Exhibition), such as that of "Œdipus and the Sphinx," by M. Gustave Moreau; of

certain landscapes by Huet and Théodore Rousseau; and of the Emperor's portrait by M. Cabanel. This our limits forbid, but we cannot resist adding that an insight into Japanese life, a vivid impression of its peculiar characteristics, may be rapidly and most agreeably gained by reading the charming little essay on Japanese Art with which M. Chesneau concludes his volume.

L. C. S.

Recueil de Travaux Originaux ou Traduits relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Histoire Littéraire, avec un Avant-propos de M. MICHEL BRÉAL. Deuxième Fascicule. Dictionnaire des Doublets, ou Doubles Formes de la Langue Française. Par AUGUSTE BRACHET. Paris: Librairie, A. Franck.

So early as the seventeenth century—before the birth of our modern science of comparative philology—an advocate of Bourges, Nicolas Catherinot by name, had, it would appear, been struck with the existence in the French language of what he called doublets, *i.e.*, double and divergent derivations from a common root, as, for example, *raison* and *ration*, from the Latin *rationem*. The list of those that he drew up was, as might be expected, incomplete; neither did he attempt to explain what he looked upon as a “singular phenomenon.” The present pamphlet takes up the subject under more favourable circumstances. It is now established, as M. Bréal expresses it in his introduction, “that words have a growth and a history; that they undergo regular transformations; that here, as elsewhere, law reigns; and that the rules of derivation from one language to another can be formularized with certainty.” M. Auguste Brachet, accordingly, is not only able to enumerate 800 doublets where Catherinot could collect but 160—he proceeds to classify them under three heads, as doublets of learned, of popular, and of foreign origin, and describes the process of their formation. The special student will probably find interest and instruction in this contribution to philology; and he will doubtless be already aware that of the English words increasingly adopted into the French language, several are nothing more nor less than old French words imported into England by the Normans eight centuries ago, and now returned to the country of their birth, “stamped with the Saxon effigy.” Such, for instance, is *budget*, originally a corruption of the old French word *bougette*, the diminutive of *bouge*, from the Latin *bulga* (small bag); *pudding*, the Saxon translation of *boudin*; *tunnel*, of the old French word *tonnel*.

L. C. S.



THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I AM exceedingly indebted to the kindness of the editor of this Review for giving me an opportunity of explaining an assertion which I recently made in a letter to the *Times*. That journal had put the question, What is the Church of England? I felt that "no more important or critical question could be put at the present hour;" for whatever may be the view taken as to the right course to be pursued with regard to the Irish Church, it is certain that the one condition of safe and right legislation on so momentous a subject is, that the facts of the case and the true nature of the problem should be previously ascertained with all practicable accuracy. The real position of the Church of England, of which the Irish Church is a portion, is manifestly a vital element of the problem; but, unfortunately, it is precisely on this central point that confusion most extensively prevails. Many use the phrase Church of England, but only few have distinctly asked themselves what it is, and have resolved to think the matter out, and arrive at a definite answer. Under these circumstances I thought it to be my duty to give plainly and concisely the answer, which, after much reflection, I had satisfied myself to be the true one. It had the advantage of being plain and intelligible. If it was true, it could be easily grasped; if erroneous, it presented a sharp and direct issue to those who might wish to controvert it.

The answer which I gave in my letter to the *Times* was this. I said that, "The Church of England is an institution created by the law, and it is nothing else whatever. Everything which constitutes it a society, every relation between man and man which belongs to it as a society, is law made." I hold this assertion to be true. I abide by it exactly as it was expressed; but it is capable of being easily

misunderstood. It requires explanation to guard it against misconception, and it was impossible to supply that explanation in the letter in which it originally appeared. And, as a fact, it has been misinterpreted. It has been represented as declaring that the Church of the nation is an institution which contains nothing beyond what the law of the land has bestowed upon it; that the authority with which its ministers speak has no higher source than the State; that if a Church can be made and unmade by municipal law, the religion of the people is as much prescribed by the State as the judicial or military establishments which are provided for them; and that thus the sacred institution of the Christian Church, the body of Christ, is degraded into an arrangement set up or taken down at the pleasure of the secular power. The divine character of the Christian Church becomes destroyed by such a view, its appointment by Christ negated, and its clergy transformed into mere State officials, looking to the State for the definition of their duties and the determination of their teaching to their congregations.

I should be deeply pained if I could imagine that I had said anything which could warrant such inferences. It could not be doubtful that a position which involved such consequences must be intrinsically unsound; and the only thing to be done would be to search for the fallacy which had led in so much error. But these deductions have been drawn from misconception. The debasement of the idea of the Christian Church has no existence in the assertion I have made; it can be found only in the misapprehension of the bearing of my proposition, and of the sense in which it is to be understood.

The first part of my statement affirms that the society or Church, called the Church of England, was enacted and created by the State. I did not speak of the universal Church, but of a definite body, of an actual, concrete society, of an organization containing a governing body, rules that held its members together, rights that bound them to one another as parts of an organic whole, of authority and power to enforce them. These various relations, which together compose the Church of England, were, I assert, the creations of the law. I have already given the proof of this fact in the *Edinburgh Review* of October, 1851. The actual dominion of the law over every part of the Church of England is a fact patent to every eye, and absolutely indisputable. A lay-officer, the head of the State, the Crown, is supreme over the whole Church. It judges every ecclesiastical cause and every spiritual person by a State court called the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This court is of recent date, but its creation involved no new principle, for it succeeded the Court of Delegates, whose members were nominated by the pleasure of the Crown. The Judicial Committee's judgments are upheld by the law alone; it regards nothing else, it takes account of nothing else; its sole inquiry ever is, whether the enactments of the law have been

violated or not. The opinions of any clergyman, the declarations of any bishop, the resolutions of the whole clerical body in Convocation, are destitute of all authority, of all right to regard, before the Privy Council: they are the utterances of private persons, valuable according to the credit for correctness which the court may award to them, and nothing more. Some have protested against the jurisdiction of this supreme tribunal of the Church, as an infringement of the inherent liberties of the Church; but the Judicial Committee gives no heed to theories, but pursues its way in the steady administration of the law, and of nothing else. To the Crown, as advised by this State court, and as administering the law of the land, every ecclesiastical person, every doctrine, every heresy, every part of the Church's worship, ritual, and discipline is subject; and over against this court the Archbishop of Canterbury reckons for no more than the humblest layman in the land. Nor is this all; very far from it. There reigns paramount over this court, and over the Crown itself, whose conduct it guides, the supreme legislature of the nation, the voice of the State, as represented in the great council of Parliament, the one and the same identical law-giver for Church and State alike. The law it makes becomes the law of the Church; the things it ordains are performed in the Church; the things it forbids are prevented. If Lord Ebury's Bill changes the funeral service, every clergyman of the Church of England must conform to the new formulary; if the ceremonial for the administration of the Eucharist is altered, every bishop and every priest will have to conduct the public worship as the law prescribes.

At the period when the work of the Church of England's creation was completed, Parliament, in the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth, instituted thirty-nine articles of religion, and put together a Book of Common Prayer. Precisely in the same way, as naturally and as regularly, without any innovation or breach of practice, the Parliament may, if it so chooses, make the articles either thirty or forty, and remodel the Liturgy according to its pleasure. It may develop a new doctrine, exactly as the Roman Catholic Church is in the habit of doing, and as councils did in times gone by, and that doctrine would be as much a part of the Church of England as any doctrine now contained in its confession of faith. That development might be erroneous and mischievous; it might be tainted with heresy: but it would be the doctrine of the Church of England nevertheless. Just as Parliament enacted doctrines and forms of worship which were repudiated by the bishops, so it may now make articles declaring the immaculate conception of the Virgin or expunging every Catholic element from the Prayer Book. These measures might be called aggressive and heretical; but such protests would be mere utterances of private opinion. Neither the law nor the tribunals of the Church would take the slightest notice of them. Similar epithets are applied daily to secular Acts of

Parliament ; they are, we know, simply personal talk. The Church of England would pursue its way as heedless of such denunciations, as was the State after the Revolution of the remonstrances of those who stood on the divine right of kings. Parliament has no body of any kind to reckon with in its Church legislation. The legal status of the Church of England is its only status. Let every law about the Church be repealed : its former members will then become a collection of unassociated Christians with a few ordained persons amongst them. This is the true test of what the Church of England is. Vague phrases about an abstract and mystical body called the Church are perfectly worthless here. Without the law, the bishops are nothing to each other or to the clergy ; and none probably would insist on this more strenuously than many of the clergy themselves. A new organization, a new Church, would have to be made. Those who recoiled from the heresy would secede, but the Church of England would remain. It would have carried out a new act of legislation ; but as an organized Church, it would not have suffered a particle of alteration.

I am not developing theory ; I am reciting facts—facts as certain and as stubborn as any realities in this world. We find the law everywhere supreme over the Church of England, and we find nothing else that is fact except what is ordained or sanctioned by law. That is the Church of England, all opinion and theory notwithstanding. The Church of England, as it now exists in the world, is under law—that is certain, no man can deny it ; and the only questions can be, Who made all these laws ? and what was their effect at the time of their institution ?

A portion of these laws forms a part of the common law of the country. The exact origin of the common law is, I believe, unknown to lawyers themselves ; but those which bear on the Church must have been derived either from the State, or else from the Church which existed in England before the Reformation—the Roman Catholic Church. In either case they do not affect the present discussion ; for they relate only to minor points, and assuredly they do not come from the body called the Church of England.

The laws which created the Church of England are the laws which were passed in the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth. I have recited these in the article of the *Edinburgh Review* to which I have referred above. They were enacted by the authority of Parliament, of the supreme legislature of the nation. They effected an entire revolution in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. They abolished the spiritual power by which the nation had for many centuries been governed in religious matters, breaking off all connection between the State and the Roman Catholic Church, and depriving the latter of all control and authority over the religion of the people. These statutes asserted and carried out the fundamental right of the nation to declare for itself its own faith, to construct its

own worship, to frame its own formularies, to organize its own religious society. They extinguished the supremacy of the Pope in England, and his right of interference with the concerns of the English Church. This headship, formerly vested in the Pope at Rome, this supremacy as the highest judicial and executive authority in the Church, was transferred to the Crown of England; and, by virtue of this power thus delegated to the Sovereign by Parliament, the Crown carried through a series of measures, of visitations, depositions, and reconstructions, which swept away all connection between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. Of the power thus claimed and exercised, the most remarkable in every way, the most critical and decisive, was the right of determining the doctrine and belief of the Church of England. These statutes interpreted the oracles of the Christian religion; they drew up solemn statements of the meaning and teaching of the religion which Christ had founded; they determined the faith which the clergy should profess; they introduced vital changes, on their own authority, into the public worship;—in a word, they constructed and established throughout the nation the religious society known by the name of the Church of England. These acts do not imply that, like the authors of the great French Revolution, they broke absolutely with the past; that they retained no portions of the ancient structure; that they repudiated and disregarded every principle and every authority which had carried weight with Christians during so many generations. It was reform that they enacted; but then it was reform of religion, and not of the Roman Catholic Church. That body, which had extended itself into England, and had claimed in spiritual matters the obedience of the British people to a Church whose chief was at Rome, and whose legislature, wherever else it might be, was certainly not in England, they discarded and dismissed; but, that deed accomplished, they remained Christians as they had been previously, and held fast to those fundamental elements of Christianity which they possessed in common with Roman Catholics and all other Christians.

It is most essential to understand the principle on which the Parliament acted in retaining or rejecting any portions of the confessions of faith and the public worship which had been previously in force. They preserved ancient creeds, and acknowledged some long-established doctrines, and kept unbroken certain regulations for the ministry; but they did all this on the sole authority of their own private judgment. They respected many existing precedents; they bowed to the decisions of some ancient councils; they retained episcopal ministrations, and were careful to observe established usages; but the respect which they rendered was purely voluntary—it rested on their own convictions; they preserved only because they were persuaded that these formularies and practices were founded on a

right interpretation of Holy Writ. They followed the teachings of general councils—not because they were general councils, but because, in their judgment, these councils had correctly understood and expounded the Christian verities. It is impossible to doubt that the compilers of the Liturgy, and the constructors of the Articles of the Church of England, thought and spoke on the ultimate and independent authority of their own convictions. They did not disregard precedent or authority—very far from it. They would have been but shallow men, and their work would speedily have perished, if they had believed that all the Christians who had gone before them had known nothing of the nature of the Christian religion, and that their experience was worthless for their own guidance. But the homage which they paid to precedent and authority was the just and legitimate regard accorded to what was true and great and had been proved by long practice: it was a rational respect, precisely of the same nature as that accorded to genius, and knowledge, and experience in every great department of human thought.

Such was the creation of the Church of England. I say creation, because the Church of England formed no part of the Roman Catholic Church, which had up to that period spiritually governed the nation, and because it was an institution utterly unknown before. But objection is taken to the expression, above all to the assertion that this creation was the act of the State. Some few have maintained that the Reformation in England, and the Church of England, which was its product, were the work of the clergy. Their notion is, that the clergy of England, though subject to the supremacy of the Pope, were not in reality a constituent part of the Romish Church. For though spiritually his, or rather the Romish Church's, subjects, in every detail of their religious and ecclesiastical life, they were nevertheless a distinct body, oppressed and stripped of their independence by a foreign usurper; and being weary of this bondage, and convinced of the corruptions and false doctrines which defiled the Roman Catholic Church, they resolved to strike off the yoke, and to restore faith and practice to their primitive and scriptural integrity. For the accomplishment of this end, they called in the aid of the State; but the initiation of the movement and the authority came from them. Parliament was but the servant of the clergy; and the Church of England was not a creation, but a restoration only.

This proposition is almost too ludicrous for serious refutation. A man must have a lively imagination who can suppose that the clergy of England were, as a body, eager to rebel against the Pope and every ecclesiastical authority which they had hitherto obeyed, and that they believed that they were achieving emancipation by making Henry VIII. their supreme head and governor. It requires a vigorous stretch of fancy to conceive that the English clergy, spontaneously, of their own free will, out of an irresistible reforming

impulse of their own minds, took the king on their backs in order to avenge themselves on the Pope; caused the enactment of royal visitations and injunctions; placed themselves under judges nominated by the Crown, in the place of tribunals composed of themselves; instituted the Court of High Commission; sought the authority of the State for a body of doctrines which they had framed for the purification of the faith; and, finally, established an institution or Church in which the opinions of every bishop and every clergyman should reckon literally for nothing more than the opinions of private persons. The age of miracles had not ceased in the sixteenth century if these events came to pass.

Well, but at any rate, it has been frequently said, the Liturgy and the confession of the faith of the Church of England were not the inspiration of lay minds. They are covered by the authority of the clergy. They were framed by Convocation, and by them delivered over and recommended to Parliament. The State only sanctioned; it was the clergy who laid down doctrines and distinguished truth from heresy. It is sufficient, in reply to this plea, to state the historical fact that, at the period of the consummation of the Reformation, and the real birth of the Church of England—the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth—every bishop save one protested against the doctrines and the constitution of the Church of England, and every bishop save one was deprived of his bishopric and of his position in the Church of England by a lay authority, the Crown. The Church was founded in defiance of the opinions, the belief, and the authority of the whole episcopate, less one. The bishops pronounced the Church of England to be guilty of heresy, and preferred to lose their bishoprics to sanctioning such an institution. In the face of such a fact, it is hopeless to strive for an episcopal or clerical origin for our doctrines or our formularies. The Church of England is a “lay-made” Church: how much is meant by this expression I shall consider presently.

But there is a third theory by which the State-creation of the Church of England is controverted. This view accepts the fact that it was the State, in Parliament, that gave birth to and organized the Church of England; and then, with Hooker, it adopts the sound and incontestable principle, that the Church of England is the child of the identity of Church and State. In the language of *The Guardian*, the Church and the State were one: the same men made provision for the wants of the commonwealth in both these relations. They legislated for secular affairs in their capacity as citizens; as Christians they legislated for the State in its spiritual aspect. Nothing can be more true; no words can express better the very essence of my conception of this great event. But my application of this truth differs essentially from the application made of it by those who resist my conclusions. I say with them that the Parliament which enacted these statutes were Church and State in one. They were the supreme

council of the nation, legislating for every social want of the people. They had to deal with another society—a Church which was not the State, but marched side by side with the State, exercising supremacy and jurisdiction over the spiritual affairs of the people. This society they deposed and cut away from the State; and in its place they instituted an entirely new ecclesiastical organization of their own. The opposite application of the principle of identity interposes a third society—an ancient society—a society which is not the Romish Church nor the State; but the true old Church of England, which was merged for the time, in antagonism to the usurping intrusion of the foreign Church, in the State and its Parliament. This theory is ingenious—it gives an ecclesiastical origin to the Church of England. But is it anything better than a chimera, a fiction, a dream, fondly indulged in, but without a particle of substance? Is it anything more than a pleasant light thrown out by the clerical mind, wholly destitute of historical reality? Where was this invisible, impalpable Church during the vast period from the mission of Augustine which he received from Gregory and the dawn of the Reformation? Where was its legislature, its courts, its laws, its doctrines? Was it the clergy of this ancient English Church who, identified with the State, yet fought against the State for the judgment of clerical offences by the clergy, with a final appeal to its acknowledged superior, a foreigner, the Pope? Did the long line of kings of England who bowed before the Supreme Pontiff as the chief of the Church, and never presumed to define doctrine or judge heresy in their own right and name—did these heads of the English State contain the ancient Church in their breasts, and did the Church, in their persons, first bow to Rome, vindicate its independence and its co-equal authority with Rome? These are questions too hard for me to answer; but they must be answered clearly and decisively by those who would give to this truly invisible Church a substance, “a local habitation, and a name.”

However, whether the Church in England which preceded the Reformation was an independent English society, or was an actual part of the Roman Catholic Church, the historical fact that the present Church of England received its origin from the Reformation period remains unshaken. The *Guardian* itself, which in a strange manner identifies the Crown with the Church in opposition to the State and Parliament, admits that the right to pronounce on doctrine was never claimed or professed by the Crown antecedently to that epoch. The statutes of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth did make statements of doctrine—statements as positive, as defined, as ever were made by Pope or Council. They laid down the faith which was to be the faith of the Church, in distinct terms, and they thus determined the faith as true, and to be professed, in opposition to and in defiance of the opinions of the clergy. It is utterly imma-

terial, as bearing on the formation of the Church of England, what that anterior Church was, as a society: the legislation carried out by Parliament, not only introduced new elements of belief and worship which did not exist before, but exercised avowedly supreme and sovereign power and authority over the entire construction and constitution of the future Church.

I now pass on to the second part of my assertion in the *Times*—the part which has encountered the greatest objection and dissent. I said that the Church of England was an institution created by the law, and then I added, "It is nothing else whatever." These words have seemed to many to strip the Church of its divine and authoritative character. They have had the look of denying that the Church was anything more than a contrivance adopted by the State for the furtherance of a useful object, and of implying that if that had ceased to be thought desirable, the State might sweep the Church away altogether. Christian-minded men have felt that this would be a most unworthy and most inadequate conception of the nature of the Christian Church; and most true and well-founded is the feeling. But my words, assuredly, were not intended to convey any such impression, nor, I am persuaded, do they contain it, even by inadvertence. The context limits their meaning. They were spoken of the Church of England as a society; of what constituted it a society; of all that belonged to it as a society. And what else, as a society, does the Church possess, beyond what has been given to it by the law? Repeal every regulation about the Church contained in the common and in the statute law, and what tie, what link to bind man to man, to connect bishop with priest, clergy with laity, will be left? This is a practical question, and must be examined practically: vague and confused language will be of no avail here. We must realize to ourselves the actual position when every law has vanished, and every means of enforcing obedience has disappeared. On the morrow of such an event, of what will the society consist? Who will have the right to command? on whom will fall the duty of obedience? What can be a truer definition of dissolution than the extinction of every connecting bond, the total repeal of all law? If it be said that the laws enacted by the State are not the only laws of the Church of England, then I ask where are those other laws to be found? in what code are they written? by what sanction are they enforced? who has pledged himself to obey them? No doubt it is painful to conceive the Church of England being reduced to such anarchy: our imaginations find it almost impossible to frame and gaze at such a picture. But this disagreeable spectacle must be faced, if we desire to know what the disestablishment of the Church, what the abolition of all the laws now in force respecting her, will produce.

Some will reply, that independently of all regulations enacted by the State, the Church of England is a real society, an organized and

living institution, for it is a branch of the Catholic Church: but, I fear but little help is to be gained from a metaphor. A branch, doubtless, is a part of a living tree: but in this case, the great point to ascertain is, what is the trunk? what is the tree? The question that we are seeking to fathom is the essence of the Church of England as a society, when every provision for her organization and her administration has been expunged from the statute-book. To say that she belongs to the Church Catholic gives no assistance towards its solution. She acknowledges Catholic verities, we are told; but the very acknowledgment of these Catholic verities is contained in formularies which are part and parcel of the repealed laws of the State, and will have been abrogated, as confessions of faith, along with those laws. Apart from the sanction of the State, the Liturgy becomes a mere ordinary book—a most excellent one, no doubt—but still a mere book, possessed of no authority whatever to bind a single person. The Liturgy, therefore, does not constitute the Church of England a society, or something else than a law-made institution; for the Liturgy, as a public and social element, is of itself wholly and entirely a creation of the State, a compilation made by the State out of materials which it may or may not have itself composed. The profession of Catholic verities, consequently, gives no explanation of the Church, the tree, the distinct society and organization, of which the Church of England is a member.

Neither will the existence of an Apostolical and Episcopal authority in the Church of England furnish it with a social existence over and above what it has obtained from the State. The question here is, whether the triple ministry is an institution adopted by the law, precisely as it might have appointed officers upon any other principle, or whether this ministry itself constitutes the society. If the existence of this Apostolical ministry constitutes the Church of England a society by itself alone, then it must be the same actual society—not a similarly constituted body, but the very same body—with the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church, and the American Church, and others. This it manifestly is not, unless the word society has lost its meaning, and denotes merely the employment of a common form. Either the Church of England is one and the same society, one identical Church with the Roman or the Greek Church, or the possession of an Episcopal ministry in common does not prevent it from being a distinct and separate Church from these Catholically constructed Churches. The possession of the crown by the Bourbons in France, Spain, and Naples, did not prevent these countries from being distinct nations. They were separate nations, employing a Bourbon royalty. It would be simply absurd and unintelligible to say that they were different nationalities because they had all the common institution of Bourbon sovereigns. It is quite open to assert that there cannot be a true Church

without the Apostolical ministry; but it is a vastly different thing to say that this ministry constituted the Church, because then there would be no means of separating the Church of England from other Apostolical churches, which would be simply a *reductio ad absurdum*.

But it may still be urged, that the triple ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, necessarily established social relations between them, and consequently that it is in itself a society. Hence, it may be argued, if the State laws about the Church disappear, there will always remain a definite and organized body, which, not having been constructed by the State, cannot be affected by its acts. To this I reply, that we must carefully distinguish between the triple ministry in actual work and office, and a collection of men who have been ordained in this ministry. These are very distinct things. The one is a society, the other is not. In the Church of England, as it now exists, the triple ministry undoubtedly possesses a social structure: its various members are co-ordinated with each other, separate functions are attached to each, and a regularly graduated subordination prevails. But after disestablishment and disconnection from the State, this whole position would be radically changed: this social organization of the ministry would be clean demolished. There would be no law, no authority, no rule, no confession of faith and doctrine, no form of public worship binding on a single one of its members. As far as Episcopal ordination and the triple ministry are concerned, every one of the disestablished clergy, be they bishops, priests, or deacons, would be entitled to declare—one, that he adopts the Roman doctrine, and holds the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; a second, that he agrees with the Greek formularies, and repudiates the *filioque* of the Nicene Creed; a third, that he regarded his Episcopal orders as standing on the same level as those of a Presbyterian or Wesleyan minister, and that he renounced every passage in the Book of Common Prayer which wears the aspect of a different opinion. There is no fact or power in Episcopal orders alone, which could place any of these ordained men in the wrong when making such assertions respectively after disestablishment. They would have lost all diocesan relations; they would have been dissolved with the establishment. These disorganized individuals would personally be priests, according to the Catholic Church; but they would be as unconnected as ex-colonial bishops, or clergymen without cures, are now in the Church of England. They would furnish no organic structure, no society, to the disestablished Christians of the former Church of England; though they would be perfectly available to act as ministers in any new Church or Churches which the dissolved Christians might choose to construct.

But I have heard it said, in answer to this statement, that every ordained clergyman of the Church of England takes, at his ordination, a solemn vow of obedience to his bishop; and that this vow

establishes an indissoluble social relation between them. They were made by that sacred rite bishop and priest towards one another ; and so long as they continue their ministrations, this right and duty of obedience never can be effaced. Alas ! the events which are going on around us teach but too well the interpretation which is put upon this vow. We see clergymen daily accurately conforming their conduct to the requirements of the law, whilst they are heedless of the monitions and wishes of their bishop. They obey the Privy Council when they obey any one ; they pay their bishop no regard which he cannot enforce by law. It is plain that these men consider their vow to bind them to legal obedience only ; it is not the voice of the Church, speaking through the bishop, or the authority of the Episcopal orders which they reverence ; it is the commands of a lay tribunal as to society and worship which they perforce respect. I do not judge these men ; I do not doubt that the course they pursue is prompted by the dictates of conscience ; but the more they are considered to be acting upon principle, the weightier is the construction which they put upon their ordination vow. For them, at least, this vow is an obligation to obey the Church of England as expounded in law courts, and not a promise to submit to the directions of their bishop, as bishop, and as a successor of the Apostles. This being so, let me ask, If these things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry ? If those commands of the bishops only are obeyed which the power of the law will compel, what will be the obedience that will be rendered when all pressure of law is removed, and the commands of the bishop will rest on his spiritual and Apostolical authority alone ? As long as the Church of England exists, none of these clergymen deny that they have sworn to obey their bishop ; and when they take no heed of his counsels, as honest men, they must have found a justification, an interpretation of the nature of the obedience pledged, which satisfies their consciences. They could not escape such a rendering of account to their own selves ; they must have asked the question of their own minds, and obtained an answer. That answer must have decided, in substance, that the submission which they rendered was to the law and not to the bishop, except as armed with the authority of the law ; and that decision, so far as their judgment deserves consideration, destroyed all social relation with their bishop which was not founded in the law.

As I have just remarked, I pronounce no opinion on the view taken by such clergymen of their vow, whilst they are members of the Church of England ; but outside of the Establishment, when all prescription of law has ceased, and none but moral and spiritual force is left, it is clear to me that no bishop has any connection whatever with any of his former clergy by reason of anything which took place at their ordination. The ordination service is a ceremonial prescribed by the Church of England. It is contained in a liturgy

of her own framing; it is to an office in her society that this service inducts a clergyman; the words which the bishop utters are words put into his mouth by that Church; and the oath which the candidate proffers is an oath exacted by her. A stream can run no higher than its source: if competent authority has dissolved the Church, all other things contracted in her name are at an end.

And now, is it true, that to represent the Church of England as an institution created by the law, and as nothing else, is to expose her to the reproach of having degraded the idea of the Christian Church? Such a charge has no foundation in fact or reason. In order to judge the matter correctly, we must carefully confine ourselves to the circumstances of the time when the Church of England came forth from Parliament. The Parliament of the sixteenth was not the same as the Parliament of the nineteenth century. It was entirely composed of Christian men; it was the one legislative organ of a Christian people. All its members and every other member of the commonwealth were Christians, and all members of the same Church, both before and after the Reformation. The legislation which created the Church of England reposed on the grand and noble idea that the whole people were at once citizens and Christians; and that in the framing of their laws, they were legislating for the whole of human life, without distinguishing it into two elements, the religious and the secular. The truth was the profoundly, the peculiarly, the intensely Christian truth, that religion had no separate province, either in the individual man or the collective State; that its presence, its power and authority pervaded the whole being of man—every act, every thought, every detail of his existence. A truer, a holier, a more glorious conception of the Christian religion cannot be formed. It was from this thought and feeling that the Church of England was born into the world. It was an organization framed by the whole aggregate of Christians living together in one society, religious and secular in one. What degradation of this idea is there in a Church so conceived and so organized? What better, higher, and truer idea of the Christian Church can be conceived than that of a society of men whose every act was regarded as an act performed by Churchmen, and whose ecclesiastical institution was the creation of the whole Christian community, which was both Church and State in one?

But, further, be it observed, when the Church of England is spoken of as the creation of the State, the expression refers to the Church as an organized machinery for accomplishing certain social objects in religious matters. It in no way implies that the existence of these objects, or the binding obligation to attain these ends, is the creation of the State, conceived under its political character. Such a mode of viewing the nature of the Church of England would involve a radical misconception. The State, as such,

had no part whatever in originating the desire and the necessity of ecclesiastical organization. The State may form the opinion that schools are needed for instruction in art, that an army is required for defence, that a general system of national education is desirable, and the like. In such cases the State conceives and determines the ends to be pursued. If the State judged such object inexpedient, they would have no existence whatever. It is wholly otherwise with the idea of Church. Christianity is not a mere collection of beliefs; it is also a life—a life which of necessity must assert itself in establishing social relations between Christians. The relation in which he stands to Christ necessarily places a Christian in union with fellow-believers. A Christian is as naturally and as necessarily conceived as living in a Church, as any individual man is conceived as living in a family. The wants of his religious nature pre-exist before they come under the cognizance of the State or any other organizing institution. A Christian requires the counsels, the exhortations, the help of a Christian minister: he must obtain the administration of the sacraments; he irresistibly seeks the sympathy and the support of his fellow-Christians. In other words, he is compelled to live in a Church—he cannot do otherwise. His position is profoundly different from that of a soldier serving in the army of the State. If the army is disbanded, the liberated soldier need never again in his life think of war or soldiery; he becomes a purely ordinary citizen. Not so the Christian. If the Church were disestablished, and he were reduced to a single atom, to reunite himself to other Christians would be a necessity of the most imperative kind. He did not derive his Church feelings from the State; he only employed the machinery of the Church provided by the State; and the instant that machinery is broken up, he must obtain another mechanism, whether by a fresh construction or by joining an already existing organization.

Thirdly. Another fact must be taken in combination with the law creation of the Church of England. The Christian Englishman is not compelled to remain, against his will, within the machinery for Church purposes provided by the State. This is the great liberty won for the people by the Toleration Act; and it is this liberty to withdraw which prevents the Church of England from becoming a tyranny. It was a noble idea—the noblest, I repeat, known—that the whole commonwealth was also the Christian Church; but such is the constitution of human nature, that, as this idea was originally worked out by the founders of the English Church, no guarantee could be given that all the members of the State would be Christian, or that its legislators would, either as to doctrine or discipline, rightly provide for the wants of the Church. By virtue of the Act of Toleration, no English Christian needs to use the Church of England, if he objects to her institutions; the creation by law of the Church of

England binds no man to a religious organization which offends his principles or his feelings.

Fourthly. Let the structure and formularies of the Church of England be considered, and it will be seen that when I asserted that she was the creation of law, I implied nothing by that statement which ought to put any Churchman out of sympathy with her. The High Churchman sets an inestimable value on the gifts which he holds to be attached to what he calls the Apostolical succession. That succession, that transmission of her ministry through Episcopal hands, the State has deliberately adopted as a part of the Church of England. Those who believe that there belongs to the Holy Communion administered by a priest Episcopally ordained, a special virtue not to be found in non-Episcopal societies, possess that sacrament and that virtue in the Church of England. Its adoption by the State in no way interferes with the rite itself; its nature, its efficacy, as derived from Episcopal ordination, is absolutely unimpaired. The fact which I assert means only that the law continued the Episcopal institution; it says nothing about the origin of that institution, nor about the benefits which are supposed to be perpetuated by it. The mode of that Church's creation need not disturb a Churchman's feelings in any way, as to the validity of her orders or the efficacy of her sacraments. Whether he agrees with me as to the origin of this particular Church, or whether he does not, in either case his belief in the Apostolical character of her ministry is not interfered with; and I trust that credit will be given me for having had no wish, when I wrote of the origin of the Church of England, to say a word which should disturb the highest Churchman in the land with a suspicion that he belonged to a Church in which the Apostolical succession was compromised. I wrote my letter in defence of the Church of England, as a protest against disestablishment, or a warning against the consequences which I conceive must follow such a measure. The peculiar character of her formation would entail disasters upon disestablishment which could not befall any other religious community under a similar event; and I thought it to be my duty to point out this distinction, and to endeavour to get it appreciated, before any irretrievable step was taken in Parliament. Now this was the sole object I had in writing my letter to the *Times*.

Fifthly. The creation of the Church by the law does not, as many fear, impair the highest of all the functions of the Christian clergyman. He receives his appointment, it is true, from the law of the commonwealth; but once appointed, he acts in the name of an authority immeasurably loftier than the nation. He is the ambassador of Christ: it is in His name that he speaks, and warns, and rebukes, and teaches. He knows no other master in his ministerial office. The Church, the congregation of believers, has selected him for this great duty, for the nomination of ministers must be made

by some human designation; but in the pulpit, in the lead and guidance of the flock, he knows no one after the flesh. The limitations of doctrine within which his teaching is confined constitute no derogation from this superior right and power; for all Christian communities alike, whether Episcopal or other, lay down creeds and confessions of faith, which the officers of the Church, like all its other members, profess to adopt and must not controvert. A general, an admiral, or a judge, utters only what the State bids him say; not so the clergyman, even though nominated by the State: he speaks the words of Christ. When the law framed her articles and her formularies for the Church of England, it did not originate, it only interpreted the language of a divine oracle, whose command it was obeying. The fact of the creation by law of a machinery for accomplishing the purposes of a Church does not weaken, much less destroy, the idea that a Christian Church, and every minister who is commissioned to serve in her administration, possesses a sanction and elements of authority which are superhuman; but these Divine possessions do not come from the particular kind or form of the Church's organization, but from the fact that the Church itself, if it be a Christian Church, and her ministers, have received truths, religious and practical, from God Himself. The Church must proclaim this if it is a Church at all; and when it proclaims this the Church itself is only a minister, not a primitive authority. Neither Church nor congregation is the fountain of the Christian minister's authority, when once appointed to his sacred office; from his Master, Christ alone, he derives everything.

But, sixthly, I am compelled to add in sorrow, that whilst I do not think the institution of the Church of England by the Christians who composed the nation has been either an unworthy or a regrettable origin, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that the actual situation of that Church exhibits a serious falling away from the ideas which prevailed at her birth. The State is no longer exclusively Christian, much less is it conterminous now with the Church of England. It is useless to discuss the fact; all that can be done is to accept it. A mere narrowing, however, of the range of the Church's boundary line would be comparatively unimportant; a far more injurious misfortune is the stoppage of legislation and government in which the Church has been landed. This calamity—for it is nothing less—is the effect of several causes. The entrance into Parliament of many members who are neither Church of England men nor Christians renders discussion on Church affairs singularly difficult and impracticable. But this has not been the most active cause in arresting the legislation which every society, much more so large and complex a body as a Church, necessarily requires with the lapse of time. There is a yet more formidable impediment which has greatly gained force during these latter years. The growth of

religious earnestness in England, if it testifies to the increased vitality of the influence of Christianity, has also tended to impart greater antagonism to the various forms of its manifestation. The Christian life has developed itself with invigorated force in directions far from coinciding. The most opposite ideas prevail as to the relative importance of many elements of ecclesiastical organization. Each of these several tendencies has derived support from the formularies of the Church of England, as they are at present framed; each has derived help from the spirit of compromise which prevailed at the original construction of these regulations. Each has been enabled to live by the side of his neighbour, for the law gave no exclusive predominance to any; all have pleaded parts of the Church's articles and services in defence of their right to exist within her borders; and it is easy to perceive that all have had a common interest in sustaining a constitution by which all profited, each in their own emergency. The result has been a very decided, though a very natural, disinclination to promote legislation. None were absolutely sure that new laws might not work even their own exclusion from the Church, and beyond doubt the dictates were felt of a real Christian charity which shrank from inciting to secession. Hence a new phase has come over the Church of England, which presents some striking contrasts to its first. She has gained in comprehensiveness, but she has lost in legislation and in government. The bishops now preside over flocks divided by the most conflicting sentiments, and the necessities of controversy and even of existence within the Church have driven the clergy to restrict their obedience to bishops to such commands only as the law will enforce. In these days, the law and not bishops is obeyed.

It is the misfortune of the Church of England that the very comprehensiveness, the shelter and home which she furnishes to so many varieties of opinion, has to be purchased at the expense of the loss of elasticity both of legislation and government. For the protection of all, her formularies and her rubrics must be strictly construed; on no other terms could security be acquired by a single school of religious thought. On that ground, I sympathise with much of what Mr. Carter wrote to the *Guardian* some little time ago. It will be a matter for great regret if the judgment of the Privy Council has forbidden many usages which would be free from the taint of what is understood by Ritualism, and yet would be in harmony with ancient or traditionary practice. I do not think that, as the law now stands, the Privy Council could have decided otherwise; nor do I desire that the ritual which it has condemned should ever be legalized within the Church of England; but its judgment has opened a question of future legislation which I can only name on the present occasion.

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ANCILLA DOMINI: THOUGHTS ON CHRISTIAN ART.

VIII.—POETRY OF LANDSCAPE—CONCLUSION.

IT was remarked in one of our former papers, that that important movement in British art which is generally called pre-Raphaelitism, and which, when viewed in its best light, consists partly in laborious accuracy of work in form and colour, partly in originality of subject, has not done so much for us as might have been expected. It is not that the three or four masters who led the movement twenty years ago have not done great things themselves, or failed of effect on other men. The progress of English colour in the last twenty years is something enormous; and a certain degree of accuracy in form and line is now at least expected of every one who exhibits a picture; though it certainly is our fate now and then to observe a style of drawing in the Academy, which can only be described as calamitous and disastrous. Still our painters can draw rocks and trees admirably, if they are not so good at men and women and their ways. But this seems to us the secret reason why the importance and value of the profession of painting are not recognised in England, that the painter's game is not man. He is not understood to be a person who is of any real use. He supplies a want, but it is only the want of chamber ornament and decorative furniture; he is not a teacher of men. A certificated schoolmaster is really better recognised as a member of a liberal profession. As

we have said, the universities may do much to remedy this if they will: by admitting young painters to their studies, if nothing more. But the reasons why Art is not rightly valued as a means of instruction, nor yet artists as popular instructors, are very varied indeed; and we cannot induce this set of essays to meander at length to its close without going into this subject as well as we can.

In the first place, painting in England satisfies no want of the greater number of the middle classes, or indeed of the active portion of the upper ten or hundred thousand. Paintings are treated like music: there is no harm in them, and they do for a few minutes when a man is not too busy or too tired. Both are looked on as accomplishments which give an ornamental finish to education, and the middle classes are not educated up to them, and they, in as far as Mr. Lowe represents them, declare that they never will be slaves to any more high culture. The bagman-ideal excludes art altogether. Business and its fatigues entirely occupy the British citizen; and, unlike men of other lands, he is formed with the feeling of the sacredness of business. Because a man's mind is sometimes occupied, let us say for scattered periods of a day, with selling sugars to advantage, he feels himself bound to keep his mind unpolluted at all other times by any thought which is not saccharine. Attention to business is held to mean not only enormous waste of time in waiting at the receipt of custom, but determined neglect of everything except custom. Freshness of thought, or any thought at all, is ignored; recreation of spirit is ignored, except in clandestine vice; national division of labour has assigned ordinary counting-house work from ten to four to occupy the life of a thriving merchant, and at his peril he shall stick to it from ten to four; nor shall he avow interest in, or give thought or pains to, any higher thing for the intervening eighteen hours. To any one accustomed to books, to ideas, to the inward or outer sight of beauty, ordinary middle-class life is blank, oppressive, hopeless and eyeless. No doubt the answer is ready,—all this is childish; the thriving middle-classes make money and must have it, and so on. But the middle-classes have to spend their money as well as to get it, and we want them to use it so as to get something really worth having in exchange for it. At present they have either a vulgar costly luxury, or false and bad imitations of it. And there is the same laboriousness or dull severity in the pursuit of pleasure as a business. Men of fortune live for field sports, with an incessant unrelenting toil which would carry them through campaigns. And both sporting men and men of business get through life thus with a secret satisfaction at escaping the malady of thought, expressing thankfulness at being free from ideas. Then there is the national stoicism. Culture is connected with sensibility,

and men are as ashamed of feeling as they are afraid of imagination ; it is not that they are incapable of sympathy, or even tenderness, but they assume that the less there is of it the better ; and are as affected in their imperturbability as Sterne was in his sentiment. The impassive style of novel-hero has done more mischief than a being so totally unreal could have been supposed to do. *Ex nihilo malum fit*, very frequently. Perhaps, of the two evils, sham feeling is worse than sham dulness ; and, indeed, the characteristics we are complaining of follow from reaction against hysterical or outrageous *Sturm und Drang*. But affectation of indifference is still affectation, and young people have no right to set their milk-teeth against Fortune until they have seen how much she can do to them. With a course of sensation novels, and six lessons from his Comtist coach, an undergraduate easily learns to talk like a Sachem at the stake. No one can respect the memory of Thackeray more than we do ; but no one can help seeing that his anti-sentimentalism has taken away more than it has given, and that its destructive part is alone remembered, while nobody cares for his witness to truth and honour. Even a high and kindly cynicism like his, though excellent in its original, would be intolerable when copied by persons of less varied experience. But this leads us to our subject, for a kind of loftier and gentler cynicism or despondency about men and their ways is, we apprehend, very closely connected with that almost pathetic feeling for the beauties of external nature which English people honestly feel and confess. They enjoy scenery from weariness of society, and their love of nature is mixed with repulsion from mankind. The power of scenery over feeling is so great, that it seems a serious evil just now that no landscape-painter can expect promotion in the Royal Academy. The consequences are already seen in the great prevalence and progress of water-colour. The old Stanfield and Harding breed of oil-painters of earth and sea is not encouraged to perpetuate itself. Landseer never gave his heart to landscape ; and though Graham and Brett and Linnell are sure to hold their own, Mr. H. Hunt is driven to water-colour, with Mr. Oakes and Miss Blunden ; and there is no one yet to succeed Turner in his wide reign over natural subjects. The future of British Art cannot be accomplished without landscape. Whether the Royal Academy admits landscape artists among its members or not, the public is most rightly determined to have landscapes ; and it is the duty of those who follow this branch of art to try to educate and elevate both themselves and their admiring customers. Pure landscape ought to be pushed on into something like Nicolo Poussin's work, only with naturalist or historical purpose, to take the place of mere classical fancies.

Much of what we have to say here only reflects the thoughts of the author of "*Modern Painters*," but his works have been on the whole carelessly read, and he has himself complained that people dash at his descriptions and do not attend to his argument. When a book contains a quantity of solid thought, expressed with strong poetic feeling and clear passion, it is human nature to take the poetry alone, and use it as ladies use cut flowers—to ornament oneself for an evening in society. However, as he has shown, that modern love of landscape, which is strong enough to be of real importance in the lifelong education of men's souls, seems to be of various kinds; and sometimes of healthy origin, sometimes not. It may be the feeling of Byron and Shelley; that is to say, it may arise from disgust, or weariness of man, whether that be caused by real injuries, or by long toil and pain, or one's own ill-deeds, or one's own impatient or "cantankerous" sensitiveness. This is a negative love of nature; it is not that we love her more, but men less. And it has much in common with the spirit of world-weary asceticism. Many an anchorite of old times fled away under its influence to Sinai or the Thebaid, stained with the corruptions of Eastern cities, and honestly desiring deliverance, like Jerome or Benedict. But in our days weariness or despair of mankind is complicated with very different feelings than the sense of one's own sin and corruption. In the mind of the over-zealous or quasi-materialist man of science, man is apt to lose his pre-eminence in interest, and is no longer, by right of soul, the proper study of mankind. When the spiritual part of him is thought too dubious a matter to be taken into account in his favour, he can only be placed at the head of the *Quadrumana*. And when considered as an ape, he is such a powerful, numerous, and disagreeable variety of the species, that the physiologist may naturally wish to have as little as possible to do with him. Having no hope for his fellows, he may pair off with the poet who has no love for them, and the one may turn to investigating "the life of plants, and stones, and rain," the other to describing or drawing them.

In strong contrast with this love for landscape is the feeling of Scott, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Turner, and also that kindred though lower view of it which is maintained by the athletic school. The word athletic has become simply nauseous, from continued misuse and the awful amount of idleness, in boys and men, which that misuse has fostered. But we know no more convenient classification of those English tastes, which are the basis of our best schools of landscape-painting, than to say they are either athletic or contemplative. No doubt these tastes run into each other, and are often possessed in a brilliant degree by the same person, as by the Kingsleys. In different moods, or at different times, one may rightly

look at a natural object in an æsthetic way, admiring it for its own sake, or in a practical and relative way, for what one can do with it. Mr. Jorrocks states that his view of that eminently beautiful animal, the fox, as a natural object, depends entirely on the time of year. We have found ourselves capable of observing the wilder denizens of mountain scenery in their natural state, with a profound and passive enjoyment, during that period of the spring and summer which ends with the 12th of August. After that time we have generally found other considerations borne in on us so irresistibly as greatly to modify our view of such phenomena. We have no doubt Highland or South-down shepherds feel like mute, inglorious Wordsworths about their fleecy care, at times; but those times are not shearing time or "gathering time;" and we dare say it is just the same about pigs. Rosa Bonheur herself can hardly have felt the same person at Falkirk Tryst, as on Loch Laggan side, or by "far Loch Maree, wild and desolate." You may draw grapes, or you may eat them; no doubt it is difficult to draw them too much, or to be persuaded that one has eaten them long enough. (We once heard an Oxford man remark, following Dr. Johnson, that such things "ought to be charged for by the hour.") But the fact is that it is in reality not a low view of nature to bear in mind the uses of things made for man's use, if one can only keep the higher æsthetic lenses or mirrors of one's mind clear enough for their work. It is not often that we are inclined to dispute an issue with Mr. Ruskin. He must be taken as the representative of English feeling for Beauty; on the matter of landscape his authority is paramount, and the national sense of beauty begins with landscape. We only wish he could bear with the strange personal combinations of tastes and thoughts, which make the wilder and grander scenes of nature an object of almost passionate pursuit at the present day. In short, and within certain bounds, we want to take the part of the Alpine Club in the standing dispute between it and its honoured censor and castigator.

We have said that some men's love for nature is only another form of repulsion from mankind: as Byron's, when he preferred to be alone, and love earth only, for its earthly sake. His descriptions are all pathetic as well as lovely. They are so mingled with human passion, that we can hardly quote them as poetry of delight in nature. In his eyes the Lake of Nemi is "calm as cherished hate." He sees night and darkness descend on the waves of Geneva in a thunder-storm, and says they are "lovely in their strength as a dark eye in woman." Far more beautiful, one of the most pathetic of descriptions, is the joy of all living things, except the prisoner of Chillon, by his brother's grave. We write it down from a memory of thirty rough years, not graveless.

"And then there was a little isle
That in my very face did smile,
The only one in view ;
And in it there were three tall trees,
And o'er it blew the mountain breeze ;
And round it were clear waters flowing,
And in it were young flowers growing,
Of gentle breath and hue.

* * * * *

The fish swam by the castle wall,
And they seemed joyous, each and all ;
The eagle rode the rising blast—
Methought he never flew so fast—
And then new tears came in mine eye."

Byron notices Ardennes and her green leaves, as well he might, only because of the red columns of unreturning brave who passed that way on a certain morning in June, 1815 ; and the words of the next stanza give a faithful sketch of his passion-laden view of all natural things, in its more amiable light :—

"I saw around me the fresh field revive
With fruits and fertile promise ; and the Spring
Come forth her work of gladness to contrive,
With all her reckless birds upon the wing ;—
I turned from all she brought to those she could not bring."

But there are who delight in inanimate nature with pure delight, in form and in colour, which are to them like perfect music set to noble words ; which are, and are like inspiration to them, in and by which they know the Father of their spirits appeals to them specially ; yet not as if He did not speak in other ways, and with all men always. This highest form of landscape-impression, almost prophetic as well as poetic, where a spiritual influence is at work on the mind of the seeing person, and he knows it, appears unmistakably in Keble. We do not feel inclined to go into the question of his poetic status, or construct our standard of power and merit for his elevation or depreciation. But there is no doubt that he felt what he said, and meant it : there can be no shadow of doubt of his power of landscape observation, or that landscape was a mirror in which he saw the Presence of God, and heard his appeal to man's soul, the Lord's controversy, which "His mindful mountains hear, until their ancient strength shall melt away." It is quite true that ingenious analogies are not necessarily true poetry, and that comparing the virtues of the saints to light reflected by planets from their sun, may be no more than an analogy ; we should say it had some claims to beauty, at least. But whether that is poetry or not, there is no doubt about the verses beginning, "They know the Almighty's power," or those which are now especially to our purpose,—

"Where is thy chosen haunt, Eternal Voice ?
 The region of thy choice,
 Where, undisturbed by sin and woe, the soul
 Owns thine entire control ?
 'Tis on the mountain's summit, dark and high,
 While storms are hurrying by :
 'Tis 'mid the strong foundations of the earth,
 Where torrents have their birth," &c.

We do not see how any one can look for a greater thought in greater language ; yet this language expresses the highest poetic development of the gifts of feeling, reason, and aspiration, which also, under the proper circumstances, are developed into the painter's gift. Grand landscape is intended by its Maker to produce in all healthy persons an unmitigated enjoyment, a purifying excitement, an enlargement of thought and conception, a sense of renewed life, accompanied by devotion in all who are capable of it. The same person, as we say, at different ages, or under different circumstances, will look on mountains with the eye of painter, hunter, and monk. Not that the monkish or ascetic view of mountains involves any sense of their beauty. The Carthusians of the Grande Chartreuse say they do not go there to look at the mountains. Then, indeed, we do not see why they *should* go there. Their predecessors of the Charterhouse mortified themselves sufficiently, and met death for conscience' sake, in London. The gloriously picturesque sites which ancient convents so often occupy, were not chosen from æsthetic or devotional motives, but for safety, or industrial convenience, or benevolence. The Augustine monks do not live on the St. Bernard, or the Simplon, for contemplation, but to help travellers ; and the Carthusians dwell among rugged rocks not because they love them, but because they hate them. Convents were built in the safest position, near the best accessible land. The dens and pinnacles of the St. Gothard and the Splugen were occupied, like Scete and Quarantania, by anchorites, rather than industrious cœnobites. There is no reason for giving the monastic orders a special hold on high mountain scenery, at least until the voice of the English parson is excelled by some ascetic of Montserrat or Mar Saba. And though his tone of contemplation is of the highest, being in passages like our quotation no less than an exaltation of the prophetic mood of Wordsworth, still men less gifted and less meditative, even the weary and turbulent "wayfarers of a work-day age," are often capable of receiving great comfort and spiritual assistance from Alpine travel. World-weariness has no right to monopolize the mountains that it may nurse its disgust ; or penance, in order to add terror to its pain. But strong men in the world have a right to that recreation which they can only get by change

of labour, and to that health which demands stimulating air and exercise. They may surely explore peaks and passes in good enough taste, while the pensive pilgrim wanders along the high road, or, like Caesar, crosses the Alps on the top of a diligence. They will not sing hymns all the way, or be unconscious of lakes and mountains like St. Bernard or St. Francis, but many of them will not want the exaltation of a great thankfulness. The sense of wonder is specially valuable to grown men, because it throws them back on their childhood, when their greater capacity for it seemed to bring them indeed nearer the kingdom of heaven. The sense of escape from a world of considerable dulness to a world of limitless beauty, affects every one who has made the transition: the hardest-mouthed barrister or most incisive critic, at least, feels in the Alps that it is good for him to be there; and many a man feels more. Minds are not all like Mr. Keble's, so cast in the mould of the Anglican Church as to see analogies of her services and her tenets daily on the hills. But all men may know that there, if they are not nearer to God, they are farther from the revel of passion, and temptation, and vulgarity, and swindling, which calls itself business and pleasure in a big town. In the hills they are hearers by snatches of the Lord's controversy. Of course, they walk awful distances and risk their necks, some of them perhaps do no more; there are two ways of pursuing everything—the upward looking, and the downward looking, the thoughtful and the soulless. But the very same men who rejoiced in their victory over the Aiguille Verte, like hunters over the slain deer, were capable of transport in the sight of the rosy peak caressed with delicate clouds at evening, as the shadow of the world crept towards it up the glacier. Taking violent exercise like schoolboys now and then does not make men as insensible as schoolboys. The fact is, Goths or Northmen can't help having limbs as well as brains, and find it impossible to wander in the Alps as disembodied intelligences, or to turn what is to them a mighty and deep delight in the beauty of God's world into purely ascetic repulsion from man's world. The monk has no more to do with the mountains than the Cockney, if the Cockney be a Christian man, faithful to Him who made the mountains. Mr. Ruskin does not like people to leave chicken-bones and egg-shells about on the glaciers, and we will henceforth always pitch the remnants of our feasts into crevasses. It may be very distressing to see the British barrister go into his dinner at the Grands Mulets, but if that is all, we once saw a monk of Mount Sinai produce a rum-bottle and take a moderate draught on Mount St. Catherine, without seeming to think it lowered his sacred character.

And here, as we are on the subject of clerical or monastic moun-

taineers and hunters, and as the hunter's joy in landscape is the next leaf of our subject, let us pay a tribute to a good priest and keen hill-man. The name of Pfarrer Imseng, of Saas in Valais, is almost European. He is an excellent Roman Catholic clergyman, the kindest and most indomitable of companions, and the best of curés, and his character unites the ascetic and athletic elements in harmonious incongruity. If it be really a tenet of the muscular school that the great duty of man is to fear God and walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours (the latter over any sort of ground), the Pfarrer is the man to fulfil it. When we first knew him, fourteen years ago, he was rather touched than stricken with years; his eye and hand were certain after chamois; his creeping stride uphill held on with hard guides and Britishers, hour after hour; and he retained and owned to a simple pleasure in climbing for its own sake. In his own person he united the characters which Mr. Ruskin's severe view of mountain scenery opposes to each other: he was literally "the mountain pastor dwelling by the torrent side," where Vispach thunders down to Rhone, bearing the tribute of valleys named by invading Saracens who have left traces of their torrid-sounding Arabic in the names of Almagel and Zurmegern, the Allalein glacier, and the Moro snow-fields. He was exemplary in his care for and patriarchal regulation of his people, combining all authority in his own person; and his view of mountaineering was simply that of the Alpine Club. He took us partly over our first high col, the then little-known passage of the Adler; and a regular day of fourteen or sixteen hours on the high snow is an apt illustration of the sublime of modern landscape and its difficulties. It is strange how the great glories of sight, like snow mountains or desert sands, are set apart, and, it would seem, made purposely difficult of access to man; and they are only seen for short intervals under those conditions of colour which give them their transcendent power over the spirit of man—that is to say, only at sunrise or sunset. For the impressions of desert night and noon, though forcible enough, affect through the sense of toil, suffering, or repose, not through that of pure and absolute beauty. And busy, laborious men must not be maltreated if they are forced to carry some of the associations of weary life into scenes where they find a certain rest and elevation for their souls, and if being made for strong exercise, they take it and the sense of beauty together. Lawyers and parish clergy pass a good deal of time among depressing places and people, in crowded courts and cottages, sickened with carbonic acid or flatulent rhetoric; vexed with imposture and mendicancy, with pity and smells, among sharp practitioners and mephitic old women. Now, if a man forced to live thus contracts and carries with him a certain feeling, painful, tender, ludicrous, submissive, of the incon-

gruities of life, it will make him enjoy high mountain scenery, not only for its own beauty, but as the monk may be supposed to enjoy it, because it is so unlike the life from which he has escaped. If he have higher notes in his character than those of mere melancholy or humour, he will undoubtedly hear a certain "Gloria in Excelsis" among the Alpine peaks, to which the voices of Keble and Wordsworth bear witness; and he will not feel mere adventures and rather comic incidents of travel take away better things from him. We well remember that first long day, fourteen years ago—the night before, at the Matmark châteaux; the great international congress of German and Italian guides who gathered like eagles to the sinful carcasses of fourteen guides and travellers, lying side by side in the coarse hay; the early attempt at breakfast, and start as the stars went out; and how the cold dawn found us scrambling up the rocks by the Schwartzberg glacier. Pfarrer Imseng led us to the col, grinding silently and incessantly in front, with the tails of his long soutane tied round his waist; a skull-cap instead of his three-cornered hat; a stock worked in blue beads; and the largest boots and nails ever seen by man. We touched snow first at a great height on the *neré* of the Allalein glacier, and soon after came the sudden sun, taking quick possession of the near Strahlhorn and Rympfischorn, then instantly sweeping down upon us, tinting the very snow at our feet with the rose of dawn, then leaping from one ridge to another, and chasing the shadows down the hill-sides. Then we remember parting with the dear old curé, and the long scramble down the blue ice-slope on the Zermatt side, with its unpleasant bergschrund opening chilly and cerulean jaws below us for half an hour,—all the incidents and accidents which culminated in that night's enormous supper at the Riffelberg are before us now. But the one leading impression of that day even now prevails over all the others; that beatific vision of sunrise, so indescribable and awful and transporting, which to speak of confuses us even now. That and many other such sights have convinced us, that though the mountain gloom and glory will not make a profane man pious or refine a clown, they will give both stimulus and free play to all which is not impious or vulgar in either man; and we are sure that it is possible for any one to enjoy Alpine scenery with thankful wonder and sense of beauty, taken along with hard walking, incongruous accidents, and oddly marked characters.

But this has kept us too long from one of the great elements of landscape feeling in the English character, which is the spirit of the hunter. We think it is St. Bernard whom Mr. Ruskin quotes as "knowing no other use for mountains than that they are inhabited by the beasts," and it is an engrained habit in various Celtic and

Tentonic races to go to the hill in search of the beasts. And this feeling for the chase is closely connected with all the scenery of the Celtic part of our own island. The sweeping lines of Highland scenery, like the boundless monotony of Norwegian fjelds, suggest the wandering range of the deer; and no one can have much acquaintance with either Gaelic or Norsk peasants of the better sort, without understanding their strong natural feeling for the chase. And though they have not yet produced much painting, the poetry and landscape of the North inspired Scott, and Scott is still much more our master than we seem generally to acknowledge. Mr. Ruskin (*M. P.*, vol. iii. p. 275) has pointed out the marked distinction between his description of and feeling for nature, and Byron's, or Wordsworth's, or even Tennyson's. He is not self-conscious; he enjoys nature simply. The life and beauty of landscape fairly take him out of himself. He is habitually sad, but the hills are not, and the soul of them goes into his blood.

"Instead of making Nature anyway subordinate to himself, he makes himself subordinate to her; follows her lead straightforwardly; does not venture to bring his own cares and thoughts into her pure and quiet presence; paints her in her simple and universal truth, adding no result of momentary passion or fancy; and appears, therefore, at first shallower than other poets, being, indeed, wider and healthier."

All our respect for Wordsworth and his noblest work, cannot prevent our feeling some absurdity in his being compelled to work himself into intimations of immortality on a May morning, by employing a little shepherd boy to trample and "hooray" in high-
 lows before him.

"Shout round me, let me hear thy shouts, thou happy shepherd-boy."

More to a painter's mind is the grand self-forgetfulness of Scott. Sad or merry, he is there, and the beauty of earth and heaven is there, and he has "an instinctive sense of the Divine presence therein," perhaps "not moulded into distinct belief," or rather not consciously dwelt on. But anyhow, such descriptions as those in "Waverley" and "Guy Mannering;" those of Loch Coruisk in Skye, of Loch Katrine, and of the Trosachs in the "Lady of the Lake;" the sunset and storm on Halket-head in the "Antiquary;" and the study of Wharncliffe Chase, which forms a part of the opening chapter of "Ivanhoe;" are still standard pictures in the language. The last of these scenes has a special and silvan charm of its own—it has always seemed to us that the word silvan applies particularly to it, since it combines the richness of English woodland, and the breadth of Yorkshire oaks, with finely formed rocks and boulders, and long rich heather (or more properly "ling"), like that of the West Highlands. "He who has not seen Wharncliffe has not seen a

marvel;" and not the least delightful thing about the Chase is the inscription in the Forest Lodge, which a lord of centuries gone says he built for himself, when he could follow his sport no longer, that he might abide his death there apart, and "hear the hart's bell" even to the end. No better example could be found of the hunter's love of nature, which ought not to be despised or ignored. It is as well defined in Isaak Walton as it is in the Kingsleys, and all good fishermen; it gave action to the rather pedestrian muse of Sir Humphry Davy;* Turner shared in it at Farnley; Chantrey's woodcocks bear witness for him; there are Hunt, and Stanhope, and Ansdell, Lee, and Frederick Tayler; and as for Landseer, Mr. Ruskin says himself of him that his power depends not so much on any sense or view of the ideal, as on a healthy love for Scotch terriers; and still more for deer-hounds, and their stout quarry. Can any of us forget Mr. Dyce's delightful picture of Bemerton, with George Herbert going out fishing? That is, no doubt, at a very distant point in art and sport from the savagery of Snyders and Rubens; it is still farther from the vulgarities of Alken and the lower sporting school, if they are to be called a school. But the space between such opposite poles is wide enough for a great deal of good art and pure pleasure in silvan landscape and action. We must leave Rubens open to attack on this matter, but Landseer and Leech need no defence.

Two men since Scott have left names which must be associated with the English school of mountain landscape, especially with all that is called the North Country, including Cheviot, the English Lakes, Bolton Abbey and the Dales, and all that pleasant land where men don't describe themselves by counties, but say they live in Craven, or Holderness, or Cleveland.† One of these is Christopher North, the other Arthur Hugh Clough. Of Professor Wilson we can only say that "Anglimania" and "Twaddle on Tweedside" have been our delight for twenty years, and will be to the end. Perhaps they are out of fashion. The sensual school do not take the old view of cakes and ale; they train on absinthe, we suppose; their notion of a revel is not the hunter's mess eaten by the grey stone, nor his "health to man, and death to stag," drunk deep in hall. Actæon is their model hunter, and they feast à la Louis Quinze. All the fun seems to be going out of this over-excited generation; we cannot suppose that the worshippers of "Our Lady of Pain" will think

* See "Salmonia," a series of angling scenes: referring also, and at the same time, if possible, to the never-to-be-forgotten review of that work by Professor Wilson, "Essays Critical and Imaginative," vol. ii. p. 280. (Vol. vi. of the Collected Works. Blackwood. 1856.)

† Just as the old names endure in the Highlands, where Inverness-shire and Argyle-shire are terms known to the postal service, but natives and settlers delight to refer themselves to Lochaber or Badenoch.

"Knoydart, Croydart, Moydart, Morrer or Ardnamurchan."

much of "Christopher on Colonsay,"—but it will last our time anyhow.

Clough's chief poem, now called the "Bothie of Tobar-na-Vuolich," was first published, we think, in 1849. We have only to speak of its word-painting. There are no hunting scenes in it, though its scene lies in Braemar; but it is all hill-wandering, "with drover on hill-side sleeping, folded in plaid, where the sheep are strewn thicker than rocks by Loch Awen." It hovers always on the edge of the wilder pastoral, and makes one still feel "the glory of shooting jackets," and the pleasures of a land uninhabited and roadless, a playground of men. The picture of the "Bathing-place" is well known; many an Oxford man has gone head-foremost into its depths since its first discovery by Clough's memorable reading party.* There are two such places at intervals of about three miles, close on the main road up Glenfalloch above Loch Lomond, now daily traversed by the Glencoe coach to Fort William. It is wonderful to think of the beauty of that glen, and of the number of tourists who scurry unconsciously through it all the summer, whipped by the furies of dulness, and taking their pleasure dolorously at the rate of ten miles an hour, after the national fashion.

There is a strange resemblance to painting in this staccato style of description, full of pithily-conveyed ideas. Facts are put in right and for ever, as with the brush of a cunning hand. But some of Clough's descriptions possess a royal and Homeric power, literally like "the shout of a king;" appealing to the soul with a splendid energy, inspired only by that keen unmitigated inspiration of human delight in God's great works, which has from the first been our only definition of art in all its modes of expression.†

* It contained a tutor of the Heir Apparent and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, both renowned swimmers.

"There is a stream, I name not its name, lest inquisitive tourist
Hunt it, and make it a lion, and get it at last into guide-books,—
Springing far off from a loch unexplored in the folds of great mountains,
Falling two miles through rowan and stunted alder, enveloped
Then for four more in a forest of pine, where broad and ample
Spreads, to convey it, the glen, with heathery slopes on both sides:
Broad and fair the stream, with occasional falls and narrows.

* * * * *

And in the interval here the boiling pent-up water
Frees itself by a final descent, attaining a basin
Ten feet wide and eighteen long, with whiteness and fury
Occupied partly, but mostly pellucid, pure, a mirror:
Beautiful there for the colour derived from green rocks under;
Beautiful most of all, where beads of foam uprising
Mingle their clouds of white with the delicate hue of the stillness.
Cliff over cliff for its side, with rowan and pendant birch boughs,
Here it lies, unthought of above at the bridge and pathway."

Bothie, &c.

† "As at return of tide the total weight of Ocean,
Drawn in by moon and sun from Labrador and Greenland,
Sets in amain, in the open space between Mull and Scarfa,
Heaving, swelling, spreading, the might of the mighty Atlantic;

[There

There are times, as that of the later Renaissance, and at all periods there arise persons, who force us to consider, inconclusively, though not in vain, the greatness, the intensity, and the brilliancy of what is called human power. We have said what we think of its Source; one might speak long of what men lose by failing to acknowledge whence their gifts come. It is one of the most unintelligible things to us in this strange world how men live filled with self-conceit and destitute of self-respect; how they lose sense of their own value and the value of their own gifts by calling them their own, and refusing to look on them as manifestations of the Divine Giver.

But perhaps one of the greatest difficulties which a thoughtful person meets with in his course of self-experience and self-scrutiny, consists in his own fluctuations between the feeling of power and the feeling of weakness. Were our time all successful work and development, or were it all mortification, down to the set grey life and apathetic end, it would be so much simpler, so much less trying. But life is for ever divided between its own intensity, which is joy, and all those foretastes of death which men call pain. No man can understand himself, and he may be thankful who can master himself, in his many oscillations between delight in strength of life, or languor of sorrow, which is an anticipation of death. There is a passage in "Romola," which puts this with a supreme power and beauty. She has just returned from her monk-brother's death-bed in the chapter-house of St. Mark, and is looking, half-comforted, at her lover and the slopes of St. Miniato.*

There into cranny and slit of the rocky, cavernous bottom
Settles down, and with dimples huge the smooth sea-surface,
Eddies, coils, and whirls; by dangerous Corryvreckan."

Compare the contrasted description of the peace and light of early morning in a London suburb:—

"So that the whole great wicked artificial civilized fabric—
All its unfinished houses, lots for sale, and railway outworks,—
Seems reaccepted, restored to primal Nature and Beauty."

and the flying sketch—how often have we seen it *in situ*!—

"In lofty Lochaber, where silent upheaving,
Heaving from ocean to sky, and under snow-winds of September,
Visibly whitening at morn to darken by noon in the shining,
Rise on their mighty foundations the brethren huge of Ben-Nevis."

Boothie, &c.

* "Romola had not seen the distant hill; she had all the while been in the chapter-house, looking at the pale images of sorrow and death. Tito's touch recalled her: and now in the warm sunlight she saw that rich dark beauty which seemed to gather round it all images of joy—purple vines festooned between the elms, the strong corn perfecting itself under the vibrating heat, bright-winged creatures hurrying and resting among the flowers; round limbs beating the earth in gladness, with cymbals held aloft; light melodies chanted to the thrilling rhythm of strings;—all objects and all sounds that tell of nature revelling in her force. Strange, bewildering transition. . . . What thought could reconcile that worn anguish in her brother's face, that straining after something invisible, with this satisfied strength and beauty, and make it intelligible that they belonged to the same world?"

All of us have wondered at the contradictory solicitations of joy and sorrow, which may be great or small, but go on for ever while we live. The best ordered life of moderation, best balanced between asceticism and self-indulgence, must always be a series of oscillations of action and feeling, and must alternately approach one or the other extreme. The very idea of free-will involves that of a certain force of will, of a propelling power in the individual nature which will make the man act and feel, and feel delight in action. And the mysterious emotion called joy, so much less capable of analysis than pain, may be considered as an effect attendant on expansions of this inmost force of humanity, which God gave man first in making him a living soul. This is the meaning, roughly expressed, of Aristotle's definition of joy, or the emotion of natural pleasure,* and this pure joy which is felt in development of ourselves without sin, bears witness to our original nature before its corruption, as all pain bears witness to our corruption and the curse which is on the world. To reconcile joy with endurance, to sympathise heartily with both, is the work of every man all his days. To appeal to other men on their greatness and their fall, on their might and weakness, on the supreme hope which is within them and without, is especially the work of the poet and the artist. The law of corruption is in nature and our body, but for all that nature and our body are wonderful and glorious as God made them.

Force and intensity of spirit are doubtless a part of the image of God, in which man was made, and which is, properly speaking, his nature. That image is broken in him, and that nature is corrupted. Therefore, if he will, he may abuse all the powers which are chief gifts to men; but wonderfully and horribly, they are made *his* to abuse for his little day; and he has his rejoicing in them, short and evil, it may be, but great and intense for the gift's sake. The gifts are God's; they are His manifestation in and presence with the soul. And He consents to be grieved and thwarted and frustrated by the human will He gave the soul. But He is not grieved by human delight. Youth and strength and that vividness of life which often extends through middle age, are not so vain as to be ignored, nor are they mere evils to be deprecated; nor can any severity of judgment take vigour from the strong. Keen and vivid people often and unaffectedly feel as if springs of power and action were loosed in them, which for the time they cannot control. Judge them as severely as you will, protest against them as you will, they answer like the Spanish herdsmen backing their own beast at the bull-fight of Ghazul,—

"Now thinketh this Alcayde to stun Harpado so?"

* Arist. Rhet. i. 11.

Ὑποκείσθω δ' ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν κίνησιν τινα τῆς ψυχῆς,
καὶ κατάστασιν ἀθρόαν καὶ αἰσθητὴν εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν.

It seems to them at times as if their own souls rose up in them with fresh thoughts, wishes, energies, determinations, not particularly good, that they can see, nor yet evil, but of themselves. New intuitions, perceptions, conceptions, ideals, hopes, purposes rise up in them which they feel are theirs indeed as regards other men, no part of other men's thoughts, but genuine and original. And they say, "the thought of Douglas is his own," and as against other men, it is so. But every good gift of freshness and originality of thought comes from the same Father of spirit and of thought.

Now the later Italian Revival of Art was a movement conducted for the most part by men who possessed great gifts of human power, and who deliberately ignored the origin of them. It was indeed an outburst of human energy, asserting itself as human, and the property of man, without God in this world. And accordingly the men and their gifts went their own way; the last of the painters took the portion that fell to them, and wasted it in riot till they came to the life of swine and the art of satyrs. And from this degradation art has never quite recovered; and there is a declared relapse even now. The Grandly Human is asserted; and we are inclined to call it simply beastly. Grub Street we dwell in, with our betters; but Holywell Street is quite another thing. High artistic power, unless it be guided from above, must necessarily be tempted from below; there is no doubt that the beauty of women is chief of all beauty of visible and tangible things; there is no doubt that he who is not mindful of a higher and spiritual stamp of loveliness will have to find his standard and source of inspiration in corporeal passion; that he may err like Titian, or sin like Correggio; perhaps fall into the modern helotry of harlotry.

We never said that Landscape could attain the highest pitch in art, unless it were wielded by the hands of the highest kind of man. We have had Turner and his work, and at all events, the Landscape feeling of our own and the rising generation may be said to be pure, manly, full of healthy rejoicing, even when it is mixed with a taste for chase and adventure, as in some of the poets and painters we have named. We are quite willing to think that men of more purely contemplative spirit, as Mr. A. Hunt, Mr. Boyce, Mr. Newton, and others, stand higher in the scale of art and thought than the occasional wielders of breech-loader or salmon-rod. Again, we must say that those who, like Mr. Solomon, Mr. Prinsep, and others already often named, are trained in figure, and who draw it nobly and with purity, combining it with true, or truly ideal landscape; of these we must say they are our hope. They are condemned for awhile to paint too small pictures for the most part; but they most of them know how to make much of little space.

After all, high aims, and the dream of doing nobly, or doing one's best, are the great things in life; for every man has his day, and sooner or later he who dreams of great deeds will wake to their reality even here. It is for the sake of the people, in the first instance, that we have such a craze about public fresco; though our schools of artists also unquestionably need to have rapid drawing and colour on a large scale, and for considerable distance, enforced upon them.

How much better is it to paint than to talk about painting? And how difficult it is to leave off either when one has once begun! These essays might go on longer, but they are too long already, and may end with one more last appeal for art; as a means of spiritual culture, having higher function and promise than criticism. A National Academy or assembly of encyclopædic philosophers to regulate the English language, and pronounce on all ideas expressed in it, is scarcely to be hoped for, though greatly to be desired. But the poets and the painters would be very refractory in its hands, and musicians would scorn it. The mysterious Faculties which deal with the Soul and Spirit directly, with a power independent, resting on divine mania and gifts of inspiration, not on reason or intellect, will assert themselves for ever against pure intellect and scientific analysis. Their claim and their power are virtually supernatural. The Natural, when one comes to reason about it, as opposed to the Supernatural, means practically that which we can analyse into its laws or chains of instrumental causation, or that which, under given circumstances, men may hope one day to be able to analyse. But the Laws of Inspiration; of first-thought; of Durer's Melancholy of Invention; of the electricity of Association, which shows man ever and anon strange, undreamed recesses in himself, instant seen and instant gone; of the laws of pure Passion, and the feeling that is deep beyond all weeping—who will find these?

“Where shall wisdom be found, and what is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the place thereof, neither is it found in the land of the living. The deep saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof. . . . Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. . . . God understandeth the ways thereof, and He knoweth the place thereof.”

If He made man in His own image, whatever the words may mean, He made something in man which is greater and worthier than all material things which He has made; and He set something in man which is beyond man; something which amounts to a capability, or *δυναμὴς*, of receiving His Spirit. The most important thing about man is that which is given him and done for him; not

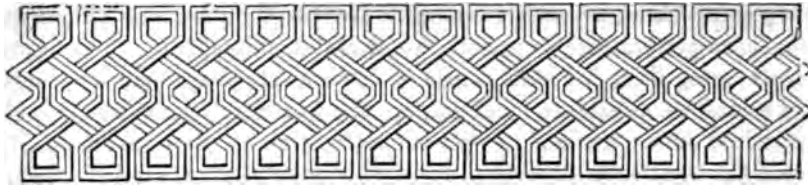
any great thing he can do himself. Next to the prophetic gift, next to those powers called specially wonderful or miraculous, which have been recognised from the earliest days as signs or manifestations of a message of God to mankind, are the wonderful works of the soul inspired with "wisdom to find out knowledge of witty inventions;" and the mysterious current of light which conveys every new thought to the working mind, that muses of many things.

No less a question than that of Supernaturalism, or of the presence or absence of God in the world, is before the thinking world now. We are all willing to admit, and thankful to have shown to us, law within law of phenomena, material cause behind material cause. What we ask is, Is there any spirit in man, or in the world? or are we to be forbidden to dream of Soul, and to hope for anything except returning to our dust? If so, men are miserable in proportion as their hopes and thoughts are given to what they call Soul or Spirit. If so, the greatest genius is the worst deceived among all deluded lookers for immortality. If so, let us eat and drink, those of us who can get enough to eat and drink, for to-morrow we die by the hands of the human creatures below us, uncomforted and hopeless like ourselves, blind mouths like ourselves—not sheep without shepherd, but wolves without food—governed only by the primal law of cannibalism, that the stronger shall devour the weaker, and the many eat the few. Set up your Goddess of Reason, or Calf of Humanity, and your guillotine will be set up for you. But if there be a spirit in man, then it comes from a Father and Lord of all spirits: then man has his supernatural or mysterious side, and bears in himself the witness of Divinity, even against his will. In that case there is hope, and man can endure life; though he lives as a spirit in prison, in bondage of corruption, invited and drawn to Himself continually by the Father of Spirits, who consented to share our bondage by His Son.

The ministry and testimony of the Creative Arts, as manifestations of God's Spirit in man, may do much even now, when the Age of Denial has succeeded that of doubt, and self-worship is merging in Atheism. "All very well, gentlemen," said Napoleon to his savans, looking up to the broad Egyptian stars, "but who made all these?" He who looks to the sculpture of Greece, the painting of Italy, or the landscape of England, may ask also, Who made the men who made all these? Μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.*

R. ST. JOHN TYRWHITT.

* *Œd. Tyr.*, 871.



MANUALS OF FAMILY PRAYER.

Family Prayers, compiled from various sources (chiefly from Bishop Hamilton's Manual), and arranged on the Liturgical principle. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London: Rivingtons. 1868.

Family Prayers for Four Weeks. With additional Prayers for especial days and occasions. By the VERY REV. HENRY LAW, M.A., Dean of Gloucester. London: Nisbet and Co. 1868.

The Manual of Family Prayers for Christian Households. By the Rev. E. H. BAYNES, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael and All Angels, Coventry. London: Houlston and Wright. 1869.

THERE is no kind of composition so easy, and at the same time none so difficult, as that of prayers. None so easy, if the object be merely to produce something respectable, and unobjectionable; none so difficult, if that which is produced is ever to serve really as *prayer*, is ever to attract to itself the hearts and thoughts of those for whom it is intended. Nothing short of long practice in mixing with the working and servant classes, will enable a man to put together words which shall carry upon their sound the devotional thoughts of the greater portion of every family circle.

We need not surely inform any one, who has attempted to use any of the ordinary manuals of family prayer, that no such preparation has fitted their compilers for their task. The usual character of these manuals is such as to render them worse than useless for their purpose. Some of them are mere centos from Scripture, and only add one more chance to the many already provided for our domestics never to understand or appreciate its words. Others again are mere centos from the Prayer-book, and thus tend to obscure the sense of appropriateness of those "words fitly spoken," when they occur in

the offices of the Church. And of those which are the composition of their editors, what shall we say? Who that has used Thornton, or Bishop Blomfield, or Bickersteth, or others which we could but will not name, will hesitate to concur in our verdict of utter unfitness?

Take the prayer of our Lord; take any one of the well-known prayers or collects of the Church, and put it beside the same quantity of words out of any one of these manuals. What have we?

In the first of the former, divine inimitable simplicity; in the second, admirable perspicuity of thought clothed in rhythmic words that can never be forgotten. And in the latter, what?

Generally, either a cumbrous array of words absolutely unmeaning and yielding no idea at all, or else some poor washy thought struggling through a heap of superincumbent verbiage: or if the thought be sufficiently put forward, then incongruity in that thought itself. Or if not that in single thoughts, yet incongruity in the relation of one thought to another: the past, present, and future jumbled together in an indiscriminating mass of "blessed words;" Old and New Testament expressions welded together in utter unconsciousness of their incongruity: penitence, supplication, and thanksgiving, dashed about in confusion, so that whoever follows with his thoughts must rise from his knees with a headache. We have "assisted" at many family prayers, where the object of the good man who compiled the book of devotions seemed to have been, to prevent one pious thought from entering the mind of any one present.

It is not without a cause then, that many have of late taken in hand to improve our manuals of Family Prayer.

Three such endeavours head our notice. We will take them in order.

1.

Dr. Goulburn has opened his work with a preface wherein he sets forth the nature and requirements of family prayer. There is something, we own, disappointing in this preface, when we find the author not going at once into the great realities of his subject, and spending two or three pages in seeking for Scripture authority for family prayer, and then, when he cannot find any, inquiring why there is none. "Why the New Testament is silent on family prayer" is said to be because "it was not as fathers, children, husbands, wives, masters, and dependents, that they had any standing in Christ, but simply as baptized believers." This we must own is a startling assertion, considering that St. Paul twice goes through each of these relations, teaching its standing in Christ, and that St. Peter also instructs us very well on the same matter. The simple reason why there is no New Testament authority for family prayer, is, that it wants none, but is a matter of course; and so this inquiry might have been passed over, and several pages spared.

The next question put by Dr. Goulburn in his preface is, "Should a layman officiate at family prayer, when a clergyman is present?" And this he answers in the negative.

"If," he says, "it is impossible to meet acceptably for divine worship, without meeting in the name of Christ (*i.e.*, as His disciples,—as members of His Church and subjects of His kingdom), there seems an impropriety in ignoring the only distinction which subsists in that kingdom (that between the pastor and the people), and recognising a social relationship of which the Church knows nothing."

From all this, we take leave entirely to differ: and indeed to express our amazement, that the last few words of it should ever have been penned. That the relation of a father to his family is one "*of which the Church knows nothing*," has sometimes been painfully impressed on us by the conduct of those who lead or follow in the downward path to Rome; but we own we little expected to see it asserted of any of the Reformed Churches.

But the whole theory is wrong: wrong from its very foundations. "*The only distinction which subsists in that kingdom?*" Where is it found in the charter of that kingdom as between man and man? For this is the question. Of course, between pastor and flock there is an official distinction. But these very terms are singularly ill-chosen; seeing that in the case of a clergyman present as a member of a family, there is no question of "pastor and flock." The domestic priesthood is far, very far, above the ecclesiastical priesthood or presbyterate. Each father of a family stands to his family inalienably in the place of God; and to no other ought he to yield his place. In family prayer, in asking the blessing before and returning thanks after meals, the master of the household, and none other, is the priest of the family.

This distinction, thus, as we would humbly suggest, erroneously set up, is curiously observed in the body of the work. Thus in the prayers for Tuesday evening, we read,—

"ABSOLUTION.

"Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel.

"Answer.—*Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this message of peace.*

"[*Or, if no Priest be present, this Collect.*]"

Now surely the fact declared in the words of absolution is equally a fact by whatever mouth proclaimed. In the Daily Prayer of the Prayer-book, where it is introduced by a setting forth of the power and commandment given to ministers, the case is different; but by this insulation of the fact, the depriving a layman of the power to announce it becomes nugatory.

The plan of Dean Goulburn's book is not ill imagined; but it

seems to us feebly and at the same time heavily worked out. There is great want of simplicity and terseness in the diction, and of visible appropriateness in the arrangement. With the sole exception of a few psalms scattered about among the days of the week, we see no provision for the reading of any portion of Holy Scripture. Sometimes we hit upon assertions as amazing as some which we have quoted from the preface. Thus, for example, the prayer after Confirmation begins,

"Almighty and ever-living God, who hast ordained that the bishops of thy church should in due season lay their hands upon thy children and bless them. . . ." Again we ask, Where? We thought the practice of Confirmation was due to the "example of the Apostles."

On the whole, we cannot think Dean Goulburn's book an improvement on the many Liturgical manuals of Family Prayer. It differs from the best of them chiefly by dilution with a multitude of words. It does not seem to us a book which will ever take root, or find an echo in the hearts of families. We say this with reluctance of anything written by the Dean of Norwich. The spirit of the whole is that of earnest piety; but the mark has not been happily hit.

II.

The second volume on our list could hardly be in stronger contrast, than when set near the first. It comes from the opposite school of Anglican theology. The dry sand-hills of Norwich cannot differ more from the thickly-timbered and richly-pastured uplands of Gloucester, than the devotional exercises of the two Deans of these widely-distant cathedrals.

Dean Law constructs his manual on the well-worn plan of "prayers for a month," adding a few special prayers for the greater festivals and particular seasons.

It is superfluous to say that as in the former case, the spirit is excellent, and the piety undoubted. Having acknowledged this, we feel that here, as in the former case, criticism may have free scope.

And we at once confess that we do not find Dean Law a more satisfactory guide than Dean Goulburn. The phraseology of these prayers is, to our mind, strange and stilted. We are unwilling to give instances of this which might call down ridicule on sacred words. Avoiding the most tempting for that reason, we adduce a few by way of justifying our charge:—

"So uncloak the empty vanity of all earthly things, that no conformity may bespatter us with mire."—(P. 50.)

We fail to discover the meaning of this. The following will

abundantly shew, in its very extravagance of antithesis, the want of simplicity of which we complain :—

“Lord of the Sabbath, as a family we commenced this day on bended knees : as a family, on bended knees we close it. Prayer opened the Sabbath-portals, let prayer now bar them. In humble faith we asked Thy presence and Thy grace : for Thy presence and Thy grace we now give thanks. We began, looking to the Saviour : looking to the Saviour we conclude. We felt our need at morning light, we feel it not less at evening’s shade. We early smote upon our breasts as miserable sinners : as miserable sinners we smite again.”—(P. 74.)

On p. 78, our servants are taught to pray, “Suffer not the little foxes to spoil the tender grapes.” On p. 133, “Let considerate sedulity provide, that due leisure may invite to Scripture-study, calm reflection, and retired prayer.” On p. 150, “Let every Agag be hewed to pieces.”

Surely such expressions as these (and they might be multiplied tenfold) are deplorable mistakes, and can only tend to keep family prayer the dead form which at present it too often is.

While we find these faults, we bear willing testimony to the many excellent portions of prayer which are found in Dean Law’s book. But its plan is, we conceive, radically vicious. The *monthly* division has nothing in common with, indeed tends to obliterate, the seasons of the Church, and so divaricates and disturbs the association of religious thought. And it is essential to prayer being felt by our domestics, if not by ourselves, that its words be more frequently recurrent. The very variety of these long prayers is bewildering.

III.

The third book on our list is, like the first, better than Dean Law’s in arrangement. But it is mainly a cento from the Prayer-book, which no family prayers ought ever to be. More especially do we dislike the practice, very usual with Mr. Baynes, of taking some special prayer out of the Liturgy or Offices, keeping its opening and general structure, but altering its reference by interpolation or omission. Thus he serves the Ember-week prayer, making it an ordinary Sunday evening (or Saturday evening) prayer for the usefulness of the clergy, on p. 4, and again, p. 80.

At the same time we are bound to say that Mr. Baynes appears to us to have best of the three caught the spirit, and rhythmic character, of prayer that will be remembered. There are some exceedingly good collects and other short prayers in his book.

IV.

It may be asked, if we have thus much to say against these three manuals of Family Prayer, what have we to propose in their stead ?

And this especially, as we have spoken somewhat disrespectfully of manuals formerly approved.

In answer to this enquiry, we can only indicate the principles on which all such manuals should proceed.

We will first suppose the prayers to be intended for members of the Church of England. In that case it seems to us clear, that the manual should not lose sight of the Church seasons. The mere arrangement of "prayers for a month," tending to dissociate the thoughts of the family from all Church arrangement, is an element of confusion which should not be permitted. We have been present at family prayers in an evangelical family on Easter-day morning, where the whole has passed without so much as an allusion to the great theme of joy of which every heart is, or should be, full. And if it be said that this is provided for, on the "prayers for a month" system, by a few special prayers for the great festivals, we entirely deny that these, even where they exist, are at all sufficient. We want not the prayers for certain portions of the year, but those for the whole year, to coincide with the happy distribution of the Gospel History over its seasons. Our lay members and our domestics cannot afford to keep up two currents of associated religious thought: and to invite them to do so is simply to stagnate both.

Therefore we should insist on it, that there should be at least a weekly prayer with reference to the Church season, with the subject introduced prominently in the services for that week,—which might be used daily during its morning and evening family devotions.

This, in our view, united with a set of prayers for each morning and evening of one week, would suffice. Or, if such provision were deemed inadequate, it might be extended to two weeks, giving an alternative. Only let us avoid the "prayers for a month" system. We have already observed that frequent recurrence is, in written prayers, an absolute necessity. To know what is about to be said, and throw the thoughts into familiar words, is an immense advantage to simple people; is that which above all things endears and utilizes the Common Prayer-book to the English people.

In the other case, of prayers not intended for the use of English Churchmen, many of the above remarks will continue to apply. The week, rather than the month, is the Christian division of time, for Nonconformists as well as for Anglicans.

v.

With a few more remarks generally applicable, we may conclude our brief notice of this weighty subject.

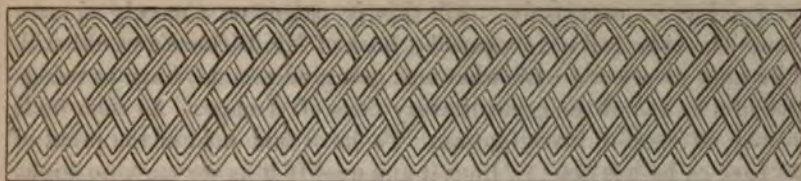
No long words, no far-fetched thoughts, no remote scriptural allusions, ought ever to be admitted into the texture of a family

prayer. Simplicity, even ultra-simplicity, ought to be the invariable rule. Great judgment should be exercised in so choosing the sentences, that none may by its construction or its diction mislead: that there may be no double meaning possible, no undesigned, still more no ludicrous association, connected with its sound. Almost all the prayers of Dean Law's book, and many of Dean Goulburn's, are defaced by examples of the violation of this essential rule.

Again, great caution should be used as to the measure of religious experience and attainment predicated of those present. Many family prayers can but nourish unreality and hypocrisy. Daily confessions, daily thanksgivings, daily wants, need not for their expression the assumption of anything more than membership of the family of our reconciled Heavenly Father in Christ. No word ought to be admitted into a family prayer, which cannot be used by the simplest menial and the humblest child. We cannot help feeling that if these rules had been observed, even in a moderate degree, we should not have to lament such utter unreality as now too generally blights this delightful exercise.

Away with eloquence, away with wordiness, away with high assumption, from our manuals of family prayer. We can well afford to lose all these, if we gain in their stead the power of words representing simple fact; the supplication which may not only be offered up on bended knees, but also carried away into the work of the day, and the night's waking thoughts.

HENRY ALFORD.



CHARLES DICKENS.

The Works of Charles Dickens. "Charles Dickens" Edition.
Chapman and Hall.

WHETHER or not Mr. Dickens will be popular a century hence is a question quite impossible to decide, and therefore very unprofitable to discuss. Very few books of one age are really *popular* in the next—read, that is, by the many, and not merely cherished by the few; nor is it often easy to fix on the particular quality which has kept them afloat, when so many other, and not unfrequently, to a critical taste, worthier craft have, as far as general appreciation goes, sunk hopelessly beneath the waves of time. But whether our great-grandchildren do or do not read Mr. Dickens, they will all the same have to recognise that their great-grandfathers certainly did. Let them form what judgment they please on the fact, there it will be, distinct and undeniable. On the annals of English literature, during at least half of this nineteenth century, he has written his name in broad and ineffaceable characters. His popularity has nothing in it of the *esoteric*. It is not that he has his band, larger or smaller, of faithful devotees, but is unknown or disregarded by the world at large. On the contrary, we may safely say that no writer of the present day addresses so widely varied a constituency of readers. Not a few of his *dramatis personæ* have won a place among the recognised "properties" of literature; and their sayings and doings are used as illustrations with a tacit assumption that they will

be familiar to everybody. All this is patent on a merely *ab extra* view. One who had never opened a book of Mr. Dickens's would still, if he kept *au courant* with what was going on around, have to recognise him as one of the great literary facts of the age. As such he is worthy of careful investigation. To have laid hold of the mind of his time as he has done is, limit it and qualify it as we may, no slight achievement. On *a priori* grounds we should say that it necessarily implies the presence in him of something original, and striking, and his own—in a word, of genius. Nor, in our judgment, does experience contradict this natural presumption. In spite of all his imperfections and faults, his manifold sins of commission as well as of omission, we still hold him to be emphatically a man of genius. He is not thereby excused; far otherwise. The gifts in his case having been great, the aims should have been high, and the execution perfect in proportion. If they have not been, so much the worse, as he can hardly be acquitted on the ground of invincible ignorance. It is better that we should make this profession of faith in Mr. Dickens at starting. We shall have very much to say in the way of criticism, and even censure; and are conscious that our estimate will fall far short of what his devoted admirers think his due; but that his gift is real genius seems to us indisputable.

There is a preliminary question that may be asked of Mr. Dickens, as of all artists whatever their degree. Is he artist only, or moralist as well? No doubt, to a certain extent, *all* artists are also moralists. No picture can be painted, no poem or story written, which, beyond fulfilling the primary end of art, the production of beauty, may not also exercise a distinctly moral influence; calling forth aspirations hitherto dormant; suggesting new aims, or lines of conduct; strengthening or weakening old associations, loves, or aversions. Some sort of moral bias, some leaning this way or that, evinced in choice of theme and mode of treatment, must be perceived in the workmanship of every artist. But, though it is a question of more or less, still the more or the less makes all the difference. Inasmuch as each artist is a complete man, and his work springs from his whole nature, not a part of it, some manifestation of what he is himself, must needs be found in it; and he may be conscious that this is so, and that its effect is more than purely artistic. But it is one thing to produce an effect involuntarily, and merely because it is of necessity inseparably connected with one that *is* aimed at, and quite another to go about to attain it. To the pure artists, such as Shakespeare (if we may presume to assert anything positive of that obscure and mysterious personality) and Goethe, as long as their work satisfied the conditions of artistic perfection, its moral influence seems to have been a thing wholly indifferent. Nothing of the kind

was by them either sought after or avoided; it came, if it did come, as an accident, and had to be accepted as part of the nature of things. And among living novelists the same characteristic is, in the main, observable in George Eliot. We do not mean that she has not strong moral convictions—undoubtedly she has; but in the construction of her stories artistic suitableness is the only influencing consideration. They are like life: the meaning may be read; but the incidents are no more shaped with the view of conveying it, than other people live and act in order to afford us the instruction we may nevertheless, if we choose, derive from watching their careers. The case is very different with Mr. Dickens. He has a Theory of Life; he has strong though vague and uninstructed notions upon what he considers certain abuses and wants in our political and social system; he is, in his own way, an ardent reformer. And his convictions have, from the first, impressed themselves as motive principles on his books. Nearly every one has even partaken of the nature of the political essay. Witness the attacks on the law and lawyers in "Pickwick" and "Bleak House;" on workhouse administration in "Oliver Twist" and "Our Mutual Friend;" and on the management of public business in "Little Dorrit." Whether he is right or wrong in these is not to our present purpose; what we maintain is, that in all his novels Mr. Dickens has a distinct and conscious moral aim which inspires and dominates over the narrative.* Of course we have not to deal with a hand that will drive home the lessons it wishes to convey by violent and clumsy *tours de force*. The bad boy will not casually meet a lion and be eaten up alive; and the good boy will not light upon an old pot full of guineas whilst virtuously cultivating his garden. But while George Eliot weaves her stories without seeming anxiety as to their moral effect—the lesson lies ready to hand if we care to draw it, but is not sought after; with Mr. Dickens the doctrines are not only latent in the stories, they are their formative principle—the stories are built up so as to body them forth to best advantage. It is no more than justice to say that this is generally done with the hand of a master—so well done that it can hardly be seen to be done at all. Mr. Dickens's skill in construction is so great that he blinds all eyes not on the watch to the trick and artifices to which he has recourse to bring about the desired results, the unnaturalness of the atmosphere in which he habitually makes us dwell.

That Mr. Dickens, having a doctrine to preach as well as a story to tell, should, as an artist, be, as we certainly consider him, an

* "Pickwick" ought, perhaps, to be excepted; not that that also does not teem with its author's doctrines, but because the fragmentary and but slightly-connected character which distinguishes it from his other writings renders it impossible to assign to it any special moral.

Idealist, not a Realist, is no more than natural. Nevertheless, the assertion may well sound startling. The bulk of his characters, it may be said, are invariably ordinary, common-place people—trades-people, clerks, and artizans, and their wives and families; his scenes are laid in places familiar to every one; and his plots turn on incidents of every-day life. If he does not paint reality, then who does? But the difference lies not in the subject-matter of the representation, but in style of treatment. Here, again, it is a question of more and less. All art is, and must be, idealization. A mere copy of the facts of nature or of human life, in so far as it was possible, which it would be only to a very limited extent, would seem unlike them. We see this in the case of the Præ-Raphaelites who insist on ignoring the legitimate devices by which painting makes up for that want of perspective involved in the enforced use of a plain surface. Their works may be the most faithful reproduction of the natural originals, and yet by very reason of their faithfulness they seem utterly unnatural. So is it with the novelist. He cannot copy life by telling *all* about his characters, all that they did, said, and felt. No novel can be written except by means of compression, and of what Mr. Fitz-james Stephen calls “grouping,” both highly idealistic processes. The characters, be they few or many, have to be arranged with reference to their action on each other, and external influences are excluded or ignored. Now in life we do not thus form little sets whose chief interest lies in watching the careers and fortunes of some one or two prominent members. No man ever yet spent the greater part of his time in speculating on the progress of his friend’s love affairs. But though all art must needs be idealization, the idealization may be carried to a greater, or a less extent, and hence the accepted classification of artists into idealists and realists. The essential principle of difference between the two we take to be this. Granting that his presentments cannot be exact copies of nature, the realist, nevertheless, aims that they shall be as little unlike as the necessities of art allow of; while the idealist cares nothing for such deviations from fact, if the leading idea he seeks to convey is thereby more fully and perfectly expressed. The realist, knowing how much a man’s circumstances and surroundings do tell on his character, dwells on these, and endeavours to make us understand the influences that have formed him and work on him; he shrinks, not only from the improbable, but the unusual; and prefers to paint emotions rather as we see them commonly experienced than in the more perfect manifestations conceivable by imagination, Mr. Anthony Trollope’s love-scenes, for instance, are not very poetical, and sometimes not even very coherent; but, all the same, they do

represent the exact way in which average young men and women behave in that episode of their lives. The idealist, on the other hand, having once grasped the conception of a character, seeks to show it in such circumstances as most fully expose its strength and weakness, and illuminate all its aspects in turn. Circumstance is only important as the indispensable means of bringing out character, and is dwelt on no more than is necessary for that end. No doubt perfection in art involves a mastery of both methods—of the imaginative grasp of the idealist, and the sensitiveness to *vraisemblance* of the realist; and in approximating towards this supreme excellence, George Eliot, among living writers, stands alone. As a type of pure realism in literature it will be long before Mr. Thackeray is surpassed. It has been said that we know his characters as if we had lived with them. That is the very impression we get. We know them as acquaintances, as much and no more. We can even fancy that we know the style of their dress and the tones of their voices; and are quite certain how they are likely to speak and feel under given emergencies. But we do not see into them. That which lies behind, and is the cause of the outward manifestations, the men and women themselves, we do not know. Of those *adyta* of self opened-up to us in Shakespeare we get no glimpse in Mr. Thackeray.

Now the similarity which presents itself on the surface between Mr. Dickens's methods of treatment and those of the realists is so striking, that it is no wonder that he should usually be numbered among them. His minuteness and elaborateness of detail; the pains he takes to make us form some sort of picture of his characters; and the prominence with this view given to Mr. Dombey's cravat, Captain Cuttle's glazed hat, Mrs. Gamp's umbrella, and Mr. Wilfer's curly hair; the tricks, and mannerisms, and oddities of phase he is so fond of assigning to them—all seem to stamp him as of the class who seek to reproduce that which is as nearly *as* it is as possible, rather than of those who would show some element of human nature at its most complete development, freed from the incongruities and hindrances which in actual life would be so likely to hang about it and cramp its action. Nevertheless we are persuaded that an idealist he is. For, if looked into, this carefulness about details, and accessories, and colouring, will be found to have the form of realism without the power thereof. It seems at first sight to spring from that anxious endeavour after *vraisemblance*, which is the mark of realism. But further investigation shows that the realism is illusory; that we are introduced to a state of things quite inconsistent with fact—a world peopled by grotesque impossibilities. Of course the objection might be urged that this was due to clumsiness and want of power

on the part of the writer ; his aims were the aims of the realist, and failure the most stupendous could only prove him a bad artist, not an artist of a different school. But can we suppose Mr. Dickens the bungler he must be held on this hypothesis? Want of skill in workmanship is almost the last fault we should think of imputing to him, and if his aim had really been to represent what he had seen *as* he had seen it, he would have found no difficulty in getting a great deal nearer the mark.

The reason why there is naturally so much hesitation (a hesitation in which, we own, we long shared) in ranking Mr. Dickens with the idealists is, we think, that there is a very general tacit assumption that idealization implies the *exaltation* of the characters idealized. Their lineaments are on a grander scale ; their harmony more complete than what is met with in ordinary life. Mr. Browning has perfectly expressed this view of the matter in giving the results of Greek art in his poem "Old Pictures at Florence" :—

"When Greek Art ran, and reached the goal,
Thus much had the world to boast *in fructu*.
The truth of Man, as by God first spoken,
Which the actual generations garble,
Was re-uttered, and Soul (which Limbs betoken)
And Limbs (Soul informs) made new in marble.

"So you saw yourself as you wished you were,
As you might have been, as you cannot be ;
Earth here, rebuked by Olympus there :
And grew content in your poor degree
With your little power, by those statues' godhead,
And your little scope, by their eyes' full sway,
And your little grace, by their grace embodied,
And your little date, by their forms that stay."

But idealization is not necessarily limited to the production of the heroic ; its action is just as real when the result is only the grotesque. Its aim is simply to express the type, the idea, with the utmost possible force, and vividness, and freedom from counteracting influences. And so, while beauty and sublimity become more beautiful and sublime, ugliness and absurdity are more ugly and absurd. Greek and Italian art give humanity at an impossible *best* ; farce and caricature at an equally impossible *worst*. Now Mr. Dickens's genius seems to us essentially akin to that of the farce-writer and the caricaturist. Of course a caricature must be *like* the thing caricatured, else it would altogether miss fire, but it seizes on some one or two striking points in its object, and by bringing them out with exaggerated prominence, destroys the relation in which they actually stand to the rest. We think Mr. Dickens will be found to work in an analogous way in many of his most celebrated characters. He lays hold of some trick or peculiarity of manner or phrase in a man, and so elaborates

this—idealizes it—that everything else is obscured. The man is identified with it; it seems the key-note of his whole nature. In fact, he has no nature; but the trick is cunningly used as a centre, or moral backbone, on which to fashion what professes to be a being of like passions with ourselves, but is really as pure a creation of fancy as a hydra or a griffin. Is not, for instance, Carker's whole personality bound up in his teeth? Are they not made, as it were, a medium through which we are compelled to view him? Take away his white teeth, and his half-smiling, half-snarling display of them, and the whole image vanishes into air. Of anything really human, no knowledge, no conception has been afforded us. And though Carker, and Uriah Heep, and the like are, we grant, exceptional in regard to the *extent* to which the method of caricature has dominated over the workmanship, still the principle is ever the same. We have no hesitation in saying that whenever Mr. Dickens has produced a marked and memorable character—one that has established its position as, in its way, a real artistic creation, in distinction to the vague and meaningless walking gentlemen and ladies who fill so large a space in his stories—the result will be found to have been brought about by the lavish use of the exaggerations and distortions, the tricks and artifices of caricature. And these phantoms move amid equally phantom-like circumstances. All honour to Mr. Dickens's great constructive power. Merely as *stories*, his novels are generally excellent; and when content to rely for his effects on his *vis comica*, he is at no loss for incidents and situations exquisitely amusing, and adapted to bring out just those features of the actors he wishes us to look at. But for pictures of life!—why *Box and Cox* itself, with its two heroes habitually occupying the same room, and only by the merest accident discovering one another's existence, is hardly more ludicrously extravagant. What do we meet with in "Pickwick" but a funny fairyland? And we believe that it is just because this is so, and that here Mr. Dickens has given his genius the fullest scope, that the general verdict, with which we altogether agree, places it at the head of his works. That it is utterly unlike any actual state of things is of course obvious; so is a pantomime, and none the worse for that. From a realistic point of view it is a tissue of absurdities and impossibilities, but as a certain kind of idealism it is very nearly perfect. All that the ingenuity of man can get out of puppets, Mr. Dickens succeeds in getting; but then comes the limit. When he abandons the field of farce for loftier aims, where its methods are inapplicable, he at once makes us sensible of his deficiencies. Success requires the employment of tools over which he has a most imperfect mastery, or none at all, and the result naturally is failure—failure often so absolute and unequivocal,

as to tempt one in moments of uncontrollable irritation to ignore his many excellences, and pronounce him—how unjustly, we are well aware—as, after all, nothing more than a consummate literary charlatan.

The causes of this curious mixture of success and failure—of striking merit and glaring imperfection, in Mr. Dickens's productions, are not far to seek. We have already partly indicated them in characterizing his genius as akin to that of the caricaturist and the farce-writer, but the point requires a fuller elucidation. We have said that his realism is illusory; we may now add that his idealism is arbitrary. He seeks to produce the effects of idealistic art by idealizing that which is not legitimately susceptible of idealization at all, or, at any rate, to more than a very limited extent. Mr. Dickens works from the eye, not the imagination. He creates, to borrow a phrase of Mr. Carlyle's, "from the clothes inwards," not "from the heart outwards." In power of observation he is a giant: one would say that every scene he has witnessed, every company he has mixed in, has stamped its characteristics on his mind as available artistic material. In this sense he certainly knows men: he can "reckon them up," like his own Mr. Bucket; but this is rather the knowledge of a sharp detective than of a philosopher. But mere observation, however quick a sense it may give for the peculiarities of individual men, affords no general imaginative insight into human nature; and this is Mr. Dickens's stumbling-block, inasmuch as such insight is indispensable to all idealism other than grotesque. For artistic purposes it is indeed lawful to suppress much that may stand in the way of the full expression of the type, and to set it off by surroundings more suitable than might be afforded by strict adherence to every-day probability. But art, as Dr. Newman says of wisdom, "never deals with a part without remembering that it is *but* a part, or without the associations which spring from this recollection;" and this license must not be interpreted as opening the door to sheer contradiction and impossibility. Though the painter may be painting only a profile, he must know the proportions of the full face. All need not be shown, but it must be sufficiently indicated to make us feel that if it were shown it would be in harmony with the part we see. For instance, no man, probably, even in mediæval Italy, ever attained to the thorough intellectual selfishness of aim, and unscrupulousness as to means so long as they compassed his aim—an unscrupulousness which rendered them no more a question of morals to him than the nearest route to a given point in the distance—of Iago. The representation is not true of any individual man, but it is true of a certain side of human nature—that is, it is ideally true. It is a real tendency shown at its height—raised to the *nth*, as

mathematicians say, unfettered by the checks and counter-influences which, fortunately, act upon it in life, and placed in circumstances that call it most powerfully into play, and give greatest room for its exercise. But though this is the leading element in Iago, and the one we are constrained to contemplate from first to last, there are other subordinate sides of his character—his wit, his capacity for business, his engaging manners—enough shown to keep him, so to say, *en rapport* with fact, and make us understand the part he plays in the drama. As conceived, he is throughout consistent and in keeping; there is nothing in him monstrous, or absurd, or unintelligible (as there would have been if, for example, he had been represented as a fond and devoted husband); given the premises, the conclusion follows, and the logic of art is fully satisfied. Let us take as a contrast Mr. Dombey, who is meant to be a marked character without being essentially comic. We have the author's own assurance that in him he intended to represent the effect of habitually indulged and ungoverned pride—pride is idealized in him, just as intellectual unscrupulousness is in Iago. How is this done? We have in Mr. Dombey a thing in a stiffly-buttoned coat, and a highly-starched cravat, with a pompous manner, and a conviction that the firm of Dombey and Son is the central fact of the universe. Who ever thinks of the costume of Iago or Hamlet? and who does not think, and is not habitually made to think, of Mr. Dombey's? Try to imagine him in a wideawake hat, a loose collar, and a shooting-jacket, and he would be gone. Dombey's pride exists for Mr. Dickens in the buckram, and the starch, and the pomposity. It is these he has really idealized, and by means of them sought to express the moral nature of a man. The reason, on our theory, is plain. These were what Mr. Dickens *saw*, and so could deal with. Intensify and skilfully combine these elements, and you have the process of which that unintelligible and unpleasant phenomenon, Mr. Dombey, is the result. Any attempt at an analysis of his character would be a failure, for the simple reason that there is nothing really like character to analyze. His pride in his wealth and his influence on 'change does not account for his persistently disliking his daughter. Old Osborne, in "Vanity Fair," has much the same kind of pride, and is savage enough to his children sometimes, but he does not hate them. Mr. Dombey delights in deference and submission; Florence only wants to be allowed to be the most docile of slaves, yet he cannot endure her. His pride and self-absorption might lead him to be an indifferent father, but not wantonly unkind and harsh. If Mr. Dickens knows the explanation, why does he give no hint of it? But it is just these "missing links," this artistic harmony and completeness of outline, that he so signally fails in supplying, and does

not himself seem in the least conscious of the deficiency. He has no imaginative grasp of Mr. Dombey's *character*; but he has a very keen perception how a pompous, highly-starched man, endowed with intense self-conceit and pig-headed obstinacy, can be placed in situations which, if not probable, or even at variance with all laws that ordinarily govern human actions, will yet bring out his pomposity, and his stiff cravat, and his pig-headed obstinacy into fullest relief. Now, when we have to do with a Sam Weller, whose final cause is but to raise a laugh, and whose *rationale* no one would ever dream of investigating, this method succeeds admirably. We are amused, and the end is gained. The more absurd a farce is, as long as it is striking, the better; the absurdity is its very *raison d'être*. But it is Mr. Dickens's fundamental sin as an artist that he carries the methods of farce into spheres where they are not applicable. As an idealist, he would produce something *more* ludicrous, or moving, or startling, as the case may be, than is consistent with a rigorous adherence to fact. A mere photograph of any phase of life, even if his powers lay in that direction, would not satisfy him. He cannot idealize after the true method, by grasping the central idea of the conception, and bringing it out freed from incumbrances. His imagination always stops at the surface—the outward peculiarities of the man, the accessory and subordinate features of the situation he would bring before us. By elaborately and even painfully dwelling on these, over-colouring them, exaggerating and distorting them, he strives to attain, as it were by a side wind, the effects of legitimate idealization. The opening of "The Haunted Man," where the recluse sits in his chamber listening to the wind howling outside in the darkening winter evening, and Carker's flight in "Dombey and Son," are striking instances in point, but too long for quotation. We lose sight of the leading idea in the details with which it is overlaid. We see it in a light caught from the hues in which they are painted. Of course this jugglery is bad art, and is seen through by a critical eye without much difficulty. Nevertheless, by means of it, Mr. Dickens does certainly succeed in producing strong and telling effects—effects in their way *sui generis*—and betokening powers of no common order. It is probably from a latent consciousness of the true bent of his genius—for, once more, genius it assuredly is—that he shows so marked a predilection for peopling his pages with "oddities." In dealing with these, Mr. Dickens stands, we think, unrivalled. No man's insight has been so keen as to *how* they might be used; no man's execution so perfect in using them. They afford just the subject-matter that suits him. They can all be created "from the clothes inwards," because they are nothing but *outside*. Sam Weller and Mrs. Gamp, Captain Cuttle and Mr. Micawber, have no

more intricacies of character to solve and render clear; no more conflicting impulses to harmonize, than Goody Two-shoes, or the giant Fi-Fo-Fum. They are regular "property" characters, so to speak, the ordinary material of novelists and dramatists for generations, and lying ready-made to any one's hand. It is in the *dressing* these simple and common-place natures that Mr. Dickens's originality and skill are so conspicuous. What he aimed at doing here, he has done perfectly; and to have attained perfection in any line, though it may not be a very high one, is not an achievement which criticism can consent to estimate lightly.

The general drift, then, of our previous remarks is, that Mr. Dickens, though he can succeed in idealizing the grotesque, fails in higher efforts, through the limitation both of his knowledge of, and imaginative sympathy with, human nature, and the insufficiency and unsuitableness of his methods in an unfamiliar field. An illustration may, perhaps, best show our meaning. We will take one of his most ambitious attempts—Mrs. Dombey. She is neither comic, nor, like the general run of his women, a mere unmeaning angel of beauty and goodness. The subject required to be treated after the manner of the higher school of art: with all the pains which Mr. Dickens has evidently bestowed upon it, how has he succeeded? Is Edith Dombey as impressive and effective as he meant her to be? Do we get any clear idea of her? Is she anything to us but a beautiful woman, whose habitual mode of conducting herself would justify any jury in pronouncing her of unsound mind? Why did she marry Mr. Dombey when she disliked and despised him? The motives assigned, as far as any are, are wholly inadequate. She was not a woman to do what she did not like, to please her mother. She could afford to wait; and though in a state of genteel poverty, was neither absolutely in want of money, nor cared much about it. Why, when married, did she persistently make herself disagreeable on principle? And, more than ever, why did she run away with Carker? The incident is not only improbable and unnatural, it seems to us nothing short of monstrous. Mrs. Dombey is a mere enigma; her action inexplicable and arbitrary, dependent wholly on the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of Mr. Dickens. And yet the germ of the conception is good. Mr. Thackeray, who *did* understand human nature, took very much the same, and worked out Beatrix Esmond, who may rank as one of the very finest productions of modern literary art.* The germ, we say, is good, and, in the hands of a writer of the requisite gifts,—Mr. Charles Reade, for instance, to go no higher,—might easily have been

* It may be remarked, *en passant*, that in "Esmond," his most artistically-finished work, Mr. Thackeray has certainly *idealized*, especially in the character of Beatrix. The nature of the subject, probably, led naturally to this.

made to fulfil its promise. An union between such a husband and such a wife, if by any means it could have been brought about (as it might in many ways, inadmissible as is the account Mr. Dickens gives of the matter), would be a fruitful theme, especially as complicated by the existence of Florence and her relations with the two. Much might have been made of it; very little is; very little, that is, when we have to do with a writer like Mr. Dickens, though it need hardly be said that his failures are beyond the successes of mediocrity. He fails here because he is on unknown ground. He has not really seized the meaning of his own creation. He has endowed her with qualities that could hardly coexist, and he does not understand their action—does not feel, for instance, that *no* consideration for herself or any one else would lead such a woman to submit to the degradation of holding confidential intercourse with a man like Carker, when she saw through him and what he was driving at. And he knows no better way of expressing the passions that were boiling and surging within her, than by putting into her mouth declamation painfully suggestive of the heroine of a transpontine melodrama. The passions are a sealed book to Mr. Dickens; to get the effect of them, he can only exaggerate language.

This indifference to motive—this want of sense of its importance on which we have just been commenting, so characteristic as it is of the manner of farce—is a very marked feature in Mr. Dickens. He does not feel it incumbent on him to *account* for his characters. As long as the scene is shifted often enough, and the “business” of the piece does not flag, he seems to think his audience should be satisfied. He requires to be read with well-nigh as complete a submission to his guidance as the “Arabian Nights.” As it may be objected to our illustration from Mrs. Dombey that we have selected a character which Mr. Dickens, both from his deficiencies and the bent of his genius, would find special difficulty in treating, we will take another, perhaps even better suited as a typical instance—old Martin Chuzzlewit. He is a personage far more within the range of Mr. Dickens’s powers than Mrs. Dombey, with abundance of eccentricity, and nothing to speak of in the way of subtlety or complexity of character behind. And he is really grand in his way as a specimen of a human will completely emancipated from the tyranny of intelligible motives. At the beginning of the book the old man is introduced displaying the clearest insight into the hypocrisy and knavery of Pecksniff’s character, and expressing himself to that effect in very unmistakable terms. Soon afterwards, however, without having had the least reason to alter his opinion, he resolves to put him to a further proof, and expose what neither he nor any one else, but an imbecile like Tom Pinch, entertained or could entertain the smallest doubt of. So he puts himself into Pecksniff’s hands; lets

him suppose that he trusts him unreservedly; and, to carry out his scheme more perfectly, even goes so far as to feign dotage. All who have read "*Martin Chuzzlewit*"—and who has not?—will remember the scene near the end where old Martin explains his conduct:—

"Observe," said Martin, looking round, "I put myself in that man's hands on terms as mean and base, and as degrading to himself as I could render them in words. I stated them at length to him, before his own children, syllable by syllable, as coarsely as I could, and with as much offence, and with as plain an exposition of my contempt as words—not looks and manner merely—could convey. If I had only called the angry blood into his face, I would have wavered in my purpose. If I had only stung him into being a man for a minute, I would have abandoned it."

* * * * *

"Once resolved to try him, I was resolute to pursue the trial to the end; but while I was bent on fathoming the depth of his duplicity, I made a sacred compact with myself to give him credit on the other side for any latent spark of goodness, honour, forbearance—any virtue that might glimmer in him. From first to last there has been no such thing, not once. He cannot say I have not given him opportunity. He cannot say I have ever led him on. He cannot say I have not left him freely to himself in all things; or that I have not been a passive instrument in his hands, which he might have used for good as easily as evil. Or, if he can, he lies. And that's his nature too."—(*Martin Chuzzlewit*, p. 502, "Charles Dickens" Edition.)

So a great many people for whom Mr. Chuzzlewit has a strong affection are made to undergo much distress, both mental and bodily, in order that he may have the satisfaction of proving his relative to be a rather more thorough scoundrel than he all along knew him to be! And, for the sake of this tremendous result, he is willing to play a part not, after all, particularly to his credit, which must always have been difficult, and often very painful. Verily—

"Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus."

It is one of the most convincing proofs of Mr. Dickens's genius, that his skill in arranging his incidents, and making things appear as he would have them, is so great, that there are probably but few readers who, until their attention has been called to it, have ever dreamed of taking exception to this monstrous improbability. There is a wide field from which we might cull further examples to the same effect, but *ex uno disce omnes*. "*Bleak House*," however, is too striking an instance to be passed over without a word. Why should Mr. Tulkinghorn, whose time was valuable, give himself so much trouble to find out Lady Dedlock's secret? Why should she fear his divulging it, when he could gain nothing, and might lose much by so doing; and when, if it had been divulged, it need not have affected her position unless she had chosen? Her excessive alarm is unintelligible; as unintelligible as her walking—she, a delicately-nurtured woman—in bad weather the greater part of the way to St. Albans and back, without any particular rest or refreshment,

one day, and spending the next wandering about the streets of London.* Why did Hortense, the French waiting-maid, take off her shoes, and walk home barefoot through the wet grass? Why did she murder Mr. Tulkinghorn? Why—but to what purpose multiply questions which no man may answer? We have said enough, we think, to justify our estimate of Mr. Dickens as no psychologist; and without psychology, success in the higher walks of idealization is unattainable.

It is pleasant to turn to the brighter side of the picture, and express some of the admiration which Mr. Dickens, with all his shortcomings, cannot fail to inspire. It seems to us that hardly sufficient justice has been done to the great constructive power displayed in his stories considered merely *as* stories—as novels of incident, without regard either to their *vraisemblance* or to the methods to which he has recourse to bring about his effects. It has been rather the fashion to treat them as merely pegs to hang characters on. In the many comparisons, favourable and otherwise, that we have read between him and Mr. Thackeray (comparisons really very absurd, the two having nothing special in common save the accident that they were the first eminent English novelists who made use of the serial form), we have never, that we can remember, seen the distinction that exists here between the two dwelt upon. Beyond the most general outline, Mr. Thackeray seemed incapable of constructing a plot. His novels are a series of episodes which follow one another in time, but do not grow out of one another. Such unity as they possess is due only to the fact that some one or two principal persons play a prominent part throughout. Whether it was so or not we have no knowledge, but it seems often as if Mr. Thackeray wrote very much, as the saying is, “from hand to mouth,” and introduced characters or incidents according to the impulse of the moment, and without definite purpose; and then worked them out, or let them drop, as he subsequently found most convenient. Now there is none of this looseness of construction in Mr. Dickens. As well framed stories, perhaps there are no better models than some of his earlier and greater novels—“David Copperfield,” “Martin Chuzzlewit,” or “Dombey and Son.” This part of the work shows the conscientious labour characteristic of the true artist. There is no hurry, and no bungling. If the fulness and careful workmanship

* Mr. Dickens apparently entertains very curious notions about the walking powers of ordinary people. Thus in “Pickwick,” the male guests at the wedding at Dingley Dell are made to take a five-and-twenty mile walk, between breakfast and dinner, *to get rid of the effects of the wine*. Has he any definite idea of what a five-and-twenty mile walk means, to men not in training? or the kind of preparation for it afforded by an over-dose of champagne? See also the pedestrian exploits of Eugene Wrayburn, when engaged in tormenting the schoolmaster, Bradley Headstone, in “Our Mutual Friend.”

of his plots is contrasted with the poverty of incident, the sketchiness and slovenliness which disfigure the works of so many who yet are strong where he so signally fails, the critic may well say, "Cum talis es, utinam noster esses!" What might not Mr. Dickens have been if to his many natural gifts he had added culture; if he had spurned popularity, and resolved to aim at nothing short of perfection! He does not overwhelm and fret us with *minutiae*, after the fashion of Mr. Wilkie Collins, with whom the hero's making a memorandum with a quill pen instead of his wonted gold nib may be an incident pregnant with the gravest consequences, and most important to bear in mind. But from first to last there is hardly an incident introduced at random, and which does not bear on the plot; hardly a character really superfluous, and contributing nothing towards working out the general result. We may note, too, the care and skill with which the various lines of the story are made to converge and fit together, yet without strain or effort. It is true, of course, that Mr. Dickens's ignorance of, or indifference to, the laws of human action give him an advantage in weaving his plots somewhat similar to that enjoyed by the romance writers of former days, who could always avail themselves of spectres, or trap-doors, or secret springs in the wall, or providential bandits, *à discrétion*. His little worlds are so completely subject to his *fiat* that it is not such a difficult task for him to produce order and harmony. But granting that the *dramatis personæ* are too often impossibilities or inanities, we must admit the dexterity with which they are moved about. His fertility in incident is so great that, coupled with that tendency to strong and glaring effects to which we have already adverted, it often leads him astray. One being as easy to him as the other, his taste is not sufficiently healthy to reject the improbable and extravagant, when the natural and simple would have served just as well. Witness the death of Krook, the old rag-and-bone seller, from spontaneous combustion, in "Bleak House." It is a *vexata quæstio* whether what is called "spontaneous combustion" ever happened, or is possible, and this alone constitutes a grave objection against employing it in a novel, unless there were some strong counterbalancing advantage. But beyond an opportunity for a little extra "sensationalism," nothing is gained. The old man had to die, and to die suddenly; but that was all, and that might have been managed in a dozen ways. It is no more than might be expected that Mr. Dickens, with his quick eye for the use of accessories, should excel in the *setting* of his stories. This is by no means an unimportant merit. There are men who might have conceived Mr. Pickwick and Sam Weller, for instance, but would have spoiled their creation, or, at any rate, greatly weakened its

effect, by painting them on an inappropriate background. But the old-fashioned inns, and the Manor Farm, with their good-fellowship, high living, and vulgar comfort, constitute a kind of *atmosphere* exactly suited to the existence of such creatures. We see them really coloured by its hues, though without thinking how much the picture owes to the medium.

To the question, "Is Mr. Dickens's genius dramatic or not?" we should answer, "Not *dramatic*, but *melodramatic*." Melodrama, in the modern sense of the word, was recently very happily defined in the *Spectator* as "that form of dramatic presentment which makes the evolution of character subsidiary to the evolution of strong situations." If the writer had had Mr. Dickens in his mind instead of Victor Hugo, he could not have characterized his manner with greater accuracy. The strong situation is something *external*, within the province of the eye, and may be brought about by that elaboration of detail wherein Mr. Dickens excels, without standing in need of the aid of analysis of character, wherein he is so conspicuously weak. He seems in his so-called dramatic passages to have ever before him the aim of giving the scene as it would be represented on the stage. A very striking instance of this *scenic* tendency, as it may be called, is afforded in the night journey of Jonas Chuzzlewit and Mr. Montague Tigg. An artist of a different style would have eagerly availed himself of the opportunity for working out the mutual distrust, hate, and fear raging in the bosoms of the human actors, thus joined together in reluctant companionship. With Mr. Dickens they are hardly more than accessories—elements in keeping with the terror and fury of the storm, on which all his resources are lavished. The situation is undoubtedly strong—one of the strongest in the whole range of his writings; but the interest is altogether pictorial, not psychological. In this instance the scene is good as it is, and its effect not marred by the absence of any attempt at using it as a means for the development of character, noticeable as such absence on such an occasion is. But in another case of even higher merit—the murder of Nancy by Sikes, in "Oliver Twist"—Mr. Dickens's deficiencies as a psychologist make themselves painfully felt:—

"Without one pause, or moment's consideration; without once turning his head to the right or left, or raising his eyes to the sky, or lowering them to the ground, but looking straight before him with savage resolution; his teeth so tightly compressed that the strained jaw seemed starting through his skin; the robber held on his headlong course, nor muttered a word, nor relaxed a muscle, until he reached his own door. He opened it, softly, with a key; strode lightly up the stairs; and entering his own room, double locked the door, and lifting a heavy table against it, drew back the curtain of the bed.

"The girl was lying, half dressed, upon it. He had roused her from her sleep, for she raised herself with a hurried and startled look.

"'Get up!' said the man.

"'It is you Bill!' said the girl, with an expression of pleasure at his return.

"'It is,' was the reply. 'Get up.'

"There was a candle burning, but the man hastily drew it from the candlestick and hurled it under the grate. Seeing the faint light of early day without, the girl rose to undraw the curtain.

"'Let it be,' said Sikes, thrusting his hand before her. 'There's light enough for wot I've got to do.'

"'Bill,' said the girl, in the low tone of alarm, 'why do you look like that at me?'

"The robber sat regarding her, for a few seconds, with dilated nostrils and heaving breast; and then grasping her by the head and throat, dragged her into the middle of the room, and looking once towards the door, placed his heavy hand upon her mouth.

"'Bill, Bill!' gasped the girl, wrestling with the strength of mortal fear. 'I—I won't scream or cry—not once—hear me—speak to me—tell me what I have done!'

"'You know, you she-devil!' returned the robber, suppressing his breath. 'You were watched to-night: every word you said was heard.'

"'Then spare my life for the love of Heaven, as I spared yours,' rejoined the girl, clinging to him. 'Bill, dear Bill, you cannot have the heart to kill me. Oh! think of all I have given up, only this one night, for you. You *shall* have time to think and save yourself this crime: I will not loose my hold, you cannot shake me off. Bill, Bill, for dear God's sake, for your own, for mine, stop before you spill my blood! I have been true to you, upon my guilty soul I have.'

"The man struggled violently, to release his arms; but those of the girl were clasped round his, and tear her as he would, he could not tear them away."

So far this is admirable; but then follows:—

"'Bill,' cried the girl, striving to lay her head upon his breast, 'the gentleman and that dear lady told me to-night of a home in some foreign country, where I could end my days in solitude and peace. Let me see them again, and beg them, on my knees, to show the same mercy and goodness to you; and let us both leave this dreadful place, and far apart lead better lives, and forget how we have lived, except in prayers, and never see each other more. It is never too late to repent. They told me so—I feel it now—but we must have time—a little, little time!'"—(*Oliver Twist*, pp. 224, 225, "Charles Dickens" Edition.)

Is it conceivable that a girl like Nancy, in a moment of mortal agony, would talk to a man whom she knew, as she knew Bill Sikes, in this sentimental strain? No doubt there is a flavour of pathos and piety about it that may render it attractive to some minds. To us it seems to introduce an almost ludicrous element into a scene of real tragic power. Imagine Sikes's brutal nature, inflamed to deadly wrath, softening before the prospect of ending his days in solitude and peace, and forgetting how he had lived, except in prayers! It is curiously illustrative of that tawdriness of taste, which is one of the worst of Mr. Dickens's besetting sins, that he should have thus spoiled his own work, when excellent, for the sake

of hanging on to it this bit of tinsel prettiness—much as a savage might think to set off the Venus di Medici by a necklace of glass beads.

There is no title which believers in Mr. Dickens more confidently insist on claiming for him than that of a great humourist. A humourist he most certainly is, and in his own line excellent; but then this line does not seem to us a very high one. His humour is hardly ever anything more than burlesque and caricature; and depending, therefore, as it necessarily must, altogether on exaggeration, is somewhat coarse and superficial. We quite grant his merits. Mrs. Gamp, Mrs. Nickleby, and Mr. Micawber, for instance, as specimens of grotesque idealization, are thorough successes. But they are utterly unnatural. Now George Eliot, in her description of what she calls "the emmet-lives" of her Dodsons and Tullivers, shows every whit as keen a sense of the ludicrous as Mr. Dickens; but the humour of the representation is far more profound and subtle, consisting in the vividness of the incongruity which she feels, and makes us feel, between the poverty and narrowness of such lives, and the grandeur of the universe in which they are lived. There is no exaggeration or high colouring, and no need of them; no need of anything but the fine sense to discern the facts, and the master-hand to paint them, so that we too may see. This perception of the greatness and littleness so strangely mingled in human life has, we think, been always a distinguishing feature in humourists of a high order. An under-current of sadness flows through all their mirth. It is hardly necessary to say that of such *nuances* as these there is no trace of appreciation in Mr. Dickens, and the absence of them leaves his humour wanting in depth and delicacy of tone. His only aim is to be "funny" and make us laugh, and so long as this result is gained he seems indifferent as to the means. Of course, he generally succeeds; on a first reading almost always; and there are touches here and there which, even after years of familiarity, we still find irresistibly comic. No one can help laughing when Mr. Pecksniff describes his place of abode, as "the little, unassuming village *where we takes the liberty of dwelling*;" or says to old Martin, "You have struck me, my dear sir, with a stick, *which I have every reason to believe* has knobs in it." One cannot deny the humour here, but how artificial it is! There is no insight or subtlety in it; it is a mere happy bit of altogether farcical extravagance. There is a mannerism in Mr. Dickens's humour very effective at first, but which, after a while, we get to understand and see through, and then the charm is gone, like a conjuror's trick after it has been explained. His comic personages are too obtrusively and exclusively "funny." We recognise them at a glance as though they wore the traditional motley,

and are no more deluded into believing them human than Clown or Pantaloon himself. We laugh, but all the time we know that the incongruities and absurdities we are laughing at are quite beyond the possibilities of human nature. Nor must Mr. Dickens's great success in this line make us forget his failures. He distinctly meant Mr. and Mrs. Chick, for instance, in "*Dombey and Son*" to be comic characters, as much so as Mrs. Gamp herself, yet we question whether any but the feeblest of mortals ever managed to get a laugh out of them. And throughout the later novels—taking "*Bleak House*" as the first of these—the mannerism becomes more and more painfully apparent as the creative power gets weaker and weaker. Mr. Dickens is, of course, always Mr. Dickens, and flashes of the old fire shine out now and again, even in the dreary pages of "*Great Expectations*" and "*Our Mutual Friend*." But Joe and Mr. Wegg are sorry substitutes for Sam Weller. We cannot help feeling it is almost ungrateful to criticize a gift from which, in common with the rest of our generation, we have derived so much enjoyment as Mr. Dickens's humour. It is artificial and forced, but it is great for all that. The trial scene in "*Pickwick*," Bob Sawyer's party, and the Sunday dinner at Todgers's, are in their way unsurpassed, and must live, one cannot but think, as long as the language lasts. There is a heartiness and unreserve about the fun which must ever make it popular with the multitude, which likes to laugh when it laughs, and cry when it cries, and has but little relish for those subtle suggestions of the abiding hardness and mystery of life which play through the humour of a George Eliot.

Mr. Dickens's pathos we can only regard as a complete and absolute failure. It is unnatural and unlovely. He attempts to make a stilted phraseology, and weak and sickly sentimentality do duty for genuine emotion. The result is that when he would move us most deeply he is apt to become rather a bore. Hard-hearted as it may sound, we must confess to having found little Paul Dombey and little Nell and Tiny Tim exceedingly tiresome, and to have been glad to be rid of them on any terms. The subject is too insignificant for the treatment it receives. Even as sentimentalism the art is a failure from being so much overdone. Mr. Dickens sets himself to work to make us cry just as openly and deliberately as to make us laugh, but his resources for producing the two effects are anything but equal. The pathos is "stagey;" it lacks simplicity, grace, dignity. Mr. Dickens cannot make sorrow beautiful, and does not seem to have realised that if he failed in doing this he ran a great risk of making it vulgar. Not all the "damnable iteration" with which he dwells on the woes of his Florence Dombey, and Esther Summerson, and the like, save them from appearing utterly silly and common-place young

women. In truth, we should doubt if he has more than a faint understanding and appreciation of the beautiful. To art, for anything that he shows, one would say he was insensible. He can see nothing more in pictures than the subject represented, and clearly regards music only as "tunes." Nor does he seem to have much love for scenery: when he introduces it, it is generally transformed and coloured by some grotesque fancies as a means of adding to the effect of the situation he is evolving. Mere *prettiness* he can appreciate, and such charm as lies in the sight of order and plenty and comfort, but not beauty. His few attempts in this direction sound affected and conventional. Hence he is much more successful when painting emotion as shown by comic characters. There is something touching, we are quite ready to grant, in the almost dog-like fidelity and devotion of Sam Weller to his master. The reason is plain enough: pathos in comic characters need not be beautiful, and a few blots and incongruities rather add to the effect. But when he tries higher flights, he misses his mark. Mr. Dickens is no doubt entitled to the credit of making weak people, women, and children, cry copiously; but we do not think there is a single passage in his writings which a pure and cultivated taste would pronounce beautiful.

But if Mr. Dickens is insensible to beauty, he is no less so to intellectual excellence, and the aims and pursuits of intellectual men. We can hardly fail to be struck by the marked absence in him of anything like loftiness of thought. Not only has he no reverence for abstract speculation, or learning, or statesmanship, he does not seem to believe that there *are* such things, or that they are more than shams, disguised with fine names. He has, as was said of him long ago, just that smattering of law which a clever attorney's clerk might pick up,—an acquaintance with common forms and technicalities,—but no insight into its spirit. To him it is simply a system of chicanery and "Wiglomeration" devised for the ruin of mankind. Politics, again, are but a struggle for place, pay, and the means of providing for poor relations at the expense of the country, between Doodle on the one side and Coodle on the other—an affair with which no man of sense and honesty can have any possible concern. This ridiculous travesty does not spring from any cynical contempt for political differences on Mr. Dickens's part. It is due, as it seems to us, partly to an almost feminine incapacity for grasping abstract notions; partly to sheer ignorance. Mr. Dickens's range of thought and experience has manifestly been limited, and he has been very little indebted to the wisdom of others. This is, no doubt, the cause in no small measure of his striking originality. It is no more than natural that he should show no signs of having imitated or been influenced by writers whom he had never read. In all his works

there is hardly a quotation or an allusion except occasionally from Shakespeare and the best known parts of the Bible. And, as we before had occasion to remark, imagination does not help him where observation fails. What lies beyond the limits of his own experience he neither understands nor cares for. Theology, philosophy, science, history, seem all closed books to him; he is quite content that they should be, and, to all appearance, thinks his ignorance of such unmeaning rubbish very much to his credit. That his instincts are generous and kindly, and revolt from baseness and cruelty, this of course we grant most readily; but we can think of no writer of mark who shows a more uninstructed mind, or on whose judgment on any question involving mastery of facts, or breadth of view, or critical acumen, we should set less store. For good breeding and refinement he exhibits a very decided contempt, nor, we are bound to admit, if the specimens he has given of these qualities really express his idea of them, without just cause. He seems incapable of creating a gentleman. Very likely he would quarrel with the sense in which we use the word; but however much as a moralist he may dislike and despise class distinctions, he has no right as an artist to ignore them in a representation which professes to conform to actual fact. It never seems to occur to him that gentlemen don't choose their social inferiors as intimate associates whatever may be their moral excellence. In his pages "Nature's Nobs," as Mr. Montague Tigg calls them, fraternize with "Nature's Nobs" without a moment's hesitation. He does not apparently see any oddness in a girl like Florence Dombey taking up at first sight with a rough and rather convivial old seaman like Captain Cuttle, and consulting him and appealing to him as naturally as though he were an elderly clergyman, and the rector of the parish. With all this ignorance, and prejudice, and narrowness of mind, it is plain how little qualified Mr. Dickens is for that rôle of social reformer which he is so ambitious of filling. We are sorry to remark that his later novels show a growing tendency in this direction, and suffer much thereby. Surely Mr. Dickens's claims to distinction in his own line are quite enough to allow him to forbear from meddling with what he does not understand, and darkening counsel by words without knowledge.

Mr. Dickens, however, does not confine himself to ignoring most of the leading influences which have made the world what it is. He has something to give us in their stead. Though he has not expressed his views in any connected form, and we have to piece them together as best we may, still a sort of theory of life as it should be may be found in his writings without much difficulty, by any one who will take the trouble to look for it. We shall, perhaps, best define it by saying it is an expansion of the idea of Christmas—of Christmas as seen in vision by Mr. Dickens, and described as follows:—

"Numerous indeed are the hearts to which Christmas brings a brief season of happiness and enjoyment. How many families, whose members have been dispersed and scattered far and wide, in the restless struggles of life, are then re-united, and meet once again in that happy state of companionship and mutual good-will, which is a source of such pure and unalloyed delight, and one so incompatible with the cares and sorrows of the world, that the religious belief of the most civilized nations, and the rude traditions of the roughest savages, alike number it among the first joys of a future state of existence, provided for the blest and happy! How many old recollections, and how many dormant sympathies does Christmas time awaken!

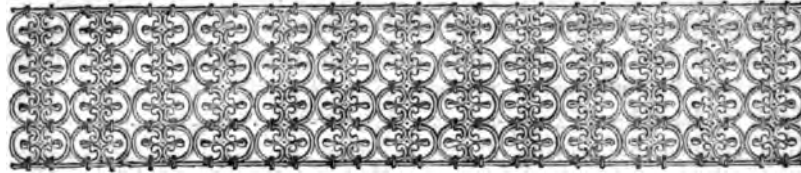
"We write these words now, many miles distant from the spot at which, year after year, we met on that day, a merry and joyous circle. Many of the hearts that throbbed so gaily then, have ceased to beat; many of the looks that shone so brightly then, have ceased to glow; the hands we grasped, have grown cold; the eyes we sought, have hid their lustre in the grave; and yet the old house, the room, the merry voices and smiling faces, the jest, the laugh, the most minute and trivial circumstances connected with those happy meetings crowd upon our minds at each recurrence of the season, as if the last assemblage had been but yesterday! Happy, happy Christmas, that can win us back to the delusions of our childish days; that can recall to the old man the pleasures of his youth; that can transport the sailor and the traveller, thousands of miles away, back to his own fire-side and his quiet home!"—(*Pickwick*, p. 232, "Charles Dickens" Edition.)

It is a gospel of geniality that Mr. Dickens sets himself to preach; the feelings and sympathies supposed to be evoked by the annual holiday are to be the ruling principles of life, the model keeper of Christmas, our guide and example. Joviality and high living; benevolence, good humour, and good fellowship—*sic itur ad astra*. There should also be a sprinkling of tender regrets for the dead and the absent—just enough to subdue part of the picture with a pleasing shade of darker colouring. Such is Mr. Dickens's Utopia. It is easy to see then why learning, and culture, and sagacity, and subtlety of understanding, and wit and eloquence meet with such slender recognition at his hands. What have these to do with an ideal social system, where every man best fulfils his end by a general readiness to shake hands and clink glasses with every one else? Intellect is only admissible as represented by medical men, engineers, and skilled artisans, in whom it shows itself directly concerned in ministering to the relief of man's estate. Schoolmasters too, we suppose, must have a place in the system; for Mr. Dickens would certainly have every one possess the rudiments of education, and he seems rather to approve of a knowledge of foreign languages. But beyond purposes of immediate practical utility he would appear to consider learning rather a waste of time. It does not make us happier or kinder-hearted; it may even lead to fastidiousness as to our company, and an indisposition to that hearty, instinctive way of getting at the right and the wrong of everything, which is so much the safest guide in

settling great questions. So political economists, scholars, statesmen, lawyers, *et hoc genus omne*, may make up their minds to burn their books, and be abolished as pretentious nuisances. We really do not think we have been exaggerating. Mr. Dickens has very possibly not fully grasped the bearing of the doctrines he has laid down in one part of his works and another; but if he had the power to reform the world according to his own principles, the result would be to turn it into the vulgar Arcadia we have been depicting—fit habitation only for those benevolent but eccentric elderly gentlemen, virtuous artizans, and gushing young ladies on whom his warmest admirations are lavished. All that gives interest to life, and makes it worth the living, would be gone. Can Mr. Dickens really think that the ideal of humanity is attained in his Tom Pinches, and Esther Summersons, and Millies, and Dots? Though wearisome by reason of much silliness, they are estimable people in their way; but a world in which they, and their like, were the presiding influences! It would, indeed, require nothing short of that new birth unto imbecility which Mr. Dickens is so fond of bestowing on his penitents, as Mr. Dombey and Mr. Gradgrind, to fit one for admission into such a paradise of fools.

We must now bring these criticisms to a close. That we have exhausted so large a subject in the limited space at our disposal, we do not for a moment pretend; but we trust we have sufficiently indicated what, in our opinion, are the leading characteristics of Mr. Dickens's genius, and the merits and defects of his workmanship. To the many with whom belief in him is almost a principle of religion, our estimate will no doubt seem unduly disparaging; and, indeed, in reviewing what we have said, we are conscious that there is more in it of censure than of praise. Yet we see no cause for altering any part of our judgment. It is no fly that we have been breaking on the wheel. Mr. Dickens must stand or fall by the severest canons of literary criticism: it would be an insult to his acknowledged rank to apply a more lenient standard; and bad art is not the less bad art and a failure because associated, as it is in his case, with much that is excellent, and not a little that is even fascinating.

GEORGE STOTT.



EDWARD STILLINGFLEET AND HIS "IRENICUM."

THE life of Stillingfleet does not belong to our subject. His main activity as a theological writer and as a Churchman is associated with the Church of the Restoration, to the defence and maintenance of which he brought something of the tolerant and enlightened spirit which he had learned at Cambridge, and which finds expression in the "Irenicum," but with whose narrowness and meanness of policy he was, upon the whole, identified. In a certain measure he remained true to his early convictions, as the lengthened preface to the treatise on the "Unreasonableness of Separation" shows. He had nothing to do with the Act of Uniformity (his youth happily saved him from this), or with any of the persecuting Acts of the reign of Charles II. Even in his controversy with Owen and Baxter he cannot be said to have occupied the illiberal side. But withal he lacked vitality of liberal conviction, and a generous trust in his own principles to save and bless the Church for which he was so zealous. He was a specimen, in short, of many men, both Churchmen and politicians, whose early liberalism degenerates with their advancement in life, under the pressure of those class feelings which grow with the growth of all but the most open, honest, and rational natures. Their liberalism is the result of education, or of temporary enthusiasm, or the excitement of the

times in which they live; but it never works thoroughly into their reason so as to illuminate, control, and guide it. Traditionalism, in consequence, by-and-by regains ascendancy over such minds. The snares of office or the deceitfulness of party choke the good seed of liberal feeling, and gradually it wears away. And men of this stamp, who gloried in their youth in bearing some banner of reform, often become at last the most jealous guardians of official dogma, and the most unreasoning critics of new ideas.

If Stillingfleet cannot be accused of formal apostasy from his early principles, his career as a rising Churchman, his natural temper, and his somewhat cold, hard, and argumentative, rather than rational turn of mind, easily inclined him to the winning side in his time, and made him in his later years look back upon the "*Irenicum*" as a mere youthful essay, conceived rather out of "tenderness towards the Dissenters"* than in the interests of truth and peace. This is not the language of a man who thoroughly understood and prized the principles of religious liberty. Nor does the life, which narrowed rather than broadened in sympathy, and which grew more limited and precise instead of more profound and comprehensive in its intellectual range, mingle in the thread of our history.

The following bare statement of facts, therefore, must suffice as an introduction to our review of the "*Irenicum*."

Edward Stillingfleet was a native of Cranbourne, in Dorsetshire, where he was born in the year 1635. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and distinguished himself by "his singular ingenuity and constant improvement." His course of study extended from 1648 to 1655, when the new school of Cambridge Divines, represented by Whichcote, and John Smith, and Cudworth, was in the full height of its activity. This of itself is sufficient to account for Stillingfleet's liberal leanings. Cambridge was now, rather than Oxford, the centre of the liberal theological movement. The wave of rational thought had, in the course of ten eventful years, passed from the one University to the other, and there taken a wider shape and influence, extending not merely to ecclesiastical questions, but to the whole field of religion and the sources of philosophical and moral truth. The rise, progress, and results of the School known as the Cambridge Platonists await investigation. In the meantime, it is enough to fix and mark the significance of the fact that Stillingfleet was educated in the midst of it. He could not help catching something of the spirit which pervaded the place; and if he did not come under its deeper influences, yet both the

* "A book written twenty years since with great tenderness towards Dissenters before the laws were established."—*Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation*, 1680.

"*Origines Sacrae*" and "*Irenicum*" show that his mind had been thoroughly awakened to the religious problems of his time, and that he had learned something of the rational Christian eclecticism, through which alone these problems could have been solved fairly, and the country saved from the disgraceful iniquities of the Restoration.

Stillington passed from Cambridge to be tutor to the family of Sir Francis Burgoin, in Warwickshire, and subsequently to Nottingham, as tutor to the eldest son of a Mr. Pierrepoint, connected with the Marquis of Dorchester. Here he is said to have begun—presumably in 1656—the "*Irenicum*." It was not completed, however, till three years later, and probably he made little progress with it till settled as Rector of Sutton, to which living he was appointed by his earliest patron, Sir Francis Burgoin, in 1657. He was episcopally ordained by Dr. Brownrig, one of the ejected bishops, a fact of which much is made by the panegyric biographer, who has sketched his life in very dull and unmeaning outline as an introduction to the folio edition of his works.* The young Rector of Sutton was in the full flush of his well-trained faculties, fresh from the generous intellectual life of Cambridge, with his mind keenly alive to the ecclesiastical difficulties of the age. He felt that he could do something to help these difficulties. The "*Irenicum*" was the result. It was published in 1659, on the eve of the Restoration, and reprinted three years later, in 1662, the year in which the Act of Uniformity was passed. This was the answer which the age gave by a severe irony of criticism to his eclectic proposal. In the same year appeared his "*Origines Sacrae, or a Rational Account of the Christian Faith as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures, and the matter therein contained.*"

The chief events of Stillington's life henceforth are summed up in his successive promotions and controversies. He was appointed Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1665; first a Canon, and then Dean of St. Paul's (1680?); and, finally, Bishop of Worcester, 1689. He distinguished himself in conflict with the Papists, the Deists and Atheists of the time, the Socinians, and the New School of Philosophy represented by Locke. It is impossible not to admire with Clarendon "the strength and vigour of ratiocination and the clearness of style and expression" in his several writings. He is a skilful, well-trained, powerful controversialist. Whether he appears as a pseudonymous assailant of the Papal religion and policy, or as an advocate of the foundations of Christian belief, or as a defender of the doctrine of the Atonement or the doctrine of the Trinity, which he considered to be imperilled by Locke's theory of ideas, he shows the facility, vigour, and hopefulness of a well-disciplined intellect, and a copious store of argumentative resources. He is a

* 1710.

theological champion, an ecclesiastical giant-killer, who watches continually from the sacred ramparts for the foes of the Church—Papal, Separatist, Philosophical—and goes forth with elate and joyous heart to meet and overthrow them. But with all his vigour and clearness there are none of his writings which have much life of thought. They are clever, able, and were eminently successful in their day; but they lack the vital interest which only some spark of nature, some fire of passion, or some glow of meditative or speculative genius can give to theological polemics. His youthful essay is, in many respects, his *highest* work. It possesses nearly all the argumentative force, the masterly logic of his later writings, while it is distinguished above them all by catholicity of spirit, by rapidity, animation, and concinnity of treatment.

The full title of the essay is "*Irenicum, a Weapon Salve for the Church's Wound; or, the Divine Right of Particular Forms of Church Government, discussed and examined according to the principles of the Law of Nature, the positive Law of God, the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church, and the judgment of Reformed Divines. Whereby a foundation is laid for the Church's peace, and the accommodation of our present differences.*" The key-note is effectively struck in the succession of mottoes which follow on the title-page;—in the first place, from the Epistle to the Philippians, iv. 5, "Let your moderation be known unto all men;" and then from the letter of Isaac Casaubon to Cardinal Perronius, and the treatise of Grotius on the relation of civil and ecclesiastical authority; both pointing to the great distinction betwixt a *jus divinum* in the Church, and an authority which is merely regulative or expedient.*

The year 1659, in which the "*Irenicum*" was published, was a year of political perplexity, and of the forecasts of coming change. The great Protector had died in the previous autumn, and the reins of Government were already falling from the hands of his feeble son. Before the spring was over, he had signed his demission, and retired into the private life, for which alone nature had fitted him. The Parliament and the army once more shared, but with very divided and jealous counsels, the supreme authority. It was obvious that the period was a transitional one. Monk was already meditating his march from Scotland. Common apprehensions were drawing the Presbyterians and the older Royalists together. They remembered

* "Si ad decidendas hodiernas controversias—*jus divinum à positivo seu Ecclesiastico candida separaretur; non videretur de illis quæ sunt absolute necessaria inter pios aut moderatos viros longa aut acris contentio futura.*"—*Isaac Casaubon, Ep. ad Card. Perron.*

"Multum refert ad retinendam Ecclesiarum pacem inter ea quæ jure divino præcepta sunt et quæ non sunt accurate distinguere."—*Grotius de Imper. sum. Potestat. circa Sacra*, cap. ii.

the miseries of misgovernment through which the country had come before the strong hand of Cromwell was laid upon it, and the special humiliations which they had both endured at the hands of military and parliamentary officers, who valued neither Presbytery nor Episcopacy. They began to feel the necessity of common action, and even of softening in some degree their mutual asperities.

It was in such circumstances that the old idea of "accommodation," which Usher had conceived and Hales and Chillingworth would have welcomed, once more revived, and that Stillingfleet became its exponent. The character of the political situation suggested anew to thoughtful minds the possibility of an ecclesiastical compromise. Could not the advantages of Episcopacy and Presbytery be united on some rational basis of expediency? Is there anything so exclusively Divine in either as to prevent this? Is there any *jus divinum* in Church government at all in such a sense as to hinder wise men from acknowledging the force of circumstances, and composing their religious differences? This was the important question which, in the face of approaching changes, Stillingfleet set himself to re-examine.

In his preface he draws a highly-coloured picture of the evils which the long-protracted religious discord had produced:—

"Controversies about religion had increased till they had brought religion itself into a controversy. Religion hath been so much rarefied into airy notions and speculations by the distempered zeal of men's spirits, that its inward strength and the vitals of it have been much consumed. Curiosity, that green-sickness of the soul, whereby it longs for novelties and loathes sound wholesome truths, hath been the epidemical distemper of the age we live in; of which it may be as truly said, as ever yet of any, that it was *seculum fertile religionis sterile pietatis*. I fear this will be the character whereby our age will be known to posterity, that it was the age wherein men talked of religion most, and lived it least."—"Men being loath to put themselves to the trouble of a holy life, readily embrace anything which may dispense with that," and hence enrol themselves as parties, and attach a religious importance to the most trifling party distinctions. "All the several parties among us," he continues, "have given such glorious names only to the outward government of the Church—the undeniable practice of the Apostles, the discipline of Christ, the order of the Gospel—and account only that the Church where their own method of government is observed."—"From this monopolizing of Churches to parties" hath proceeded the uncharitableness which was constantly "breaking out into open flame," and the most violent "heart-burning, and contentions." *

The only effectual remedy appeared to Stillingfleet to be—

"An infusion of the true spirit of religion—the revulsion of the extravasated blood into its proper channels, thereby taking men off from their eager pursuit after ways and parties, notions and opinions, and bringing them back to a right understanding of the nature, design, and principles of Christianity."

He explains Christianity as a religion of peace and tolerance, and

* Preface to the Reader.

sets forth, in the spirit of Chillingworth and Taylor, that the design of Christ was "to ease men of their former burdens, and not to lay on more." For the Church, therefore, to "require more than Christ himself did," or "make other conditions of her communion than our Saviour did of discipleship, is wholly unwarrantable."

"What possible reason can be assigned or given why such things should not be sufficient for communion with a Church which are sufficient for eternal salvation? And certainly those things are sufficient for that which are laid down as the necessary duties of Christianity by our Lord and Saviour in his Word. What ground can there be why Christians should not stand upon the same terms now which they did in the time of Christ and his Apostles? Was not religion sufficiently guarded and fenced in by him? The grand commission the Apostles were sent out with was only to teach what Christ had commanded them. Not the least intimation of any power given them to impose or require anything beyond what himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God. It is not whether the things required be lawful or no, it is not whether indifferences be determined or no, it is not how far Christians are bound to submit to a restraint of their Christian liberty, which I now inquire after (of these things in the Treatise itself), but whether they do consult for the Church's peace and unity who suspend it upon such things.

Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions of the Christian world hath been by adding other conditions of Church communion than Christ hath done.

Would there ever be the less peace and unity in a Church if a diversity were allowed as to practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much more as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension as to such things. The unity of the Church is a unity of love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice or opinion. . . . There is nothing the Primitive Church deserves greater imitation by us in than in that admirable temper, moderation, and condescension, which was used in it towards all the members of it. It was never thought worth the while to make any standing laws for rites and customs that had no other original but tradition, much less to suspend men her communion for not observing them."*

On the contrary, the greatest latitude was allowed in the Church of the first ages, and he appeals with confidence to the well-known testimony of Sozomen,† of Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome, and others. "The first," he says, "who brake this order in the Church were the Arians, Donatists, and Circumcellians, while the true Church was still known by its pristine moderation and sweetness of deportment towards all its members." He expresses a hope that the Church of England may evince its conformity to the primitive Church.

"Not so much in using the same rites that were in use then, as in not imposing them, but leaving men to be won by observing the true decency and order of Churches, whereby those who act upon a true principle of

* Hist. Eccles., l. vii. c. 19.

† The well-known passage from Sozomen has been often quoted. It is as follows:—

Ἐβηθε γὰρ καὶ μάλα δικαίως ἐπίλαβον ἑθῶν ἵνατιν ἀλλήλων χωρίζεσθαι, περὶ τα καίρια τῆς θρησκείας συμφωνοῦντες. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὰς αὐτάς Παραδόσεις περὶ πάντα ὁμοίας εἶναι ὁμολογοῦντες ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εὐρεῖν ἐστὶ."

Christian ingenuity, may be sooner drawn to a compliance in all lawful things than by force and rigorous imposition, which make men suspect the weight of the thing itself when such force is used to make it enter."

Sentiments of such profound wisdom and sense, uttered by a clever young ecclesiastic on the eve of the Restoration, show how far a higher spirit prevailed in many minds at this time. A rational theology had not been without its effect upon the country. Amidst the strife of opposing factions its voice had been heard. For Stillingfleet is not to be supposed a man standing very much above or apart from his age,—of independent and exceptional thoughtfulness. He was rather then, as he always was, a man with his eyes open to the signs of his time, and the influences moving men's minds. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that there was not merely in Cambridge, but amongst many of the more generous and active-minded of the younger clergy everywhere at this period, an earnest desire for some compromise amongst religious parties, whereby peace might be secured, and the Church reconstructed upon a larger and a firmer basis than ever. The government of the Church was, as it had been since the Reformation, the special difficulty; "an unhappy controversy to us in England," Stillingfleet says, "if ever there were any in the world." "And this chiefly," he adds, because so few really "understood the matter they so eagerly contended about. For the state of the controversy as it concerns us lies not here, as it is generally mistaken, what form of government comes the nearest to Apostolical practice, but whether any one individual form be founded so upon Divine right that all ages and Churches are bound unalterably to observe it?" This is the important question. Let it only appear that there is no form of Church government unalterably binding, and the way is cleared for a compromise on the basis of expediency.

"Certainly, they who have espoused the most the interest of a *jus divinum* cannot yet but say, that if the opinion I maintain be true, it doth exceedingly conduce to a present settlement of the differences that are among us. For then all parties may retain their different opinions concerning the primitive form, and yet agree and pitch upon a form compounded of all together as most suitable to the state and condition of the Church among us; that so, the people's interest be secured by consent and suffrage, which is the pretence of the Congregational way; the due power of Presbyteries, asserted by their joint concurrence with the bishop, as it is laid down in that excellent model of the late incomparable Primate of Armagh; and the just honour and dignity of the bishop asserted as a very laudable and ancient constitution for preserving the peace and unity of the Church."

This is the ideal of a Church advocated by many, and amongst others by the learned Casaubon in a passage which he quotes.*

* The passage is from the Elder Casaubon, of course, and will be found in his "Exercit. de Rebus Sacris et Eccles." (xv. s. xi.) p. 360, published at London, 1614. "Episcopi in singulis Ecclesiis constituti cum suis Presbyteriis et propriam sibi quisque peculiari cura, et universam omnes in commune curantes admirabilis cujusdam aristocratice speciem referebant."

Such is the general design of the treatise—to show that “there can be no argument drawn from any pretence of a Divine right that may hinder men from consenting and yielding to such a form of government in the Church as may bear the greatest correspondency to the Primitive Church,” and be most likely to heal the divisions of the Church of England. Abuses must be removed, and he—

“Dare not harbour so low apprehensions of persons enjoying so great dignity and honour in the Church, that they will in anywise be unwilling of themselves to reduce the form of Church government among us to its primitive state and order, by retrenching all exorbitances of power, and restoring those Presbyteries which no law hath forbidden, but only through disuse have been laid aside.”

He is sanguine enough not only to anticipate such “self-denial” and “Christian prudence” on the part of the bishops, but to believe that the dogmatic Presbyterians and Congregationalists will be thereby so softened as to look with respect to an order which they “have hitherto the most slighted.” There is something pathetic in this dream of the youthful Rector of Sutton in the light of the facts which so soon followed. If anything could make us think worse than we do of the Restoration bishops, and of all the legislation of that unhappy time, it would be the thought that there may have been many who then shared Stillingfleet’s sentiments, who honestly desired to see the Church of England reconstructed, not on a hierarchical, but on a practically-efficient basis. The presumption we fear must be that, after all, the wise and moderate Churchmen were greatly outnumbered by the violent, the arbitrary, and the ignorant. So it has always hitherto been at every great crisis; and the dream of a truly Catholic Church, which should give play to every healthy energy of government, as well as to every honest instinct of faith, remains a dream. Stillingfleet was haunted with the idea of failure even while he wrote:—

“I make no other account but that it will fall out with me, as it doth commonly with him that offers to part a fray; both parties will perhaps drive at me for wishing them no worse than peace. My ambition,” he adds, in a spirit of Apostolic meekness “shall willingly carry me through this hazard. Let them both beat me, so their quarrel may cease. I shall rejoice in those blows and scars which I shall take for the Church’s safety.”

I. Stillingfleet’s argument is conducted in two parts; the special purport of each of which will appear in the sequel. In the first chapter, which is properly an introduction to the whole argument, he lays down his plan in a somewhat abstract manner, raising the question of what constitutes the nature of a Divine right from the foundation, and following out the general train of thought to its close with a view to all his subsequent course of discussion. The nature of a Divine right, according to him, is two-fold. “*Jus* is first that which is *justum*.

Whatever is just, men have a right to do it." In order to make a thing lawful or a right to men, it is not necessary that it be expressly commanded, but only that it be not expressly prohibited.

"According to the sense of *jus*," to use his own language, "those things may be said to be *jure divino*, which are not determined one way or other by any positive law of God, but are left wholly as things lawful to the prudence of men, to determine them in a way agreeable to natural light and the general rules of the Word of God."*

And having laid down this principle, he runs out into special illustrations of it anticipatory of his argument in a somewhat confused manner. His conclusion is pertinent and forcible—namely, that the reason or ground of Church government, the *ratio regiminis ecclesiastici*, is of Divine right, but that the special mode or system of it is left to human discretion. In other words, it is a thing for ever and immutably right that the Church should be under a definite form of government. This is undoubtedly *justum*. In no other way can the peace and unity of the Church be secured. But it is by no means equally indubitable what this form of government must be. The necessary end may be secured under diverse forms, as in the case of civil government.

"Though the end of all be the same, yet monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy are in themselves lawful means for attaining the same common end. . . . So the same reason of Church government may call for an equality in the persons acting as governors of the Church in one place, which may call for superiority and subordination in another."†

But *jus* is not only that which is *justum*—a thing lawfully within man's power; but, moreover, that which is *jussum*, a thing ordered to a man, and so made a *debitum*, or constituted a duty by the force and virtue of a Divine command. And it is in this sense of a *jus divinum* Stillingfleet admits that the special controversy before him lies. He proceeds, therefore, to expound the nature of a Divine right in this sense. Such a right presupposes "both legislation and promulgation." There must be an authority entitled to issue the law or command, and the fact of its issue must be beyond doubt.

"Whatsoever binds Christians as a universal standing law, must be clearly revealed as such. . . . Nothing is founded upon a Divine right, nor can bind Christians directly or consequently as a positive law, but what may be certainly known to have come from God, with an intention to oblige believers to the world's end."‡

And there are only two ways in which a thing may be thus clearly known to come from God with an intention to bind all perpetually—viz., "either by the law of nature, or by some positive law of God."

* Chap. i. p. 9.—The edition quoted throughout is that of 1662, "printed at the Phoenix, in St. Paul's Churchyard, near the little northe door."

† Chap. i. p. 11.

‡ Chap. i. p. 14.

"The law of nature binds indispensably, as it depends not upon any arbitrary constitutions, but is founded on the intrinsic nature of good and evil in things themselves." Reason is the chief instrument of discovering the "necessary duties of human nature, and hence Aristotle defines a natural law as that which has everywhere the same force;* yet it is not "bare reason" which enforces such a law, for every natural obligation is "expressive of an eternal law," and deduces its true force from thence. Such a law, "if we respect the rise, extent, and immutability of it, may be called deservedly the law of nature; but if we look at the emanation, efflux, and original of it, it is a Divine law. For the sanction of this law, as well as others, depends upon the will of God, and, therefore, an obligation must come from Him." Whatever, therefore, can be deduced "from the preceptive law of nature is of Divine right," because it is thereby clearly apparent, from the very nature of the law, that it is the Divine intention "to oblige all persons in the world by it."

God's positive laws are to be traced to his revealed will in Scripture. But it does not follow that all Divine commands in Scripture are immutable; and hence of the nature of a Divine right. It must, moreover, be clear that it is the Divine will that they should always continue. This is illustrated by the case of the Jews and the Ceremonial Law. It is necessary, therefore, to determine certain *criteria* or "notes of difference whereby to learn when positive laws bind immutably, when not." The following are the *criteria* he enumerates, viz.:—First, when the original reason of the law continues to subsist, and the Sabbath is given as a special illustration of this case; secondly, when God has expressly declared any law to be binding immutably; and, thirdly, when the law or "thing commanded in particular" is necessary to the existence of the Church, "the being, succession, and continuance of such a society of men professing the Gospel as is instituted and appointed by Christ himself." It will afterwards appear, he says, "how much these things concern the resolution of the question proposed."

Finally, he examines under this general preparatory head of discussion certain "pretences which are brought for a Divine right"—viz., Scripture Examples, Divine Acts, or Divine Approbation. He shows conclusively in the case of all of these that they have not necessarily any binding force in themselves. In so far as they are binding they involve either moral considerations of universal force, or carry with them an explicit sanction "binding us to follow." It is unnecessary for us to enter into his illustrations of these several "pretences." One must suffice of the nature of a Divine act. "Supposing it be granted," he says, that "the Apostles had superiority

* "*πανταχού τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει ἐνέργειαν.*"—Ethic. L. v. c. 10.

of order and jurisdiction over the pastors of the Church by an act of Christ," it by no means follows from this "that it was Christ's intention that superiority should continue in their successors." This intention must be specially proved before it can be allowed. Any binding force, in short, that such a Divine act has must be derived from a special declaration of the Divine will, and so any law or obligation there may be in the act falls back under one of the general *criteria* or tests of a Divine right already admitted.

Such is the sum of Stillingfleet's discussion as to the nature of a Divine right. It is a very good specimen of the philosophical temper and skill which he had acquired at Cambridge under the influence of the new school of thought there. It is also for the most part just and admirable in itself.

In the opening of his second chapter he restates his special inquiry—viz., how far Church government is founded upon Divine right as thus explained by him. But he is still detained from immediately entering upon it by a further statement of principles or hypotheses necessary to enable him to carry on his argument. These principles are, some of them, self-evident, and must be summarized in the briefest form.

They may be expressed as follows:—

1. That the law of nature, where it is clearly intelligible, is paramount, and cannot be superseded by any positive human or Divine enactments. It is part of the law of nature, for example, that God be worshipped. No human law can set this aside. If the law of nature did not bind indispensably or absolutely, nothing could bind, for all human authority comes primarily out of this law. Men yield obedience to any law only in virtue of the law of nature which binds them to stand to their compacts. Nor is it less true that the clear law of nature is irreversible by Divine enactment. For, although God's power is infinite, He cannot change the nature of moral obedience. He cannot make good evil, or evil good. In confirmation of which statement he quotes a succession of pregnant sentences from Origen's *Treatise against Celsus*.*

2. Things clearly deducible from the law of nature or agreeable to it, may be practised in the Church, unless otherwise lawfully determined. In other words, men are perfectly free to do what the law of nature dictates, except in those cases where a lawful authority has put restraints upon their natural liberty. And the very existence of men in society implies such restraints. Good and evil thereby receive special meanings. Property is regulated and civil order established, and the restrictions which thus arise are lawful determinations of man's natural liberty. The Church is just a

* Lib. 3; do. 5, c. Celsum.

society under such special conditions, and has its own appropriate restrictions binding all who enter into it.

A principle of determination or of lawful authority being recognised in the Church, the question comes to be as to its character and extent. The Divine will, when clearly manifest, is an undoubted example of such an authority. And the third hypothesis accordingly is, that "where the law of nature determines a thing, and the Divine law determines the manner and the circumstances of the thing, we are bound to obey the Divine law in its particular determinations, by virtue of the law of nature in its general obligation."* The law of nature, for example, binds us to worship God; and "as we are bound by nature to worship Him, so we are bound by virtue of the same law to worship Him in the manner best pleasing to Him, by sacrifice or otherwise." Sacrifice appears to our author unaccountable except by some express Divine command. This principle or hypothesis is equally clear with the two former, supposing only the will of God is plainly made manifest. In such a case there can be no question of disobedience. All the difficulty consists in making it clear that the will of God has really declared itself, and to what effect.

Supposing that it has done so "to the substance and morality" of certain matters, the question arises as to others left undetermined, or as to the special circumstances of those so far determined. All the practical difficulty as to Church government and worship Stillingfleet sees very well lies here in this indeterminate region—indeterminate at least in so far as any clear revelation of the Divine will is concerned. And hence his next hypothesis, which leads him into a lengthened discussion. "In such a case," he says "it is in the power of lawful authority in the Church of God to determine"† circumstances left undetermined either by natural law or Divine positive law. The lawful authority is the authority of the magistrate. But this is a position he is well aware much controverted, some denying the magistrate any power at all in matters of religion, others granting a defensive protective power of that religion which is preferred according to the law of Christ, but denying any determining power in the magistrate concerning things left undetermined by the Scripture. And so he feels himself "landed in a field of controversy." "It is strange," he adds, that "the things men can least bear with one another in are matters of *liberty*; and those things men have divided most upon have been matters of *uniformity*; and wherein they have differed most have been pretended things of *indifferency*." He would aim by his discussion to "beget a right understanding between the adverse parties" rather than to make his way "through any oppo-

* Chap. ii. p. 35.

† Chap. ii. p. 38.

site party." He then proceeds to define the magistrate's power in religion, first in its character, and secondly in its extent.

It is a power pertaining to religion as publicly professed, and not to religion in itself, which is entirely an affair of the conscience. "Men may hold what opinion they will in their minds," but the magistrate must have the power of restraining the utterance of opinions inimical to the national religion or the public good, which are identified. "As a liberty of all opinions tends successfully to the subverting of a nation's peace and to the embroiling it in continual confusions, a magistrate cannot discharge his office unless he hath power to restrain such a liberty." So far Stillingfleet does not contribute much to the settlement of a difficult point; but he was, at this time at least, fully on the level of the best thought of his age as to the principle of toleration.

The magistrate's power is, secondly, external and objective about matters of religion, and not internal or elicitive. "The internal elicitive power lies in the authoritative exercise of the ministerial function in preaching the word and administering the sacraments; the external objective power, in a due care and provision for the defence, protection, and propagation of religion."*

Thirdly, the power is not "nomothetical" but administrative. It does not consist in making or imposing upon the Church new laws, but in carrying out recognised Divine laws. The magistrate cannot alter or repeal any positive Divine enactments; he cannot add to these of his own accord; but he may incorporate them into the law of the land. Finally, in things undetermined concerning the polity of the Church, he has the power of determination agreeably to the word of God. It is the business and duty of pastors and governors of the Church to consult with and advise the magistrate; but it is from the magistrate alone that any power of coercion or legal obligation comes. "The great use of synods and assemblies of pastors of churches is to be as the council of the Church unto the King, in matters belonging to the Church, as the Parliament is for matters of local government." All power to oblige, all force of law, is alone derived from the civil magistrate.

How far then does the power of the magistrate extend? What are the matters left undetermined by the word of God which he may determine in order to the peace and government of the Church? Stillingfleet does not give any clear or complete answer to these questions. To have done so would have been to anticipate many of his subsequent conclusions. As it is, there is an anticipatory tendency in much of this general discussion which is somewhat *confusing*. He contents himself with maintaining that there are things *left undetermined*, or matters of indifference, which may be law-

* Chap. ii. p. 46.

fully subject to the determination of the magistrate without any real restraint being put upon religious liberty. A due observance of prescribed rites, when the observance is rationally understood as merely a deference to constituted authority, which may vary in varying places and circumstances, fetters no principle of freedom. The very character of the restriction in such a case implies the freedom which lies behind it. The very diversity of the ritual indicates that it is freely subject to regulation as may be most convenient. And hence the golden rule of Augustine,* in reference to religious rites, that "every man should observe those of the Church he was in." He knew no better course for a prudent Christian, for "whatsoever is observed neither against faith or manners is a matter in itself indifferent, and to be observed according to the custom of those he lives among." This Christian rule he derived from Ambrose, who pithily expressed it, "When at Rome I fast on the Sabbath; when at home (at Milan) I do not."†

The liberal sentiments of these great Fathers inspires Stillingfleet to break forth suddenly with some of his ideas of accommodation. How happy might the nation be if the spirit of these blessed saints only animated it! How might a church be built up, imposing nothing but what is clearly revealed in the word of God; requiring nothing which, from its indifferent nature, may not be rendered; leaving the service of God free even from particular requirements that may seem agreeable to the Divine word, when these requirements may give offence; inflicting no mulets or penalties on dissenters till it be seen whether it be wilful contempt and obstinacy of spirit, or only weakness of conscience which influences them; and, lastly, divesting religion of a multitude of ceremonies! The ideal is fine; but, after all, he does not help us much to see how it can be worked. One interesting piece of antiquarianism he uses as an illustration. He is sure that it is contrary to the primitive practice to impose penalties for nonconformity in habits, gestures, and the like. According to Walafridus Strabo,‡ there was no distinction of habits used in the Primitive Church. The Presbyters did not at first wear any distinct habits from the people. It was only gradually that the *pallium philosophicum* became a distinctive clerical vestment. Even so late as the time of Origen it had not done so universally. Only when "Christianity began to lose in height what it got in breadth," did "the former simplicity of their garments, as well as manners," change amongst Christians. Not that he would thereby condemn "any distinction of habit for mere decency and order," but only show that it was contrary to the primitive times "to impose any

* Ep. i. 18 ad Januar. Ir. p. 60.

† "Cum Romam venio, jejuno Sabbato: cum hic sum, non jejuno."—Ibid., p. 61.

‡ De Rebus Eccles. cap. 24.

necessity of these things upon men, or to censure them for the disuse of them."

After his lengthened discussion about the magistrate's power, Stillingfleet reverts to the principles or hypotheses which he was unfolding; and, in a few sentences, adds two others to the series, viz., that "whatever is determined by lawful authority on the Church binds the conscience of all within the Church; in other words, subject to its authority." And lastly, that the "determinations of this lawful authority are not unalterable, but may be revoked, limited, and changed, according to circumstances."

This finishes his elaborate preliminary matter—his "foundation," as he calls it—and he is at length at liberty to proceed with his inquiry, "How far government in the Church is founded upon an unalterable Divine right?" First, in respect of the law of nature; and, secondly, in respect of Scripture, or positive Divine law. No fewer than six chapters are devoted to the examination of the subject in the first of these points of view. We can only indicate in the briefest manner his course of argument. All real interest is concentrated in his final treatment of the question, "How far any definite polity of Church government is laid down in the New Testament, or in the practice of the Primitive Church."

In the six chapters in which he views the matter on the basis of natural law, he settles such questions as that there must be a Church—a "society of men joining together for the worship of God,"* and "that this society must be governed in the most convenient manner."† Both these propositions are dictates of nature, and hence, undoubtedly, of Divine right. The next thing which nature dictates is, that all things pertaining to Divine worship or the government of the Church be performed "with the greatest solemnity and decency that may be."‡ It is quite unnecessary to enter into particular proof of such propositions. All who recognise a spiritual power at all will acknowledge these conditions of its recognitions. The remaining three dictates of the law of nature in reference to the subject are not less unchallengeable; but one of them at least raises a more curious and difficult subject of inquiry. They are as follows:—

That there must be some arbiter of controversy in the Religious Society, or Church;§

That all admitted into the Society must consent to be governed by its rules;|| and, finally,—

That it must possess a power of censuring all wilful offenders against these rules, and of expelling them if necessary.¶

All these are equally conclusions of the natural reason regarding the government of the Church. As the former conclusions were

* Chap. iii. p. 72.

§ Chap. vi. p. 104.]

† Chap. iv. p. 85.

|| Chap. vii. p. 132.

‡ Chap. v. p. 93.

¶ Chap. viii. p. 141.

necessary to its constitution, these are necessary to its preservation. Nature dictates the existence of such a society; the general order of the government, implying authority in some, and subjection in others; but nature would be defective if it did not also imply a sufficient provision for the maintenance and preservation of the society thus formed. A power, therefore, to prevent mischief is as necessary in the Church as a "power to settle things." There must be some way of deciding controversies which will arise to disturb the peace of it.

The necessity for some arbiter of religious controversy raises the usual question as to the limits of Church communion and toleration, so admirably discussed by Hales and Chillingworth and Taylor. The views of Stillingfleet are identical with the views already examined of these writers, and are, in fact, directly borrowed from Hales, whose tract "On Schism" is largely quoted. The matters which tend to break the peace of the Church are of the nature either of *heresy* or *schism*—matters of opinion or practice. In reference to the former, Stillingfleet repeats strongly the opinion, that mere diversity of opinion is no ground of heresy, laying men open to the censure of the Church. It is only the "endeavour, by difference of opinion, to alienate men's spirit one from another, and thereby to break the society into fractions and divisions, which makes men liable to restraint and punishment." * "Opinionum diversitas et opinantium unitas non sunt *ἀνίσταται*." "The unity of the Church is that of communion, and not that of apprehension; and different opinions are no further liable to censure than as men by the broaching of these do endeavour to disturb the peace of the Church." Schism is a more deadly evil than so-called heresy, because more immediately destructive of Church communion. And yet here he says, quoting Hales, it is also necessary to discriminate. Schism must be judged according to its grounds and reasons. For as it is a sin, on the one hand, to divide the Church, so also it is an offence to continue communion when it is a duty to withdraw. The Separatist is not necessarily the Schismatic. He lays down the following conditions as to Church membership:—1. Every Christian is bound to join in Christian society with others. 2. He is bound to maintain his Church communion so long as he can do so without sin. And the causes of legitimate offence in a Church warranting separation from it are construed very broadly. The Churches of Galatia and Corinth are examples that even the rejection of an article of faith may not demand separation. It is not enough that the Church be corrupt even in definite points of doctrine or practice. She must, moreover, require her members to own expressly these corruptions before a total and positive separation is lawful. This is the justification of separa-

* C. ii. pp. 107, 108.

tion from the Church of Rome, as explained in Chillingworth's preface, to which our author refers. In order to be a member of this Church, it is necessary to believe that all its doctrines are not only not errors, but certain and necessary truths; so that, in fact, to hold that there are errors in the Church of Rome is "actually and *ipso facto* to forsake the communion of that Church." He quotes with approval a lengthened passage from Hales, that the best way to avoid schism is to avoid "charging churches and liturgies with things unnecessary." "To load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ is the sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of Scriptures in the plainest and simplest manner, were matters enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy."* In this point of view Stillingfleet strongly approves of the revisal of the Liturgy to meet the scruples of the Presbyterians. The Reformers, he argues, did not hesitate, in "composing the Liturgy," to have an eye to the Papists as the only party at that time whom they desired to draw into their communion. And the same reason should surely induce the authorities of the Church to alter or lay aside the things which gave offence to the Presbyterians at the Restoration.

Having thus dwelt on the matters which lead to controversy within the Church, he dismisses, after a comparatively brief treatment, the ways prescribed by the light of nature for ending such controversy. The minority must yield to the majority, and a right of appeal must subsist to every accused or injured person, from the lower and subordinate powers to the higher and superior. This is all. And not much more remains to be said by any one. He urges strongly the necessity of appeal and a graduation of authority in the Church against the Congregationalists, who would leave every particular society of Christians to order their affairs according to their pleasure. According to the "light and law of nature," it appears to him "that no individual company or congregation hath an absolute independent power within itself; but that for the redressing grievances happening in them, appeals are necessary to the parties aggrieved, and a subordination of that particular congregation to the government of the society in common."† He is equally strong that, in a State Church, "when the Church is incorporated with the commonwealth," the chief authority in a commonwealth, as Christians, belongs to the same to which it doth as a commonwealth. In other words, as he has already asserted in treating of the power of the magistrate, the ultimate authority, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is in the State.

II. We pass on to the second part of Stillingfleet's argument, which discusses the scriptural evidence of a divinely fixed form of Church

* Hales on Schism.

† P. 131.

government. So far as positive Divine law is concerned, there can be no other evidence for it, he maintains, but that of Scripture. "The Word of God being the only code and digest of Divine laws, whatever law we look for must either be found there in express terms, or at least so couched therein, that every one, by the exercise of his understanding, may, by a certain and easy collection, gather the universal obligation of the thing inquired after."* When the question is as to binding men's consciences, and not merely satisfying our historical curiosity, the appeal must be to Scripture—to the authoritative words or actions of Christ or of the Apostles. Traditions of apostolical practice gathered from succeeding ages may be very interesting, and may even throw real light upon the original constitution of the Church, but they can never furnish sufficient ground to "infer any Divine law." It is not enough that the practice be authentical, but it must be further clear that it was the Divine intention that it should continually bind the Church. "Though the matter-of-fact be evidenced by posterity, yet the obligatory nature of the fact must depend upon Scripture." Nor is it enough that "the Apostles' intentions be built upon men's bare surmises nor upon after practices;" but that it be clearly shown that what they did proceeded from a Divine command, obligatory upon them as the Church in all future time.† He ridicules the reasoning of those who would infer the necessity of any form of Church government because practised by the Apostles, and then prove the apostolical practice from that of succeeding ages. This, he says, is to "prove the same thing by itself"—to call a practice apostolical, and then pronounce it of Divine authority because apostolical; whereas in any valid argument for a divinely fixed form of Church government, there are two distinct things to be proved, viz., first, what the apostolic practice was, and, secondly, what was its character. Was it designed to be universally binding or not? This last point he declares, over and over again, is the really important point which it is the special object of his treatise to settle. The controversy had been hitherto on a wrong tack in trying to settle whether Independency, or Presbytery, or Episcopacy, came the nearest to apostolical practice. The really urgent question is not this; but whether any of these forms "be so settled by a *jus divinum*; that is, be so determined by a positive law of God, that all the Churches of Christ are bound to observe that one form so determined without variation from it."

We have put the question as between the three main forms of Church government which contended for the mastery in England in Stillingfleet's youth. But, in point of fact, he has already, by the course of his reasoning, reduced the question to one between Pres-

* Part ii., chap. i. p. 151.

† Do. p. 152.

bytery and Episcopacy ; for he has already settled, and he recurs to the question specially in the first chapter of the second part of his treatise, that neither the name nor the order of a Church can be confined to "particular congregations;" but that, on the contrary, they apply with special propriety to a national society, comprehending in it many of such lesser congregations united together in one body under a form of government. Even if the primary political form of the Church were acknowledged to have been that of a "particular congregation," it is enough, he says, "that there are other Churches besides particular congregations.*" It is enough that whole nations professing Christianity have united themselves in the participation of religious ordinances. Such a nation is undoubtedly a true Church of God, and hence it follows "that there must be a form of ecclesiastical government over a nation as a Church, as well as of civil government over it as a society governed by the same laws." †

Having thus disposed of Congregationalism or Independency, he disposes, in a second chapter, of Quakerism, or the dream of a *seculum spiritus sancti*—first broached, he says, by the mendicant friars. He makes no dispute that the government of the Church must "be administered by officers of Divine appointment." This "is another thing I will yield to be of Divine right . . . My meaning is, that there must be a standing perpetual ministry in the Church of God, whose care and employment must be to oversee and govern the people of God, and to administer Gospel ordinances among them, and this is of Divine and perpetual right." ‡ It admits of no question that special officers were appointed in the Primitive Church; and the original grounds for their appointment, as enumerated in many texts of the New Testament, continue in equal force. The objects of the ministerial office remaining of necessary and perpetual use, the office itself must be held of Divine perpetuity in the Church.

The way being thus cleared, he comes to "the main subject of the present controversy." Can either Presbytery or Episcopacy make out for itself a *jus divinum*? Is either form of Church government so determined by any positive law of God as to bind unalterably all Christians to its observance? The only valid plea for such a Divine right is some plain institution by Christ himself, or the obligatory nature of apostolical practice. All the pith of the argument lies within these two points, and, indeed, within the latter. He prefixes a brief discussion as to whether any of the institutions of the Law have binding force under the Gospel; and he appends an interesting chapter on the opinions of the Church divines since the Reformation on the subject of Church government. But the force of his argument is quite independent of these considerations.

* P. 154.

† P. 157.

‡ P. 158.

So far as any express command of Christ himself is concerned, there is nothing can be quoted bearing on the subject. It is of no avail to argue, as many had done, from the analogy of Moses, that Christ must have instituted a special form of government for the Church.* Not to insist on the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel, it is enough to say that not only has Christ not laid down any special rules for the constitution of the New Testament Church, but that there are no such rules found in any part of the New Testament. There are, indeed, "general rules of direction" given in the apostolical writings, of which the following four are enumerated by Stillingfleet:—"All things to be done decently and in order. All to be done for edification. Give no offence. Do all to the glory of God."† But the very statement of these principles in their extreme generality brings out in the clearest manner the scantiness of the New Testament information regarding the constitution of the Church. All the laws occurring in Scripture respecting Church government may be applied with equal force to several forms of government. It is not designed to characterize or define the *form*, but only the spirit or principles which should animate the various officers in the discharge of their duties. Such rules, for example, as are contained in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are *moral*, and not *institutional* or *ritual*. They tell us what bishops and deacons ought to be in character, but they do not tell us the relation which these two classes of officers were to bear to one another, and still less do they tell us as to the relations of bishops and presbyters. It is plain, in fact, to every unprejudiced reader that the distinction of bishop and presbyter, as afterwards recognised by the Church, had not then emerged. The author of these epistles would not have understood the question which agitated the seventeenth century, and has not ceased to agitate the nineteenth.

It is not to be denied that Timothy and Titus occupied special positions of superiority in the Primitive Church; and two indisputable inferences may be drawn from this which may be turned in favour of Episcopacy, viz., that the superiority of some Church officers over others is not inconsistent with the New Testament; and, secondly, that it is not repugnant to the Primitive Church for certain officers to have power over more than one congregation. But upon the whole, the examples of Timothy and Titus decide nothing definitely

* The absurd presumption of arguing in favour of a divinely constituted form of Church government, that it was necessary for Christ, like any other legislator, to appoint a definite constitution, for the society which He established, is well ridiculed by Stillingfleet as by Hooker, from whom he quotes an admirable passage on this point. ("Eccles. Polity," lib. iii. sect. 2.) "In matters which concern the action of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that rather than to dispute what He, in congruity of reason, ought to do."

† Part ii. chap. iv. p. 178.

in favour of either of the disputed forms of Church government. The mere fact that it is fairly questioned whether their office was that of temporary evangelists or of fixed bishops is enough to invalidate the authoritative character of their examples. "If they acted not as bishops, nothing can be drawn from their example necessarily enforcing the continuance of the superiority which they enjoyed."* To those who argue "that Timothy and Titus might ordain and appoint others to succeed them in their places," he replies that the question is not, "what they might do, but what they did." "Neither," he adds, "is what they did the whole question, but what they did with an opinion of the necessity of doing it." Whether they were bound to do it or not? If the former view be taken, the binding law or command must be produced, "which will hardly be if we embrace only the received canon of Scripture." "Thus we see then," Stillingfleet concludes, in very emphatic terms, this part of his argument, "that neither the qualifications of the persons nor the commands for a right exercise of the office committed to them, nor the whole Epistles to Timothy and Titus, do determine any one form of government to be necessary in the Church of God."†

The special actions of our Lord which may be supposed to have any bearing on the subject are examined.‡ The mission of the Apostles, as described in the Gospels (Matt. x., Luke vi.), the alleged primacy of St. Peter, and the relation between the twelve and the seventy disciples, along with some other details. All are discussed with a similar conclusion. Nowhere is there any evidence of any intention on the part of Christ to fix the special form of government for the Church. Nothing is said or appointed by Him which is not equally applicable to a "diversity of particular forms."

There is, therefore, nothing in any of our Lord's actions, or in any special rules laid down in Scripture, which determine the necessity of a particular form of Church government. The only remaining argument to be considered is that which arises out of *the practice of the Apostles*. Stillingfleet has bestowed great pains upon this part of his argument; and, notwithstanding certain irrelevancies which mark more or less the whole progress of his reasoning, we do not know that there is anything in English theological literature at once more compact and exhaustive on the subject. It divides itself into two inquiries, what the apostolic practice really was? and, secondly, how far it is binding upon us; or, in his own words, "how far they acted for the determining any one form of government as necessary for the Church."§

In carrying out the first of these inquiries it is especially necessary to free ourselves from prepossessions. "Nothing has been a more fruitful mother of mistakes and errors than the looking upon the

* Part ii. chap. iv. p. 186. † Part ii. chap. iv. p. 188. ‡ Chap. v. § Chap. vi. p. 232

practice of the Primitive Church through the glass of our own customs." In illustration of this, he quotes the Roman Catholic use of the word *missa*, whenever they meet with it, as applying to the sacrifice of the altar; whereas it originally meant only the public service of the Church, so called from the dismissal of the people after it with an *ite, missa est*, and was equally applied to the service of the catechumens (*missa catechumenorum*) and the service of the communicants (*missa fidelium*), "which afterwards (the former discipline of the Church decaying) engrossed the name *missa* to itself, and when the sacrifice of the altar came up among the Papists it was appropriated to that." * In the same way the Romanists pervert the meaning of the word *λειτουργίαν*, translating the phrase *λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, sacrificantibus illis*, "although it be not only contrary to the sense of the word in the New Testament, but to the exposition of Chrysostom" and others. But it is unnecessary, he says, "to search curiously for examples of this abusive mode of argument." The subject itself is full of them—"as the argument for the popular election of pastors from the grammatical sense of the word *χειροτονία*, for lay-elders, from the name *πρεσβυτεροι*, and modern Episcopacy, *ἐπίσκοπος*, in Scripture." † It is important, therefore, to discriminate accurately the use of names, and to draw conclusions only "from the undoubted practice of the apostolic times, if that can be made appear what it was."

The only real guide to us in such an inquiry are the customs of the Jewish synagogue, to which the Apostles, beyond question, conformed in planting Christian Churches. This is argued at great length, and the various points of analogy betwixt the Jewish synagogue and the Primitive Church brought out in detail. These are found to consist in the general character of the public service, the ordination of Church officers, the formation of presbyteries in the several Churches, and the mode of government of those presbyteries. The primitive order of public worship corresponded to that of the synagogue in the following essential particulars: (1) public fellowship (*κοινωνία*); (2) solemn prayers; and (3) reading and exposition of Scripture. The well-known passage from the "Second Apology of Justin Martyr," respecting the primitive worship, is quoted with the remark, "What could have been spoken with greater congruity and correspondency to the synagogue, abating the necessary observation of the Eucharist as proper to Christianity?" ‡ The practice of ordination was plainly derived from the synagogue.

"The Priests under the Law were never ordained by imposition of hands, as the elders and rulers of the synagogue were; and if any of them came to that office, they, as well as others, had peculiar designation and appointment to it. It is then a common mistake to think that the ministers of the Gospel succeed by vows of correspondence and analogy to the priest under the Law—which mistake hath been the original of many errors." §

* Do. p. 238.

† Do. p. 239.

‡ Do. pp. 262, 263.

§ Do. p. 265.

Through the application of the name of priests to Gospel ministers, from a natural compliance with the usage of the name among both Jews and Gentiles, has sprung in process of time all the sacrificial ideas connected with the name, and, finally, the mass itself. So he argues. As the fact of ordination was derived from the synagogue, so the special mode of it, by the laying on of hands, the number of persons authorized to confer it, and its supposed effect, were all drawn from the same source. These features of the Christian Church were originally nothing more than copies from the Jewish Church. The one grew out of the other in natural manner—the younger institution out of the old, taking some of its most characteristic peculiarities and stamping them with a new life and meaning. The very same process of development was repeated in both cases. The right of ordination, for example, was at first common to any presbyter among the Jews. Every one, himself regularly ordained, had the power of ordaining disciples as Maimonides expressly affirms, and also the *Genara Babylonia*, as quoted by Selden.* But in course of time this liberty was restrained, and it was agreed that none should ordain others without the presence, or at least the sanction, of the Prince of the Sanhedrim—the ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. The same change gradually sprung up in the Christian Church. At first, as Jerome tells us,† “the presbyters did rule the Church in common—communi presbyterorum concilio Ecclesiæ gubernantur.” They enjoyed alike the power of ordaining other presbyters. Stillingfleet gives abundant evidence of this from patristic and even Papal authority, and especially enters into a long discussion as to the consistency of Jerome and the true opinions of Aërius, both of whom appear so in the controversy respecting presbytery and Episcopacy. There can be no fair question, he thinks, that Jerome consistently maintains the original identity of presbyters and bishops, while asserting at the same time that the superiority of the bishop was an “apostolical tradition,” or a custom which might be traced to the apostolic age. The truth was, that the exercise of the right of ordination by all presbyters alike had a tendency to create division, and so the right became restricted as previously among the Jews.

“The main controversy is where this restraint began, and by whose act; whether by any act of the Apostles, or only by the prudence of the Church itself, as it was with the Sanhedrim. But in order to our peace,” he adds,‡ “I see no such necessity of deciding it, both parties granting that in the Church such a restraint was laid upon the liberty of ordaining presbyters; and the exercise of that power may be restrained still, granting it to be radically and intrinsically in them.”

To hold it expedient notwithstanding this radical power of ordi-

* P. 272.

† Hieronym. in. 1 Tit. Ir., p. 273.

‡ ii. chap. iv. p. 276.

nation in presbyters that the right should only be exercised by a superior order in the Church, and to hold that Presbyterian ordination is in itself essentially unlawful, are two entirely distinct propositions; and the latter opinion he "dares with some confidence assert to be a stranger to our Church of England," as he will afterwards show more fully. As to Aërius, he maintains that his special heresy was not at all the assertion of the identity in order of presbyters and bishops, in which respect he only agreed with Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact; but his having carried out this opinion to the extent of "separating from bishops and their churches because they were bishops:"—

"Whereas had his mere opinion about bishops been the ground of his being condemned, there can be no reason assigned why this heresy, if it were then thought so, was not mentioned either by Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, or Evagrius, before whose time he lived. But for Epiphanius and Augustine, who have listed him in the roll of heretics, it either was for other heretical opinions maintained by him—or they took the name *heretic*, (and it is evident they often did), for one who upon a matter of different opinion from the present sense of the Church, did proceed to make separations from the unity of the Catholic Church, which I take to be the truest account of the reputed heresy of Aërius."*

After dwelling briefly upon the number of persons required to perform the ceremony of ordination among the Jews and equally in the Primitive Church—three in each case—and also of the supposed effect of the reception of the Divine presence or the Holy Spirit, Stillingfleet proceeds to draw his argument to a close in three propositions which embrace at the same time, he says, "the full resolution" of all the points corresponding betwixt the Sanhedrim and the Primitive Church. He introduces his propositions by a statement as to the original meaning of *ἐπίσκοπος*, the intention of which, he says, was "to qualify the importance of the word *presbyter* to a sense proper to the Gospel state." Primarily the word imported "duty more than honour," and was "not a title above presbyter, but rather used by way of diminution and qualification of the power implied in the name of presbyter." Having cleared this point, all that he has to say concerning the settlement of the Primitive Church by the Apostles may be summed up as follows:—First, that we have no such certainty of apostolical practices as can constitute a Divine right; secondly, that there is no evidence that the Apostles bound themselves to any one fixed course in modelling Churches; and, thirdly, that even if it could be proved that they did this, their example would not necessarily bind us.†

He argues the fact of these points at considerable length, from the equivalency of the names of bishop and presbyter in the New Testa-

* Part ii. chap. vi. p. 277.

† Do, p. 287.

ment (Acts xi. 30; xiv. 23; xxviii. 17; 1 Tim. iii. 1; Titus i. 5); from the "defectiveness, ambiguity, partiality, and repugnancy" of the records of the ages immediately succeeding that of the Apostles.* The clear impossibility of making out any *jus divinum* for Church government from Scripture has driven controversialists, he says, "to follow the scent of the game into this wood of antiquity, where it is easier to lose ourselves than to find that which we are upon the pursuit of." He has, perhaps, coloured strongly his picture of the uncertainty of ecclesiastical tradition; but those who have most critically examined the subject will be the most likely to agree with him. He speaks with peculiar force of the sub-apostolic age, from the close of the Acts of the Apostles to "the middle of Trajan" as a *tempus æδηλον*, in the words of Scaliger.† Christian antiquity is then most defective unhappily when its light would have been most useful. The lists or catalogues of bishops set down by many ecclesiastical annalists he treats very slightly. Eusebius‡ found it no easy matter "to find out who succeeded the Apostles in the churches planted by them." What becomes then of the "unquestionable line of succession and the large diagrams made of the Apostolical Churches, with every one's name set down in his order?" § Irenæus is found attributing the tradition of Apostolical doctrine "to the succession of presbyters which before he had done to bishops."|| He asserts not only—

"The succession of presbyters to the Apostles, but likewise attributes the *successio Episcopatus* to these very presbyters. What strange confusion must this raise in any one's mind that seeks for a succession of episcopal power above presbyters from the Apostles by the testimony of Irenæus, when he so plainly attributes both the succession to presbyters and the episcopacy too which he speaks of. . . . But it is not Irenæus alone who tells us that presbyters succeed the Apostles. Even Cyprian, who pleads so much for obedience to the bishops, as they were then constituted in the Church, yet speaks often of his *Compresbyteri*; and in his Epistle to Florentius Papianus, he attributes apostolical succession to all that were *Præpositi*, which name implies not the relation (of bishops) to presbyters as over them, but to the people, and is therefore common both to bishops and presbyters. Jerome saith that presbyters are *loco Apostolorum*, and that they do *Apostolico gradu succedere*; and the so much magnified Ignatius *πρεσβύτεροι ἐς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστολῶν*, that the presbyters succeeded in the place of the bench of Apostles." ¶

The sum of his argument is that no clear line of *Episcopal* succession can be traced in many cases. The claim of a *jus divinum* for Episcopacy implies that in all cases the Apostles in "with-

* P. 294.

† P. 298.

‡ Lib. iii. c. iv.

§ P. 297.

|| Lib. iv. cap. iii. The passage of Irenæus is as follows:—"Quapropter iis qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, sicut ostendimus, qui cum Episcopatus successione, charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum patris acceperunt."—*Iren.* p. 307.

¶ Part ii. chap. vi. p. 308.

drawing from the government of Churches did substitute single persons to succeed them." But the evidence for this egregiously fails even in the most conspicuous churches. In Rome, for example—

"The succession is as muddy as the Tiber itself, for here Tertullian, Rufinus, and several others place Clement next to Peter; Irenæus and Eusebius set Anacletus before him; Epiphanius and Optatus, both Anacletus and Cletus; Augustinus and Damasus, with others, make Anacletus, Cletus, and Linus all to precede him. What way shall we find to extricate ourselves out of this labyrinth, so as to reconcile it with the certainty of the form of government in the Apostles' times?"*

Having shown how little certainty there is of any divinely-fixed form of Church government in the apostolic age, he proceeds to show how the Apostles probably acted "according to the several circumstances of places and persons which they had to deal with." He sketches, in other words, the formation of the Christian Church according to the natural law of development which it appears to him to have followed. His idea is the genuinely historic one, that the government of the Church adapted itself to circumstances, and the varying increase of the community of believers in different districts. A small number of believers did not require the same number of teachers and governors as "a great Church did." In some cases a single pastor, with deacons under him, was all that was needed; and "every such single pastor was a bishop, in the sense that he had none above to command him," but not, of course, in the special sense of having presbyters under him. In larger churches, consisting of a multitude of deacons, he supposes that the government was settled in "a college of presbyters." This is his interpretation of the Apostles' "ordaining elders in every city, and Paul's calling for the elders from Ephesus, and his writing to the bishops (presbyters) and deacons of Philippi."† "We have many remaining footsteps," he says, "of such a college of presbyters established in the most populous churches in the apostolical times." Among these presbyters some attended most to ruling, others laboured most in preaching, but none of them were *lay elders* in the dogmatic Presbyterian sense. For any presbyter in the New Testament sense is also a bishop, and is described as having pastoral charge over a flock, which is inconsistent with the notion of a lay elder.‡

So far he supposes the Church to have developed in the apostolic age; and in a subsequent chapter § he traces its further development in the constitution of a president or bishop in the special sense over each college of presbyters. In the second century this manner of government in the Church appears clearly: the bishop sitting as the *אב* in the Sanhedrim, and the presbyters *ὡς συνεδρευτοὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων*, as Ignatius expresseth it, acting as the common council

* Part ii. chap. vi. p. 322.

† Do. p. 335.

‡ P. 337.

§ II. c. vii.

of the Church to the bishop—the bishop being as the ἄρχων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, answering to the ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως, and the presbyters as the βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, answering to the βουλὴ καθ' ἑκαστὴν πόλιν, as Origen compares them (C. Celsum, l. iii.), whereby he fully describes the form of government in his time in the Church, which was by an ecclesiastical senate, and a President in it, ruling the society of Christians in every city.* We need not trace further his historical picture, according to which churches gradually extended from cities to the surrounding villages, and thence enlarged into dioceses, and subsequently into provinces. The result of the whole is to bring out the varying human element which entered into the growth of the Church. The government was the result, not of any special Divine law, but of a succession of laws, springing up “according to the several states and conditions wherein the Church was.” And “as it gradually grew up, so was the power of the Church by mutual consent fitted to its state in its several ages.† In further evidence of which, it is found, as a matter of fact, that there were several churches, such as the ancient Scottish Church, without any bishops for a long time; and other churches, he alleges, “which discontinued bishops for a great while where they had been.”

Finally, the last of his three propositions remain, even if a stronger case could be made out for a uniform Apostolical practice as to Church government, viz., that such a practice would not be necessarily binding upon us. Many things were done by the Apostles which were suitable merely to the exigencies of the Primitive Church, and carried with them no binding force after the occasion for them had passed away.

“Let any one consider but these few particulars,” he says, “and judge how far the pleaders for a Divine right of Apostolical practice do look upon themselves as bound now to observe them; as dipping in Baptism, the use of Love-feasts, Community of Goods, the Holy Kiss, by Tertullian, called *signaculum orationis* (de Orat.); yet none look upon themselves as bound to observe them now, and yet all acknowledge them to have been the practice of the Apostles.‡

His concluding review of the opinions of reformed Divines is extremely interesting. But we cannot do more than indicate its general purport. He shows, beyond all dispute, that the most distinguished divines of the English Reformation—Cranmer, Whitgift, Parker, Hooker, and, later, Cosins, Low, Bridges, Sutcliffe, and King James himself—were all of opinion that no definite form of Church government was laid down in Scripture, or commanded the Church of God (very nearly Whitgift's words in his reply to Cartwright). He quotes the detailed opinions of Hales and Chillingworth to the same effect. He then adds the testimony of

* P. 356.

† P. 374.

‡ P. 345.

foreign divines in abundance, and of learned men, particularly Bacon and Grotius. All these "assert in terms that the form of Church government does not depend upon any unalterable law, but is left to the prudence and discretion of every particular Church to determine it according to its suitableness to the state, condition, and temper of the people whereof it consists, and conduceableness to the ends for which it is instituted." Others, such as Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, while holding Presbyterian parity to be the primitive form, yet approve of Episcopacy in special circumstances as lawful and expedient. Others still, while judging Episcopacy to be the primitive form, do not hold it to be "unalterably binding, but that those churches which are without it are truly constituted churches, and their ministers lawfully ordained by mere presbyters. This is given as the opinion, not only of Jewel, but of Field, Downam, Saravia Andrews, and others. "The stoutest champions for Episcopacy before their late unhappy divisions," he says, "acknowledged that ordination, performed by presbyters in cases of necessity, is valid, which I have already shown doth evidently prove that Episcopal government is not founded upon any unalterable Divine right."*

This closes his lengthened argument, in which he believes that he has laid down "a sure foundation for peace and union." The result of the whole has been "to prove that the form of Church government is a mere matter of prudence, regulated by the word of God." *Prudence*, therefore, is the first principle which must be used in the resettlement of the Church. The second principle is, that the form of government is the best which, according to principles of Christian prudence, comes nearest to apostolical practice, and tends most to advance the peace and unity of the Church. What this form is he does not presume to determine; but no better key to its discovery can be given than the advice of "his late Majesty of glorious memory" to divines of differing opinions, to "lay aside private interests, and reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned form of superiority and subordination as may best resemble the apostolical and primitive times, so far forth as the different conditions of the times, and the exigencies of all considerable circumstances, will admit."† The elements of such a Church constitution are—1. The restoration of presbyters as the senate to the bishop. 2. The contraction of dioceses, and appointment of bishops at least in every county town. 3. The constant preaching of the bishop, and residence in his diocese. 4. The solemnity of ordinations, with the consent of the people. 5. The observation of provincial synods twice every year. 6. The employment of none in

* Chap. viii. p. 431.

† Charles I. Second Paper to the Ministers at Newport.

judging church matters but the clergy ! Finally, whatever form of government is determined upon by lawful authority should be submitted to in so far as it contains nothing contrary to the word of God. The very fact that the determination of Church government is a matter of liberty, makes the government binding when once lawfully determined.

Such was the ideal Church of Stillingfleet, probably of many of the younger and more thoughtful clergy, on the eve of the Restoration. Unhappily, their voice was unheard, or at least uninfluential. The old parties represented by Baxter and Calamy on one side, and Sheldon and Morley on the other, exasperated and hardened by their long struggle, continued for a time to wrangle with one another. Both were alike incapable of rising above the dogmatisms which enslaved them, and which had desolated the country. The end was sufficiently mournful, and bears mournful consequences unto this day ; but the time may come when thoughts of wisdom and moderation will prevail on this as on other subjects, and we may see the end, as Stillingfleet, in his concluding sentence, dares to hope, "of our strange divisions and unchristian animosities, while we pretend to serve the Prince of Peace."

JOHN TULLOCH.



SOME REMARKS ON THE PHYSIQUE OF THE RURAL POPULATION.

THERE are plenty of men among us who take an interest in studying the movement of society from books, in verifying and illustrating the general laws of political economy, and drawing out theories of national progress from averages on a great scale. Actual observation of definite objects within a limited range of vision is much rarer; but after all, this is the foundation upon which all general views must be built, and it would be well if more of us applied ourselves strictly and patiently to this humbler, but hardly less interesting task. The clergy of the country districts are particularly well placed for making observations. It seems much to be desired that every new incumbent, on his installation in his parish, should set this as an object before him: collect and register facts, sanitary, educational, moral, and economic; review them from time to time, and in the ripeness of years communicate them to the world. For myself, I may say, looking back at a residence in the same rural locality for twenty years, that I much regret my having neglected to make such observations from the first. Contracted as my field of view must be, I cannot doubt that it would, nevertheless, have furnished a variety of data from which to draw conclusions as to the state of things over a much wider area. A country parish of about 800 inhabitants, bordering upon, and closely connected with, a small market town, not far from two considerable country towns, but at a distance from the great manufacturing centres, within a few miles of the sea-coast, and

two hours by rail from the metropolis, may be taken as a type of a vast number, and the observations which may be made upon its social state must be generally applicable to a large portion of the country.

But such results of my experience as now occur to me are here given with a view to elicit the observation of others, who may have had similar opportunities with myself, and have made a better use of them. I am inclined to think that the dwellers in the towns know very little about the interior economics of the rural parts of the country, and *vice versa*; that a great deal of our legislation is consequently based upon a one-sided view of the requirements of the class for whose benefit it is intended; and that an interchange of ideas and information upon these subjects between town and country may be found very advantageous for both.

First then, with regard to the physical condition of the mass of the people, I am induced, from my own local observation, to take a very unfavourable view of it, and I am anxious to know whether my view is supported or contravened by the experience of others elsewhere. The physical condition of the people seems to me to be slowly and gradually, but still to some extent, deteriorating. The strength and health of both men and women seem to show symptoms of a gradual decline. Some people in our parish live to a great age, possibly the average age of the long-lived is as great or greater than ever. I do not know that more children die prematurely; the mortality in this class is by no means great as compared with what we hear of elsewhere. We seem indeed to be eminently exempt from the scourge of infant mortality which appears to be so rife in other localities, and under other conditions. Among the mass of the people death in childhood is among the rarest of all accidents. I remember when I used to regard Byron's exclamation, "Peasants bring forth in safety!" as a rhetorical flight; but I find it is literally true to its fullest extent. I can recall but one instance to the contrary among the hundreds of births that have occurred within my observation, and that was in the case of the birth of twins. On the other hand, the cases of serious injury after childbirth from the want of prompt or expert medical assistance, from premature exertion, from ignorance and carelessness, from constitutional debility, ill-feeding, and other causes, form a peculiar set-off to this peculiar immunity. I cannot doubt, however, that our improved medical arrangements, and science, and the extension of charity, both public and private, have done, and are continually doing more and more, to mitigate these evil results, and to save both life and health, as far as they are affected by the incidents of childbirth.

We may further congratulate ourselves on the much diminished malignity of the most infectious and dangerous disorders. We have, no doubt, much to complain of in the recklessness exhibited by the

poor in regard to precautions against infection. While every one generally shuns and flees his neighbour, often refusing him the commonest attention of charity, under the infliction of small pox and scarlet fever, the patient has no idea of "keeping himself to himself," nor regards for a moment the danger to others of communicating with them. One can hardly wonder, indeed, at either the one or the other, when one sees how extraordinarily capricious the infection of these diseases seems to be; how often it baffles every reasonable precaution, and again, how often the most exposed to it unaccountably escape it. I have hardly seen a case of direct communication of scarlet fever between two contiguous cottages, though it darts about from one spot to another, between which no communication can be traced at all. The progress of small-pox would seem to be just the reverse. But with respect to these great diseases, I should say that the mortality they cause is small compared with the alarm and distrust they inspire. I cannot doubt these feelings are derived from ancient tradition; from the impression inherited from earlier generations, when they were felt and known to be much more deadly than they now are. Medical skill, and combined therewith, healthier habits, and possibly better food, certainly more care and humane attention, have doubtless done much to alleviate these disorders, and so far have prolonged and ameliorated the lot of human life.

Of the improvement in the medical skill now accessible to the poorest class of the rural community there can, I suppose, be no doubt, nor of the increased facility with which it may be obtained. This is a great gain, though, strange to say, it is not, perhaps, an unmixed good. In serious cases, no doubt, the aid of the medical practitioner is readily sought and obtained, good treatment of cases is provided, bad treatment avoided. But in cases of less seeming importance, where the patient, or his friends do not think it worth while to apply to the doctor, there is not, I apprehend, the same amount of empirical knowledge to fall back upon as in former times, when the poor were thrown more on their own resources, and made to depend more upon the simple medicines and dietetics of the wise women of the village. The utter helplessness of the poor in common cases of domestic therapeutics is very striking, and its results often very deplorable. Again, while it is impossible to doubt that the increased attention of society generally to sanitary rules and precautions has had some effect upon the well-being even of the lowest classes, I am not inclined to think that these classes have themselves attained, as yet, to any sensible impression of their advantage or necessity. Any improvement that is made, is made and must be maintained by external pressure; by the unremitting advice and solicitation of the clergy and other well-wishers; by the authority of the landlord; by the actual stress of law enforced by the guardians and the magistrates.

The landlords of cottages in the country are, to a great extent, men of very small means and very limited understandings, and the enlightened and humane improvement of cottage accommodation goes on at a very slow rate, though perhaps it is nowhere at a stand-still. But the enlargement of accommodation is almost always met by the cottagers themselves taking in lodgers, and greater vigilance than can often be exercised is required of the landlords, who really hope to confer a boon upon their tenants by giving them more rooms or better. A better house implies a higher rent; and how, but by taking lodgers, is the higher rent to be paid? Meanwhile the position of the labourer, as an unmarried lodger in a strange house, is as sad a one as can be conceived. The change in social habits by which the farm labourer is no longer lodged in the house of the farmer himself, among his own familiar associates, and under the authority of a master, seems to be a most unfortunate one for him. We cannot wonder that the discomforts of a lodging in a stranger's cottage, which very commonly means a trestle bed in a corner of the common keeping room, laid out at night and removed during the day, should drive him during the unemployed hours of the evening to the beer-shop, which is ever at his elbow, which is his club as well as his coffee-room.

On the whole, however, the amount of overcrowding in the cottages seems to be a good deal exaggerated. In the parish of which I speak, I know by actual enumeration that there are about 200 dwellings to 800 people, including some large houses of the upper class, with large families and several servants. I have learnt that a similar proportion of about four to a house is common through the neighbourhood. But of course a great number of these houses are occupied by single persons, and many by couples; it is, unfortunately, precisely where the family is largest that the cottager is driven to straiten his accommodation still more by taking in lodgers, so that there are, and must be, many little households in every village community in which the overcrowding is very prejudicial both to health and to morals.

The charity and humanity of the upper classes has, no doubt, been called out very much of late years, by the attention which has been everywhere excited to the condition of the poor. The advice and assistance which the labouring class receive from their better-off neighbours in sickness form a most important supplement to the care of the doctor, and the improvement, such as it is, of their sanitary circumstances. I think I may assume that, in ordinary cases, the pills and potion of the medical man are, to some extent, make-believe, and that his real dependence is on his recommendation to the squire and the parson for "red port" and "nourishing things." The administration of the poor-law is really liberal in the assistance of

this kind which it furnishes. Judicious application of the parochial alms and charities, which seem to be constantly increasing in amount, may help very materially in ministering to the sick and convalescent.

In mentioning the improved living among the poor as a favourable incident in their condition, I referred indeed more to these supplemental charities than to the food ordinarily at their command. I cannot say that during the twenty years over which my observation extends, there has been any very sensible improvement in the food of the poor agricultural labourer in my district. Tea and sugar are no doubt cheaper; meat at least as much dearer, and more than ever unobtainable; flour varies, of course, from year to year, within limits less wide than was the case formerly, but it has hardly fallen at all on the average, while milk, butter, and vegetables are more difficult to attain than ever. Beer is, I suppose, no dearer, but it may be presumed from the increasing competition in the sale of it, that it is deteriorating in quality. The ordinary wages of the labourer are still regulated precisely by the price of corn; and, as it seems to me, have not risen either positively or relatively. The population being stationary, or rather diminishing, the ordinary labourer's work is somewhat more constant, and at seasons of pressure, such as the harvest, he can obtain an advancement on the harvest money, or extra wages given in one sum of five or six pounds; to which he generally looks for the payment of his rent. But this does not much more than cover the slight tendency which may be observed to a rise in rents, as the worst cottages are pulled down or fall to pieces, and a rather better class is constructed. What little the labourer makes in his wages goes, I hope and believe, in subscription to benefit clubs, at least as much as in drink; but it does not seem to reach to any improvement in the article of food, or tend in any sensible degree to the preservation and prolongation of life among the poor.

It seems, however, that there are various forces at work, contributing more or less to the improvement of our sanitary condition: increased care in infancy, the mitigation of the most virulent disorders, general improvement and accessibility of medical skill, a slight improvement of dwellings, and wide application of general and individual charity. We witness, undoubtedly, day by day, numerous instances of contagion stayed, sickness alleviated, health restored, under the existing conditions of society, of which we may see distinctly that they could not have occurred a generation or two ago. This seems to be a great gain, and, no doubt, it is so. But what is the general result? Is the general health of the parish advanced? Are the strength and stamina of the labouring class increased? Can they do more work than of old? Have they more days of health, and fewer of sickness, during their career of labour?

Is their vigour of mind and body greater,—or the contrary? I have no doubt that the average length of life is greater: for this means that more children survive their infancy, more cases of serious illness are recovered from in middle life, old age is prolonged by a few years, hopeless infirmity is protracted through a few months by the causes and appliances above-mentioned. These instances may go a great way in raising the general average of life in a limited society, but they tell us nothing of the physical condition of the mass; they give us no help to determine whether, during the years of labour, the poor man meets his work with improved health and strengthened resources. An increase in the number of babes and old people is no increase in the production and economic force of a parish, but very much the contrary: what are called vital statistics may be a very fallacious index to vital forces.

I am constrained to say that my own personal observation of the vital forces of our rural population is very disheartening. Notwithstanding all the advantages above enumerated, which our people manifestly enjoy, as compared with their fathers and grandfathers, my impression is that they are, on the whole, a weaker and sicklier race. If sickness makes no sudden or extensive ravages among them, sickness pervades the mass to a painful and alarming degree. The taint of scrofulous disease—the great bane of the class—may be mitigated by the care and skill with which it is now treated among them; but it cannot apparently be eradicated, nor does its fatal facility of transmission appear to be in any degree diminished. We know in what various forms this taint develops itself; among my own people the tendency to consumption and to general debility is extremely marked. Our air is pure, and, for strong constitutions, bracing; but a general languor and want of energy seem to be among the most pervading characteristics of the people. We are near the sea-coast, and a few of our most enterprising lads take to the sea. A few more of the best instructed and vigorous seek employment above that of the day-labourer at a distance, as gardeners, or grooms, or servants. There is rarely spirit enough among us to enlist as soldiers; and I cannot call to mind more than two instances of men, and one of a woman, going forth from us as emigrants to foreign parts. But such little efforts at expatriation as I remark in our neighbourhood have just the effect of withdrawing our best blood from us, and leaving the weakly residuum behind. With the women this result is perhaps still more marked than with the men. The poor have kind patrons among us, who are anxious to get the young girls of the labouring class out to service. Year after year we send out some who seem to be the flower of our female youth. In very many cases they return in the course of a year or two in broken health. They complain,

perhaps, that their service is too hard; but there is every reason to believe that service is lightened, and the young servant more considered in these times than formerly. However that may be, the doctor is called into requisition; "nourishment" and "red port" are earnestly recommended and freely supplied; the girl, after two or three months, is patched up, another place secured for her, and forth she goes a second time, pretty sure to return again to us, after a second spell, with bad health more confirmed than ever. After a second or third experiment, the mother declares that it is no use trying again; nor perhaps is it. The girl remains at home an acknowledged invalid, an on-and-off patient of the doctor, a constant applicant at the hall and the parsonage. Whether she is sought, or herself seeks, I know not, but the inevitable result is, that in due time she is called in marriage, and becomes established in the parish as the mother of a family as sickly as herself. It becomes the duty of the doctor, the clergyman, and every other charitable man of means to help her through her troubles, and to preserve the wretched little lives she thrusts upon their attention. Every effort of skill and charity is made and persisted in; many such lives are yearly saved and carried through the most precarious period of infancy; the vital statistics of the parish are imposingly and fallaciously swelled by many an unit which in former times would never have been born, or would never have survived; and the next generation threatens to be proportionally deteriorated, to run through a similar course itself, and engender a third generation more degenerate than ever.

This seems but too plainly to be the natural progress, or rather decline, of society among us. The more vigorous draft themselves off to the more active centres of population, and what becomes of them there I cannot say, though it may be feared that they meet there with other conditions of life hardly more favourable to the advance in physical vigour from one generation to another. But I suppose the observation of others in the rural districts must agree with my own, that it is generally the least vigorous that remain most closely attached to their home, and that these must, in the natural order of things, become the progenitors of offspring as weak as themselves, to undergo in their turn the same process of the elimination of the best, and the multiplication of the worst specimens.

The question then is, whether the improved means and appliances above enumerated are able to gain ground, or even to maintain their ground against this natural process of deterioration. If I am obliged to say that, in my view, the saving and sustaining of weak and sickly life tends more to produce physical degeneracy among us than to avert it, I trust that I shall not be supposed for a moment

to discourage or deprecate the efforts in which, as believers in a spiritual existence, we are most solemnly bound to persevere, even against the most unfavourable appearances. But, if there is any truth in the remarks here made, as the result of my personal observation and reflection, it must lead us to consider more and more seriously what is the future in store for us, how we may meet the evil consequences which seem to follow, as a shadow, upon every advance we make in medical knowledge, and the skilful and benevolent application of it. I cannot but think that such remarks as these must have crossed the minds of many in a similar position with my own, and I will pause at least before proceeding further with them, in the hope that they may elicit the communication of the experience of others, whether it tends to confirm my own or to refute it. But no attempt, as far as I know, has yet been made to collect such facts as I have referred to on an extended scale—to register, to analyse, and deduce inferences from them. Every now and then the isolated remarks, generally of some medical man, are presented to us in a newspaper or a journal. Some figures are given us, purporting to show a startling increase in the insane, or the idiots, or some other class of the morbidly affected; a little desultory discussion ensues, no new facts are elicited, and the subject drops again out of notice. Or we hear that the Horse Guards have decided on reducing the standard of height for enlistment in the army, and an apprehension is expressed that it is a sign of some physical deterioration in the class from which recruits are drawn, whereas it may be merely a question of wages. But while we compile such accurate and exhaustive statistics of our economic resources, of imports and exports, of corn trade and manufactures; while we register meteorological observations; while we are fully alive to the importance of enumerating our births, deaths and marriages, we make no attempt at a registration of our vital forces, as they may be indicated by observation of strength and stature, by the statistics of our hospitals and workhouses, or by a record of the combined experience of the medical profession. Some years ago, as I remember, O'Connell gloried characteristically in the result of an experiment with the dynamometer, applied to some regiment or company, from which it appeared that the muscular strength of the Irish marked a line or two higher on the scale than that of either the Scotch or the English. But why should not such a test be adopted systematically for recruits throughout both services, for applicants for workhouse relief, for any other class of men who come in any way under public supervision? Such a new branch of statistics would present an interesting field to the vigilant curiosity of the Registrar-General, in which his untiring energy would expatiate with more vigour than ever.

C. MERIVALE.



VICE-REGAL SPEECHES AND EPISCOPAL VOTES IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT,

FROM THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE UNION.

PART I.

CHARLES I.

THE condition of Ireland, during the years immediately preceding the rebellion of 1641, is sometimes described—and especially by writers who belong to the Established Church—as prosperous and flourishing. To use the words of a distinguished prelate—"all contemporary records consent in describing the flourishing condition of Ireland, the rapid advances which it was making in civilization, in wealth, above all, which our reformed Church was making, when all this prosperity, spiritual and temporal, was by a hideous catastrophe interrupted, and brought suddenly to an end." The "Graces," however, which were granted by Charles I., with the approval of his Privy Council, to his Irish subjects, in the year 1628, but which were intercepted by his Irish Government, indicate a state of affairs which it is mockery to call prosperous. According to these "Graces," which Leland describes as "in some instances, indeed, favourable to recusants [that is Roman Catholics], but such as in general were evidently reasonable and equitable, calculated for the redress of those grievances, which persons of all denominations had experienced, and tending to the peace and prosperity of the whole

nation," Ireland was governed by a combination of Martial, and Castle, or Star-Chamber, Law. The abuses and exactions of the military fell heavily on those who were neither enemies nor rebels. The Provost Martial inflicted the extreme penalty of death, when neither war nor rebellion existed. Witnesses and jurors were ruthlessly cited before the Castle chamber, and terribly punished for giving evidence or verdicts unfavourable to the Crown. The tenure of estates was precarious. The trade and commerce of Ireland were injuriously affected by the exclusion of the chief products of the country from English ports and by the monopolies granted or sold to individuals under the pretext of licenses or patents. The clergy of the Establishment harassed their Roman Catholic fellow subjects by vexatious exercises of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the matter of marriages, christenings, and burials, and actually, in some instances, kept private prisons for offenders. The state of the Established Church is sadly portrayed by Dr. Bramhall in a letter to Bishop Laud, dated in 1633. "It is hard to say," writes Bramhall, "whether the Churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent, even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom and seat of justice." "I doubt much," he proceeds, "whether the clergy be very orthodox." "The inferior sort of ministers," he adds, "are below all degrees of contempt, in respect of their poverty and ignorance." The misery of the Roman Catholics may be imagined from Bishop Bedell's account in 1630, who states that they were impoverished "from their paying double tithes to their own clergy and to ours, from dearth of corn and the death of their cattle these last years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents," and from "the oppression of the court ecclesiastical," which the good bishop declares to be inexcusable. Bedell's account, written in reference to his own dioceses only, "is applied by Cox generally to the Irish sees."

The share which the Established Church had in producing Irish discontent and misery is of much importance to ascertain. There are some who estimate truly "the fatal blighting influence of the penal laws," but at the same time assert that the Irish Established Church was in no way responsible for those wicked laws—"laws" which they confess were "framed apparently for the express purpose of crushing down the Roman Catholic population into a state of hopeless poverty, ignorance, discontent, and undying hostility to everything that bore the hateful name of English." But "for these [laws] the Church of this country cannot,"—so writes an able prelate—"be fairly held responsible. They were the work of politicians, not of Churchmen. They were made indeed to secure what was called the Protestant interest, but that interest was not the interest of the Church." Such

reasoning might be accepted if it could be shown that the voice of the Established Church in Ireland had been lifted up to denounce the penal laws; that her bishops had declined to become active instruments for executing them; and that her clergy had taken pains to teach their people that the true interests of religion would be better served by their modification or abrogation. But, unhappily, history—not that which is lightly read in the pages of prejudiced partisans, but that which is laboriously sought in contemporary and official records—gives a far different idea of the part taken by the Establishment in the government of Ireland. Her leading prelates were Privy Councillors and Lords Justices—ruling in Parliament as in the days of Brainhall, Boulter, or Stone—and invariably joining the ministry in all measures except those which affected injuriously their own temporal welfare. Bishops formed the majority of the House of Lords in those years of Queen Anne's reign during which the severest laws against Roman Catholics were passed; and they were likewise a majority in 1731 and 1750, when those penal laws were continued and intensified in severity. So far from being the bulwark of Protestantism in general, the Establishment regarded the Protestant Dissenters with as much hostility as it showed towards Roman Catholics, the bishops at one time even petitioning for the withdrawal of the pittance—the *Regium donum*—afforded to Presbyterians. If the manufactures of Ireland are to be encouraged, or its waste land reclaimed, the claims of the clergy to their tithes rise up in opposing petitions. If mercy and leniency towards a guilty but swordsmitten peasantry are advocated—the names of the prelates are withheld. So at least the Parliamentary annals from 1634 to 1800 prove to demonstration. In these days a statesman, of rare genius, and of undoubted loyalty to the Church as a Divine institution, has essayed, at the will of the nation, the arduous task of severing the connection of Church and State, in Ireland, and of reversing by that measure the entire Irish policy hitherto adopted. It may not, then, be useless at this time, not only to give a brief analysis of the Parliamentary influence of the Irish prelates from the primacy of Usher to that of Newcome, but also to afford a rapid glance at some points of the English policy towards Ireland, as shown in the Vice-regal addresses delivered in the House of Lords from the time of Strafford to that of Cornwallis. The retrospect, although bitter, may produce some wholesome lessons.

In 1601, when Lord Mountjoy was Elizabeth's Deputy, there was shown a slight indisposition on the part of the Irish Government to enforce religious conformity by penalties. It was not, indeed, "thought fit" by the Deputy "that any principal magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in ab-

senting themselves from public Divine service," but it was thought worthy of consideration "how we do punish in their bodies or goods any such only for religion, as do profess to be faithful subjects to her Majesty and against whom the contrary cannot be proved." So merciful a policy did not, however, commend itself to the members of the Establishment. The Primate's nephew—James Usher, the "glory of the Irish Church"—was then one of the State preachers, and delivered in Christchurch Cathedral, the Chapel Royal of the day, a sermon in which he denounced the Government for conniving at Popery, and predicted as the consequence the descent of a Divine judgment upon the land. "From this year will I reckon"—said Usher, in connection with his text from Ezekiel's prophecy of the forty years—"the sin of Israel, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." This impassioned harangue of Usher, who was then scarcely twenty years of age, was applied subsequently to the rebellion in 1641, and was looked on by his admirers "as an effusion of inspiration." Again, in 1622, Usher, then Bishop of Meath and a Privy Councillor, exasperated the Roman Catholics by preaching a violent sermon before Lord Falkland on the text "He beareth not the sword in vain." And in 1626, Usher, then the Primate of Ireland, assembled the bishops, to the number of twelve, in his own house, and drew up "the judgment of divers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland concerning Toleration of Religion," whereby they unanimously declared that to give to Roman Catholics a Toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin."

Usher's behaviour is the more important to consider, because of his leading part in the settlement of the articles and canons of the Irish Church. Moreover, he was the first fruits of Trinity College, Dublin, of which institution he was—so it is said—the first elected scholar, graduate, fellow, and proctor. It is sad that such a man—the representative of the Irish Church and University—should have been partner in the policy of Wentworth, "the principle of whose administration was to enforce religious unity by church discipline, and to invigorate church discipline by the secular arm." [Mant's Hist. i. 470.] The Irish Parliament, in 1634, was urgent upon Wentworth to permit those articles of the "Graces" which limited the king's title to sixty years, and gave some sort of security to the tenure of estates, to be passed into laws. Bills for this purpose were ordered by the Lords to be prepared by the judges. The Commons petitioned the Deputy. But Wentworth was inexorable. He was willing, indeed, to permit those articles to be passed into laws which furthered the temporal welfare of the Established Church, and

benefited the undertakers and Scotch settlers in Ulster and Leinster. But the articles which diminished the power of ecclesiastics and relieved Roman Catholics, which were to check the excesses of the military and advance the liberty of the subject, Wentworth would only suffer to be continued as instructions during the King's pleasure, or left to the honour and justice of the Deputy, or "given in charge" to the prelates. He refused altogether the articles relating to the titles to landed estates, which were of the chiefest moment, under the plea that they were not good or expedient for the time. These harsh resolves of Wentworth were embodied in a document read, in his presence, before the House of Lords on the 27th of November, 1634, as the formal answer of the Deputy and Council to the Remonstrances of the Commons. To that document had been attached, two days previously, among the earliest signatures, the names of Usher, the primate, and of Bulkeley and Barlow, the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam. It was also signed by the bishops of Meath and Raphoe. Thus the Irish Established Church, through her chief bishops, contributed to rivet upon Ireland the chains of the penal laws, and to intercept the royal favour, in defiance of the remonstrances of a Parliament, in which more laws were passed for improving the temporal welfare of the Church than in any other, according to the testimony of church historians. The Irish Convocation petitioned the Government, in 1636, when Parliament was not sitting, to suppress all Popish schoolmasters, and "that whereas frequent burials in abbeyes occasion the great contempt and neglect of parish churches, and are mainly prejudicial to the clergy, some good course might be taken to restrain that abuse by Act of State." This petition was approved of by Wentworth, who forthwith authorized Primate Usher and the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes to devise measures affecting the Irish Catholics in the nearest and sorest points, the education, namely, of their children, and the burial of their dead.

It consists well with what is reported of the insolence of Wentworth towards the Irish Privy Councillors and the House of Peers, to find him declining to place on the journals of the Lords, on the plea of his having taken no notes, his speech delivered on the opening of Parliament, in July, 1634. Few temporal peers attended that Parliament. Ninety-nine lay peers—five, however, being minors—were entitled to sit, but never more than forty-three were at any one occasion present; sometimes only twenty lay lords attended. On six or seven occasions nearly the entire bench of bishops was present. The number of those who attended was, however, not always entered on the journals of the House. At the commencement of the next Parliament, in 1640, Wentworth, then Earl of Strafford, was absent, but arrived in Dublin two days after it had been opened by the Lords

Justices. Primate Usher, with three spiritual and seven lay peers, declared, in Committee, the willingness of the peers to grant further subsidies, to enable the king to reduce the Scotch covenanters, and the Parliament passed Acts to secure certain estates to the Rev. W. Bulkeley, and Archbishop Bulkeley, and the bishops of Ferns and Elphin. In 1641 the prelates unanimously, but vainly, resisted the adoption of a declaration of the peers in favour of petitioning the King to relieve the grievances of Ireland. Bishop Bramhall, of Derry—Strafford's intimate adviser—was soon after impeached of high treason by the Commons, and committed to custody. In 1642, and the four following years, in consequence of the disturbed state of affairs, few lay peers, and very few bishops assembled; the House sitting but on few occasions, and mostly for adjournments. The highest number of prelates present in 1640 was seventeen; in 1641, five; and in 1642, seven. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath alone attended in 1643 and 1644; and only six prelates in 1645 and 1646 were on any one occasion recorded as present in the House.

CHARLES II.

From the Parliament called together at the Restoration in 1661 Roman Catholics were rigidly excluded. The peers numbered twenty-one Roman Catholics and seventy-two Protestants, besides the twenty-four bishops; but the Roman Catholic peers, declining the oath of supremacy, could not take their seats. Bramhall, Strafford's favourite, and nicknamed by Cromwell the Irish Canterbury, was now the Primate of Ireland, and Speaker, by royal appointment, of the House of Peers. A committee of six lay and four spiritual lords (including the famous Jeremy Taylor) framed, by order of the House, a declaration "requiring all the subjects of this kingdom to conform to church government by Episcopacy, and to the Liturgy, as it is established by law." This imperious order was to be read publicly in all the churches by all the ministers on the next Sunday after it reached their hands. It is related by Plowden that "Bramhall proposed a resolution, which passed, that none should sit in the Lords' House except those who should first have received the sacrament at his—the Primate's—hands;" but no resolution in those precise terms appears in the published journals. On the 20th of May, however, all the peers of the Church of England "are desired to be at Christ Church on Whitsunday to receive the Holy Communion together." Soon afterwards it was ordered by a committee of three bishops (including Jeremy Taylor) and two lay peers that "the solemn league and covenant," which is termed the great incentive of the rebellion in all the King's dominions, should be burned by hands of the common hangman. Orders are made in

June for restoration of the Church to all such possessions and lands as it had enjoyed in 1640 and 1641. In July, commissioners are deputed by the Lords to repair to England, to represent to the King the poverty of the bishoprics, and to ask him to enrich the sees out of the forfeited estates, and to give out of the same source £700 a year to the see of Kildare, various other sums to other sees, and £300 a year to the provostship of Trinity College. The King is also besought to continue "Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and all other cities, towns corporate, walled towns, and all sea-ports" in the hands "only of such as are of communion with the Church of England," or foreigners who had taken the oaths of supremacy. These requests were granted. It was ordered, on the 27th of July, that the Mayor and all officers, civil and military, should aid the Bishop of Waterford "in the silencing and quieting of fanatics, and the securing of the orthodox ministry, and that the gaoler be accountable if he suffer any meeting of fanatics in prison." Every bishop, if he desires it, is to have the same order as the Bishop of Waterford had, *mutatis mutandis*. Still more violent measures against recusants were adopted in the closing months of this year, 1661. The Bishop of Meath, in November, reported a recommendation from a free conference of Lords and Commons, that Government should secure the "priests, Jesuits, and friars," who are called the constant incendiaries of the rebellion—force back to Connaught and Clare the transplanted persons who had returned—establish trained bands of Protestants—and seize all horses and arms of the Irish, and banish Papists from the army. Two prelates—the Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin—with one temporal peer, lay these proposals before the Lords Justices, whose consent was reported to the House on the 9th of December, 1661, by the Lord Primate Bramhall.

The Irish House of Lords passed, on the 10th of December, 1662, without a single dissentient voice, an act "for keeping and celebrating the 23rd of October as an anniversary thanksgiving in this kingdom." This annual thanksgiving had been previously established by an Act of State, made by the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, and the Council of Ireland, on the 23rd of November, 1642. For a hundred years at least the most distinguished prelates of the Irish Establishment were selected to preach these annual sermons, upon what is generally, but somewhat unjustly, termed the massacre of 1641. The most extraordinary exaggerations of this alleged massacre gained credence among the vulgar. Even Milton contributed to the popular error. He stated, in the second edition of his "Iconoclastes," that in "the rebellion and horrid massacre of English Protestants in Ireland," 154,000 were slain "in the province of Ulster only," which, "added to the other three,

makes up the sum total of that slaughter four times as great," or 616,000 in all!* Milton omitted this transparent inaccuracy in other editions of his work, wherein the 154,000 only are mentioned. The number of 154,000, thus alleged to be massacred, is traceable to the Rev. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, who swore a deposition on the 22nd of August, 1642, to the effect that "it was credibly told him," that "the persons slaughtered—whether in Ulster or the whole kingdom the deponent durst not inquire—in March last, amounted to 154,000." Maxwell also relates that the ghosts of most of those who were thrown over Portadown Bridge were "daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river, sometimes singing of psalms, sometimes brandishing naked swords, and sometimes screeching in the most hideous and fearful manner." Maxwell deposed that he himself lived within thirteen miles of the bridge, and never heard any man doubt the truth of these occurrences. He did not perjure himself by swearing that he saw these alleged miracles "with his own eyes," but swore that "he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter!" The truth is that no massacre at all, in the proper sense of the word, was contemplated by the promoters of the rebellion of 1641, which was fomented by the intrigues of the Irish Government, connived at, for selfish ends, by the Lords Justices themselves, and fostered by the culpable negligence of the English Parliament, which, as Dean Swift wrote, tied up the King's hands, and prevented the speedy quelling of the Irish outbreak.

Many atrocities were committed on both sides during the progress of the rebellion, but none exceeded in barbarity the massacre perpetrated by the Protestant garrison of Carrickfergus upon the unoffending and utterly helpless Roman Catholics in Islandmagee. Warner, a Protestant clergyman and historian, reckons the number of the Protestants killed within two years after the insurrection broke out, at 4,028; and fortifies his estimate by reference to a letter, written on the 5th May, 1652, ten years after the rebellion began, by the Parliamentary Commissioners in Ireland to the English Parliament. In this letter, written to excite them to further severity against the Irish, the Commissioners say that it appears "besides 848 families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and drowned, 6,062." But whether the number of the slaughtered Protestants was 6,000 or 60,000, the number of Roman Catholics slaughtered by the English was ten fold. And the evident tendency of these anniversary "Massacre" sermons was to perpetuate the rancour and malignancy which existed between the Irish and English races, and add the venom of religious to political animosity.

* See Vol. i. p. 448, of Milton's Prose Works, Edition of 1753. London.

The passing of the Irish Act of Uniformity in 1665, was the next important measure relating to Irish Church matters. The Lords' Journals give scarcely any entries of the numbers of the peers present on the different days whereon the House of Lords sat during this notable Parliament, which was opened on the 8th May, 1661, and was dissolved on the 7th of August, 1666. The number of the peers serving on Committees is given, whence it appears that the spiritual lords were sometimes one half, and sometimes one third of the Committees. When the Act of Settlement was passed in 1662, eight lay and ten spiritual peers were present. In 1665, twenty lay peers on one occasion, and on another twenty-five lay peers, attended the House. The fewness of the temporal lords may be accounted for by the exclusion from the House of the outlawed peers, and of those who, being Roman Catholics, refused to take the oath of supremacy, although they took the oath of allegiance. The effect of the Union of Church and State in Ireland was evinced by other ways than by the conduct of the bishops in the House of Lords. In 1662, when the recusants were indicted on the Statute of 22nd Elizabeth for not going to church, and when the Protestant Nonconformists of the north were similarly prosecuted, the judges were ordered, in their several circuits, to suspend the execution of that penal statute until further orders. "The good bishops," so wrote Lord Orrery in 1662 to the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, "soon found the bad effects of these indulgences, and acquainted us with them; which made us call them to advise what was fit to be done." Lord Orrery thus describes the perplexity of the Government:—

"If the laws be fully put in execution, ten parts of eleven of the people will be dissatisfied; if they be not put in execution, the Church will be dissatisfied, and sects and heresies continued, I doubt not, for ever; and if any of the sects be indulged, it will be partiality not to indulge all; if none be favoured, it will be unsafe. This is to me a short state of the case and too true a one."

How the case was practically treated may be gathered from Lord Orrery's letter to the Lord-Lieutenant in 1667, concerning what was done in Cork to suppress the masses and conventicles:—

"Because masses are daily said in that city and conventicles daily held there, I did,"—so writes the Earl,—“having therein advised with the bishop, publicly order the Mayor and Governor, that if any masses or conventicles were henceforth held in that city and suburbs, they should disperse such meetings, and seize on the chiefest in them and proceed against them according to law; it being a sufficient indulgence, that all families within themselves may serve God in their own way, and that they have their meetings in the country, it being both an affront to authority, and a hazarding of his Majesty's garrisons, to have such confluences of people gathered together, even in his Majesty's garrisons. The like I intend to do in the other garrisons of this province, if your Grace does not disapprove it."

The prelates who were Privy Councillors took part in all acts of State. In 1666, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin were the first to sign the Council order for confirming the forfeitures of land, and barring all further claims of innocent persons, whether Protestant or Papist. The Privy Council orders in 1672 for regulating the corporations of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Waterford, and sixteen other "walled towns and corporations," bear for their first and chiefest signatures the names of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and were signed also by the Bishop of Meath. The ecclesiastical element, during the Lord Lieutenancies of Ormond and Essex, had a large share in the civil government of Ireland. Bramhall was thanked not only by Convocation, but also, for his conduct as Speaker, by the House of Lords. To Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor, were voted the thanks of the Peers "for his great care, industry, and circumspection, in the management of the affairs of this House."

WILLIAM III.

The Irish prelates formed an influential portion of the House of Lords in 1692. Thirteen spiritual peers were present, on an average, at every sitting; the proportion of temporal peers present being sixteen or seventeen. The Acts passed by this Parliament were the Act for the recognition of the title of William and Mary to the Crown, and the Act for encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in Ireland, with the privilege of exercising their own religious rites on condition of their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and conforming to the declaration against transubstantiation. It appears from the diary of Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, that he and other bishops were anxious for a reformation of Church abuses, and especially for limitation of the power of granting faculties, but that the primate and other bishops were opposed to his views. Archbishop Marsh also says in his diary, that on the 15th October, 1692, in the Committee for Religion, on which sat nine lay and seven spiritual peers, it was voted that a Bill for toleration be devised with this proviso, that the sacramental test be imposed as it is in England; and also that persons obliged to take it do likewise receive its communion thrice in the year at least, according to the rubric of the Communion service; and also that they presume not to preach against our Church in their meetings, under the penalty of £100 the first time; £200 the second time; and losing the benefit of toleration for the third offence. This Toleration Bill went no further, the House being informed that the English Council had another Bill prepared.

In this year, 1692, first appears entered on the Lords' Journals,

the special appointment of prelates to preach before the House in Christ Church, on the 23rd of October and the 5th of November. The Bishops of Cork and Meath were this year the preachers for these anniversary sermons. On the 17th of October, a Committee of the whole House—seventeen lay and sixteen spiritual peers—is directed to consider “what is fit to be done in the case of the Popish lords who have right to their writs of summons and do not qualify themselves, according to law, to attend this House;” and, on the 20th, three Popish lords are summoned to attend on pain of fines. Thanks are voted on the 22nd of October, to their majesties for delivering Ireland from “popery and slavery,” and to the English Parliament for having relieved those Protestants “who were forced to fly into England to shun the late Popish persecution here.” The next day the House went to Christ Church, and heard the Bishop (Wetenhall) of Cork preach “a sermon, setting forth the duties of the Irish Protestants arising from the Irish rebellion in 1641, and the tyranny in 1688,” &c. The bishop—as Archbishop Marsh records in his Diary—“preached boldly against the Irish.” On the following day he received a vote of thanks from the House, and his sermon was ordered to be printed. Archbishop Marsh, on the 27th of October, moves the House that “Popish holy-days” should be abolished. His motion was adopted in a House consisting of seventeen lay and fourteen spiritual peers. The Archbishop of Tuam was the peer who, on the 22nd of October, proposed a vote of thanks to King William for his deliverance of Ireland. The Parliament of 1692, which was opened on the 5th of October by the Lord-Lieutenant, Viscount Sydney, was, on the 3rd of November same year, prorogued, and after some further prorogations by proclamation, was dissolved in June, 1693.

Lord Capel, the Lord Deputy, opened a new Parliament on the 27th of August, 1695, which was closed in the end of the year 1696. The Deputy, in his speech at the assembling of Parliament, exhorted the Lords and Commons “to secure themselves and their posterity upon the best and surest foundations,” and to rebuild the churches as one of the best means “to preserve the true established religion, and to provide against future rebellions.” In this Parliament several of the penal statutes were enacted: those, namely, which aimed at preventing the education of Irish Roman Catholics at home or abroad, by prohibiting the sending of their children to foreign religious houses, and suppressing all Popish schools in Ireland; and the Acts for disarming all Papists, and for abolishing Popish holy-days. During the year 1695, when these severe laws were passed, the bishops formed a large proportion of the House of Lords. The highest number of peers who attended on any one day was twenty-

three for the lay, and twenty-one for the spiritual peers. On five occasions, or more, the bishops were a majority of the whole House, and on six days the lay and spiritual peers were equal. Seventeen prelates were present in a House consisting of only thirty-six members, when the Bill for disarming Papists, which the Commons had sent up, was passed without a dissentient voice. Twenty-one bishops with twenty-two lay peers formed a Committee of the House to consider the Bill to suppress friaries. Six bishops and one lay peer prepared a clause against burying "in suppressed monasteries and convents." The Popish prelates and clergy who exercised any ecclesiastical jurisdiction were to be banished, and, if they returned, were made guilty of high treason. On the 21st of November, when thirteen prelates and only twelve lay lords were present, the three Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, with the Bishops of Meath, Derry, and Ferns, in conjunction with eight lay peers, were ordered to prepare a Bill "that no Papist shall inherit any Protestant estate," &c. A Bill "for liberty of conscience" was projected in the interest of the Protestant Dissenters, and submitted to the Privy Council, and was approved by the majority of the members, with the addition of a clause which provided that all those who would not conform to the Church established by law should be excluded from offices or any share in the Government. And it appears from Archbishop Marsh's Diary that on the 16th of September, "heads for a bill of toleration were brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Drogheda; but by the bishops voting that they should not be read until three days after, who had a majority of votes, they were quite laid by." The protest of two bishops—one of whom was William King, afterwards the famous Archbishop of Dublin—against the rejection of a Bill "for the real union and division of parishes," contains an intimation that those bishops were anxious to provide for the building of the mother churches, so "that all the inhabitants of every parish should be within three miles of them."

Some other penal acts were passed in the Parliament of 1697. The banishment of the Popish bishops and clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction—the suppression of friars and all regulars—the prevention of burials in abbeys and monasteries—and the prohibition of intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics were provided for. The prelates were not quite so strong in this year in the House of Lords, as in other years, the average number of lay lords in attendance being seventeen, and that of the spiritual being eleven. Thirteen bishops and nineteen lay peers formed the House on those occasions when the Bills for preventing Protestants marrying with Papists and for banishing the Popish clergy were passed

nemine contradicente. Fourteen bishops, out of a House of thirty-five members, assented to a Bill prepared by Lord Lanesborough, "for suppression of the Irish language and encouraging the Irish to learn English." Six bishops and twelve lay peers formed the committee on the Bill to confirm the Articles of the Treaty of Limerick; but on the 23rd of September, 1697, seven bishops and eight lay lords are found entering a strong protest against that Bill. They protest because the title, "An Act for the Confirmation of Articles," is wrong, "whereas no one of the said articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed," and "because the said articles were to be confirmed in favour of them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by this Bill is such that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before." They protest further, because material words in the article are omitted, and because many Protestants, who purchased and lent money on the credit of the articles, will suffer. The bishops who signed this protest were the Bishops Digby, of Elphin; King, of Derry; Fitzgerald, of Clonfert; Lindsay, of Killaloe; Hartstonge, of Ossory; Smyth, of Limerick; and Lloyd, of Killala. On the 27th of November, a Bill for security of the King's person was rejected by the Lords. The Bill was of a very arbitrary nature. It subjected to premunire those who refused the oaths, and deprived them of office and the privilege of voting. Eight bishops (including King, of Derry, and Lindsay, of Killaloe, who both became archbishops subsequently) and the greater part of the temporal lords voted against the Bill, considering—as Bishop King, of Derry, wrote, in explanation of his conduct—"it hard to subject about 800,000 persons, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, to the discretionary power of two justices of the peace, in a matter that reached, not only to their liberty and property, but to their very lives." Eleven lay peers, however, and three prelates, entered a protest against the rejection of this ferocious Bill. The prelates were the Archbishops Marsh, of Dublin; Palliser, of Cashel; and Vesey, of Tuam. Among their reasons for thus protesting are the following:—

"Because it doth evidently appear, that the Papists of this Kingdom have ever been, and at this time are, enemies to the English Protestant interest of this kingdom:—"because the rejecting this Bill may seem to discourage the execution of those penal laws, which are already enacted against the Papists of this kingdom, who from hence may take occasion of condemning as unjust and severe, the laws formerly made against them:—"and, "lastly, because we think it our duty, by entering our dissent to the rejecting of this Bill, to acquit ourselves before God and man, from being charged by our posterity as authors of the miseries which we fear may be the consequence of the loss of this Bill."

The four archbishops with nine bishops sub scribe, on the 2nd of

December, 1697, "the declaration and association," entered into by the Lords, whereby they bound themselves, in case the King should "come to any violent or untimely death," to "unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same on his enemies and adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the Crown," according to the Act made for that purpose.

In the years 1698 and 1699, the average attendance of the lay peers was sixteen, and of the spiritual peers it was thirteen in the former and eleven in the latter year. The prelates vainly opposed, in 1698, the bill "for confirming estates and possessions held and enjoyed under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation," against which Bill, five bishops protested, because the bishoprics were not augmented, and Church lands were in danger of being lost. A Bill, however, for facilitating the erection of see-houses and glebe-houses, was passed, in the interest of the Church. In 1699, an Act was sent up from the Commons, and received the assent of the Lords, by which Papists were debarred from practising as solicitors; the reason alleged for this cruel law being that "Papist solicitors were common disturbers—great numbers practising in this kingdom." Thirteen prelates were in the House when this Act passed the Lords.

ANNE.

The Protestant Dissenters in Ireland were deeply grieved at the death of William III., who had doubled the grant which they received at the restoration of Charles II., thus raising the royal bounty to the Presbyterians to the sum of £1,200 a year. Bishop King, of Derry, writing to a brother prelate, then in London, described how the Dissenters were "cast down" by William's death, and cunningly hinted that the Regium Donum, instead of being distributed by the Dissenting ministers themselves, who employed "it most to set up new meetings where none was before," might be administered by the Government, "by which means"—so the crafty bishop proceeds—"every particular minister would be at their mercy, and it might be so managed as to be an instrument of division and jealousy amongst them." The Established Church party in Ireland were in great power at the accession of Queen Anne. The first Irish Parliament in her reign was opened on the 21st of September, 1703, by the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, with a speech in which he announced that—

"The Queen" . . . in calling you together, has given you "an opportunity of passing those gracious Bills already sent over, and of making such other laws as may yet be wanting for the establishment of the Protestant religion, and the welfare of the kingdom."

The Lords were prompt to avail themselves of the Lord-

Lieutenant's permission; for on the same day a penal Bill to prevent Popish priests from coming into the kingdom received a first reading; was read a second time on the 25th; and on the 27th was engrossed; the Bishop of Meath, Richard Tennison, reporting it. On the 5th of October, it was passed without a single dissentient, by a House consisting of seventeen prelates and fourteen lay peers. Eighteen prelates and as many temporal lords sign an address to the Queen on the 2nd of October, expressing hopes of having her "Majesty's and the English interest of this kingdom promoted" under the Duke of Ormond's rule. The Archbishop of Tuam, on 11th of October, 1703, reports on the Bill, sent up from the Commons, making it high treason to impeach the succession to the Crown. This Bill became law. It was followed by an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, which recites that "Papists daily are perverting Protestants," and enacts that Protestant children shall inherit the property of Popish parents—that Papists shall not purchase lands, nor inherit them—that all holders of offices and voters at elections shall take the oath of abjuration—that all resorting of pilgrims to pretended sanctuaries shall be unlawful, and that the crosses, &c., shall be destroyed by the magistrates. On the 2nd of March, 1704, a Bill for "for naturalizing of all Protestant strangers" is brought up from the Commons, and it is passed unanimously by the Lords on the 3rd of March. A Bill for compulsory registration of Popish priests, and providing that converted priests should have £20 per annum off the county, was also read a first time on the 2nd of March, and passed on the third day afterwards, the bishops being a majority of the House on both occasions. The Lords, on the 4th of March—half the House being prelates—address the Queen with their thanks, and say—"We doubt not but these good laws will advance the prosperity of the English interest in this kingdom, and be a lasting security to the Protestant religion by law established."

The Lords also thank the Lord-Lieutenant, "especially for the Bill to prevent the growth of Popery." In 1705, a Bill is passed on the 4th of June, in a House consisting of twelve prelates and nine lay peers, to explain the Act for registering the Popish clergy, and, on the 15th of June, the Bishop of Down brings an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, in which the Lords thank the Queen for her goodness, "in granting us so many excellent Bills this session for the further security of our religion as by law established." The House gives its assent, on the 16th of June, 1705, to a Bill sent up from the Commons, for the improvement of Hemp and Flax. It was opposed by four bishops, namely, those of Ferns, Waterford, Killaloe (Thomas Lindsay, afterwards primate), and Raphoe, because of a clause enacting that only half the tithe of Hemp or

Flax should be paid during three years from and after May, 1706; those bishops "conceiving the tithe or tenth part to be due to the clergy by divine right, which no human law can set aside, lessen, or take away." In spite of their opposition, the Bill was carried in a House of thirty members, of whom seventeen were prelates.

The Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant, opens another session of Queen Anne's first Parliament on the 1st of July, 1707, and on the 7th of that month, makes a speech, in which occurs the following passage:—

"And in order to the obtaining of these blessings, I am commanded by her Majesty to recommend to you unanimity among yourselves, and to inform you that her Majesty, considering the number of Papists in this realm, would be glad of an expedient for the strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects in this kingdom."

The Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation was intended to further the repeal of the penal law by which Protestant Dissenters were compelled to take the Holy Communion according to the established ritual as a test for office. The Lords, however, were not disposed to comply with the recommendation, being influenced probably by an argument of the day, thus recorded by Mant, namely, "That however willing Churchmen were to give a toleration to Dissenters, the Church of Ireland was the national Church, and the only Church established by law, and if the sacramental test were repealed there would be no Established Church remaining." The Peers, who were so unwilling to relieve Protestant Dissenters, were quite ready to add bitterness to the already bitter cup of the Roman Catholics. They thank Earl Pembroke for his advice, and express a "hope, with his excellency's assistance, to find out such expedients to strengthen the Protestant interest of this kingdom as may secure them from the dangers of Popery." An Act was afterwards sent up from the Commons to amend, and render still more severe, the Penal Act to prevent Papists being solicitors. This Act is passed by the Lords in October, 1707, the bishops forming a majority on each of the three occasions when it fell under discussion. Again, on the 5th of May, 1709, another Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Wharton, opening another session, urges the Irish Parliament to relieve the Protestant Dissenters. "It now seems," said his excellency, "as if heaven had put under [the Queen's] immediate care the fate and liberties of the whole Christian world." He adds:—

"I am obliged and directed to lay before you another consideration of infinite consequence, and that is to put you in mind of the great inequality there is, in respect of numbers, between the Protestants and Papists of this kingdom, and of the melancholy experience you have had of the good nature of this sort of men, whenever they had it in their power to distress or to destroy you. These reflections must necessarily lead you to think of two things; the first is, seriously to consider whether any new Bills are wanting

to enforce or explain those good laws, which you have already for the preventing the growth of Popery; and, in the next place, it makes evident the necessity there is of cultivating and preserving a good understanding amongst all the Protestants of this kingdom."

This attempt of the Lord-Lieutenant to gain relief for Protestant Nonconformists, through inflaming the common hatred against Roman Catholics, failed of its purpose. The Peers—the majority being bishops—negative a clause proposed for insertion in the address to his excellency, intimating that, "in order to remove any pretence of uneasiness which may seem to affect our fellow-subjects, we are willing to consent to give them the same indulgence and on the same terms as they have in England when it comes before us in a parliamentary way." Having rejected this mild proposal, the Peers thank the Lord-Lieutenant, and say:—

"We shall, with all possible readiness, join in any new Bills to enforce the laws against Popery, and cultivate and improve a good understanding amongst Protestants." . . . "We cannot but esteem the Church as by law established to be the best bulwark of the Protestant interest in this kingdom against all the attempts and designs of Papists: and we humbly conceive that all our fellow subjects are treated with so much tenderness under her Majesty's most gracious government, that we hope they will never have just reason to complain of any uneasiness, but find it their true interest to join in supporting our happy constitution in Church and State."

About this time Bishop Pooley, of Raphoe, fell under the displeasure of the House in a singular way. On the 28th of June, 1709, the House adjourned to the 29th, which was St. Peter's Day, and one of those days commanded to be observed as a holy-day by the Act 7 William III. chapter 14. "Against the vote of adjournment to the 29th of June, at twelve of the clock, John, Lord Bishop of Raphoe, protests, because he conceives it is against the laws of the Church and a late Act of Parliament to do business on a holyday, which may hinder Divine worship, prayers, and sacraments, sermons or homilies, and catechisms; lest it should be a robbery of God as well as tythes and offerings." The bishop was the next day ordered into the custody of the Black Rod, to be kept in Dublin Castle for reflecting, by his protest, on the honour of the House; but the confinement of the bishop, which lasted some time, was made easy to him by the Lord-Lieutenant. Less fortunate in their custodian than the bishop were two persons who, a year or two previously, were dealt with somewhat arbitrarily by the Peers. "Alice Geoghegan, who had been bred a Papist," became the wife of a Protestant, Edward Wyer, junior, who "had her educated in the Protestant religion." Alice liked not Protestantism, and left her husband, who brought his case before the Lords' Committee of Grievances, whence it was duly reported to the House by the Bishop of Down. The

depositions in this matter narrate how Alice was kept from her husband by her relations, was tampered with by priests, and how she refused to answer questions in the Church catechism or to go to church. For her crimes she is committed to "the care and custody of Alderman John Page, under the protection of this House," until her marriage be settled in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and no Popish priest or relation is to be permitted to see her, unless in the presence of a minister of the Church of England, or in that of Page or his wife. Pierce Butler was so wicked as to disturb in the possession of land a tenant of the Bishop of Killaloe, Thomas Lindsay, afterwards Primate of Ireland. Butler was reported to have said, in the year 1705, that "he cared no more for the House of Lords than he cared for the bishop, and that he cared no more for the bishop than for his old shoes; that he was sheriff, and had power to give possession," &c. Butler was arrested for this breach of privilege, and expiated his offence by imprisonment in the gaol of Ennis, where he lay for six years.

The lay peers assembled in unusually large numbers upon the 24th of August, 1709. Twenty-five temporal peers, a larger number than at any other sitting during the whole course of this Parliament, were present when an Act sent up from the Commons was passed "for explaining and amending an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery." This Act was protested against by seven prelates (including the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam) and by Lord Charlemont. It contained a clause enacting that no convert from Popery should be deemed a Protestant unless he should, within six months from conversion, receive the Holy Communion according to the order of the Church of Ireland. This clause was approved of by the Archbishop of Dublin, and was aimed at those converts who abjured Popery, but, as the archbishop said in a letter quoted by Mant, "do not come to church, but pretend to be Dissenters, and are believed to be still Papists." The protest of the archbishop and his brethren was not, therefore, made out of tenderness to Protestant Nonconformists. The House petitioned the Queen, on the 29th of August, 1709, for an allowance to the poor Protestant palatines whom she has sent into Ireland. The session was closed on the 30th August, by the Earl of Wharton, with another speech in favour of the Dissenters:—

"I make no question,"—observes his Excellency,—"*but that you understand too well the true interest of the Protestant religion not to endeavour to make all such Protestants as easy as you can, who are willing to contribute what they can to defend the whole against the common enemy. It is not the law now passed—[that to amend the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery]—nor any law that the wit of man can frame, will secure you against Popery, while you continue divided amongst yourselves: it being demonstrable that unless there be a firm friendship and confidence*

amongst the Protestants of this kingdom, it is impossible for you either to be happy or to be safe. And I am directed to declare it to you, as her Majesty's fixed resolution, that as her Majesty will always maintain and support the Church as by law established, so it is her royal will and intention that the Dissenters shall not be persecuted or molested in the exercise of their religion."

The next session of this Parliament was opened on the 12th of July, 1711, by the Duke of Ormond, as Lord-Lieutenant. His Grace said:—

"By remitting the twentieth parts and granting the first fruits for buying in appropriations, her Majesty has not only conferred a mark of her grace and favour on the present clergy, but has provided for the maintenance of greater numbers of them, when by the good laws made against the Popish religion in her Majesty's reign, the Church shall be enlarged."

On the 17th of July the Peers address a letter to the Queen, and say:—

"Your Majesty's early care hath even prevented our own endeavours to free this nation from the load of debt, which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent palatines, at a time of extreme dearth and poverty, the projecting of a stately and expensive arsenal, and other devices, had brought upon us."

The Lords thank the Queen for her bounty to the Church and to Trinity College. Twenty-eight peers, of whom fifteen (including the three Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam) were prelates, signed this letter to Queen Anne. On the 6th of November, 1711, another address, "relating to the Dissenting ministers," is ordered to be prepared for presentation to the Queen by a Committee of thirteen prelates and eleven lay peers. Among the thirteen prelates were the three Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam; and besides the thirteen who prepared the address, three other bishops were present when the address was adopted *nemine contradicente*. This address, which was, in fact, a petition to Queen Anne to withdraw the royal bounty from the Presbyterians, is here given at length. It is as follows:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, being touched at heart to find the members of our Church charged with oppression and persecution by the Dissenters; and that your Majesty's name has been made use of in a letter, dated the 8th day of April, 1710, from the Earl of Wharton, then Lord-Lieutenant of this kingdom, to the Lord Justices, directing them to order 'noli prosequis,' thereby putting a stop to the proceedings at law against one Fleming and others, who were sent, by the Presbyteries of the north, to set up a meeting in the town of Drogheda, where there had been none for twenty-eight years past, to the great disturbance of the peace and quiet of that town, do, upon this occasion, think ourselves obliged, with all duty and submission, to represent unto your Majesty, that no Dissenters through this whole kingdom have been disturbed in the exercise of their religious worship, where they had settled congregations, either by your Majesty's civil or

ecclesiastical governors, or by any of our Church. And yet, those unjust complainers of persecution, whilst they themselves enjoyed ease and security, have exercised great severities towards their conforming neighbours by denying them common offices of humanity; and by threatening and actually ruining several, who, in compliance with their conscience, have left their sect.

"In many towns, they have refused to take apprentices that will not covenant to go to their meetings, and wherever they obtain the majority in corporations, they excluded all such as were not of their own persuasion; they have also obliged those of their own communion, who were married according to the office of our Liturgy, to do public penance. And we further beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that a Right Reverend Bishop, a member of this House, lost his Bishoprick, for not taking the Oath of Abjuration in due time, to which he was restored by your Majesty's clemency and goodness; and yet some Dissenting ministers, who are under the same obligation, whilst they openly refuse to take that oath, preach on with impunity and in defiance of the law.

"The Episcopal order hath been styled Anti-Scriptural; our holy and religious worship called superstitious and idolatrous; and our ministers have been openly and violently assaulted, and hindered in discharge of their sacred offices; and even the legislature itself hath not escaped the censure of a bold author of theirs, who hath published in print that 'the Sacramental Test is only an engine to advance a State faction and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes.'

"Amidst these many and repeated provocations we have been still easy, and have endeavoured by gentle usage to melt them down into a more soft and complying temper; but all our attempts of this kind have proved unsuccessful. They have returned us evil for good; our forbearance hath only increased their rage and obstinacy; and by our lenity, the northern Presbyteries have been encouraged to seek out to enlarge their borders, and not content with the enjoyment of the free exercise of their religious worship, in places where they had settled meetings, have assumed a power to send out missionaries into several places of this kingdom, where they have had no call, nor any congregations to support them.

"And this we beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, they have been enabled to do, by misapplying that bounty of £1,200 a year (which your Majesty hath been pleased to extend to them for charitable purposes) to the propagation of schism, the undermining of the Church, and to the disturbance of the peace and unanimity of the Conformists in this kingdom.

"From this fund also we doubt not they have supplies to employ and maintain agents, support law-suits against the Church, to form seminaries to the poisoning of the principles of our youth; and in opposition to the law, to set up synods and judicatories, destructive of your Majesty's prerogative.

"And one John Macbride, a nonjuror, styling himself minister of Belfast, at a Provincial Synod held there, preached and printed a sermon, wherein he justifies these meetings and makes them independent of the civil power.

"By these means, schism, which formerly in a manner was confined unto the north, hath now spread into many other parts of this kingdom.

"So that we should not be just in our duty to your Majesty or our country, if we did not acquaint your Majesty with the danger we apprehend from those great advances which Presbytery and fanaticism have made; which if not checked, we doubt not will, in time, end in the destruction of the constitution both in Church and State.

"We, therefore, humbly submit it to your Majesty, whether your Majesty

will not think it, in your great wisdom, proper to put a stop to those growing evils by withdrawing from them your bounty of £1,200 a year?

"And we earnestly intreat your Majesty, that, whilst we do not disturb the Dissenters in their way of worship, in their usual places of meetings, your Majesty will not think it unreasonable, that we should, by all lawful means, hinder the spreading of schism, in order to preserve our own peace and unanimity, and the safety and welfare of this realm."

The Archbishop of Tuam and Viscount Strabane—the head of the Hamilton family, now represented by the Duke of Abercorn—were appointed, on the 7th of November, to lay this address before the Lord-Lieutenant, to be forwarded to her Majesty. On the 8th of November, 1711, the Peers ordered that the Lord-Lieutenant be desired to direct all justices of the peace "to administer the oath of abjuration to all Dissenting teachers, Popish priests, and all schoolmasters." Parliament was the same day prorogued, and was afterwards dissolved. In this Parliament, in which the most severe laws were passed against Roman Catholics, and the utmost intolerance was displayed towards Protestant Dissenters, the prelates formed a majority of the peers present, during the years 1703, 1704, 1705, and 1707, when most of the penal laws were passed, but were in a small minority in the other years when this Parliament sat, namely, in 1709, 1710, and 1711. Archbishop King and all the prelates, and the whole body of the clergy, including Swift, were unanimous in opposing the least relaxation of the penal laws in favour of the Protestant Nonconformists. Dr. Swift, writing to a brother clergyman, expressed his desire that the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons should be impeached for endeavouring to get the Test clause repealed in the interest of the Presbyterians. It appears, from a subsequent entry upon the Lords' Journals, that, in 1712, the Lord Mayor of Dublin was exhorted by the Lord Chancellor to prevent public mass being said in Dublin by those priests who were not registered, and who refused to take the oath of abjuration. The country folks, it seems, excused themselves for allowing masses to be performed by such priests, by alleging that they were performed in Dublin with approbation of the Government.

The second and last Irish Parliament of Queen Anne met for the despatch of business on the 25th of November, 1713, when the Duke of Shrewsbury, as Lord-Lieutenant, opened the session. In his speech he asks for supplies to "maintain a sufficient number of forces for security against any danger that may be apprehended from the great number of Papists in this country," and exhorts to unity among Protestants. The Peers, in reply, assure his Grace that they will try—

"To disappoint the treacherous designs of the Papists on the one hand and the bold encroachments of the Dissenters on the other, some of whose

leading teachers, they beg leave to acquaint his grace, refuse to take the oath of abjuration ; and yet, in defiance of the law, preach in public before numerous assemblies."

The Primate of Ireland is now Thomas Lindsay, who, when Bishop of Killaloe, received a notable insult from Alan Brodrick, at this time Speaker of the House of Commons, and subsequently created Viscount Midleton. Brodrick, it is said, shook Bishop Lindsay by the lawn sleeve, and said that "he hoped to see the day when there should not be one of his [the episcopal] order in the kingdom." Brodrick was an active advocate for repealing the Sacramental Test Act, in the interest of Dissenters. Little business was transacted by the House of Lords in 1713. It is recorded that James Archdekin, on the 3rd of December, begged pardon on his knees for having said of Peter Browne, Bishop of Cork—"I do believe his Lordship to be a Papist, and that the rest of the Papists of the town of Cork do believe the same." On the 18th of December a prosecution is ordered to be instituted against Richard Nuttal for saying that the Lord Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, was "a canary bird—a villain that had set this kingdom together by the ears, and ought to be hanged." The Archbishop of Dublin (King) and the Bishop of Dromore (Stearne) deprecated the taking of proceedings against Nuttal. The Lower House of Convocation also complain of an insult. It appears that on the 21st of December, 1713, when addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant were presented, the Right Honourable William Molesworth, M.P., said, in the presence chamber, in the hearing of the Convocation, that "they that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." The Peers call this "a horrid crime"—no less than "openly profaning the Holy Scriptures, those lively oracles of God," and demand a conference on the subject with the House of Commons.

W. MAZIERE BRADY.

(To be continued.)



THE ALTERNATION OF SCIENCE AND ART IN HISTORY.

MAN'S whole intellectual activity is divisible into two grand modes. We are always either taking things to pieces or putting things together. The first operation is analysis, or Science; the second is synthesis, or Art.

This is that broad distinction which Locke traces between wit and judgment. "Wit," says he, "lies in assembling ideas; judgment, in separating them. Wit," he adds, "lies in the putting those ideas together wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity; judgment, on the contrary, lies in separating carefully one from another ideas wherein can be found the least difference."

The latter of these operations (judgment) we call analysis—in common parlance, discrimination or *reasoning*. It is the separation of multiform experience into its primary elements of simple sensations and ideas, and setting each clearly and definitely by itself; in other words, it is *Science*.

The former operation (wit) we call synthesis—in common parlance, *imagination* or likeness-seeing. It is the putting together of sensations and ideas to suit any given new emergency not met by their existing or scientific isolation. In short, it is combination or the making of anything; in other words, *Art*.

Everyone is perpetually employed on one and the other of these

processes. It is evident that neither faculty would be sufficient without the other, and between them they divide the whole action of mind. Practically, one or the other mode preponderates at certain periods, and in any given individuals; so that most men are palpably enough intended by nature either for scientific or artistic pursuits, and so that certain periods in every man's life mark out for themselves the educational mode to be adopted for the time.

Undue excess of the analyzing faculties makes of a man a dry, unfruitful cyclopædia of information; and of the synthesizing powers, an unstable and visionary theorist. Education must, in most cases, draw out the two faculties into just proportions. "It is only in minds of the highest order that practical and speculative ability are naturally conjoined."

It is surprising, when first observed, to find how obviously this distinction and contrast between analysis and synthesis—Science and Art—runs through the histories of both men and nations. It parcels out our own lives and the course of time into a series of alternating periods of learning and teaching, research and speculation, scepticism and belief, which cannot be recognised as index to a law without important practical results.

It is clear that in the history of an individual the analytic operation of the mind must precede the synthesis, or else the latter will have no material to work with. This, then, is actually the case in infancy and the earliest childhood, when all manner of rudimentary facts are laid in and defined for use. Space, distance, inertia, a thousand other primary ideas, are collected by the infant long before it is able to exhibit any power of mental composition. As soon, however, as a certain period has elapsed, and the usual round of daily objects and experiences ceases to be a novelty, and the mind has out of their circle laid in its first museum of facts, synthesis begins, and the child, meeting with an unknown circumstance or object, explains it by a combination of some of its very limited ideas, so as to connect it with its world of known things. Hence the birth of those fanciful thoughts and expressions and wonderfully wild and fairy questions and beliefs so continually noticed in young children. Experience is all this time enlarging and receiving continually more and more impressions as the scope and sphere of life and observation extends. Boyhood succeeds to childhood, and for six or seven years the mind, discovering the insufficiency of the data for its first synthesis, and the limitation of its generalities to a quite inadequate field, has thrown away "Bluebeard" and "Goody Two-shoes" and taken to fights, cricket, "sweets," and the realities. That most unsentimental and prosaic of possible animals—a schoolboy—occupies the second period:

of analytic existence. But this being accomplished, the boy begins to pass into the youth, reading travels and adventures, and by degrees novels; the changing circumstances he encounters shortly make demands upon his synthesizing or theorizing powers, to be fulfilled by draughts upon his wider but boyish knowledge. As the knowledge is in nine cases out of ten unpractical, so the schemes, hopes, and acts of the rising man are romantic and improbable. But this does for a time; and at this period there is a great development of poetry and imagination acted or felt. Round some first love the young man throws a halo of every impossible saintship; of some sublime crusade he will be hero. The time of synthesis has arrived, and he forms an ideal of life, or finds one. By-and-by the goddess turns out very mortal, or the secretly-written tragedy is burned.

Realities come again, and demand science and analysis once more. The synthesis did well enough till extended knowledge could no longer be measured by its combinations. The facts overgrow the theories, and the mind goes to school again.

Goaded by the only sufficient spur, necessity, we lay aside the godlike ease of imagining and creating, for the toil and sweating of the slave. To be master again by-and-by we must serve another term. And now manhood opens with its work and learning even for bread. Earnest, indeed, the analysis now becomes, longer and more difficult the science. Till thirty or thirty-five the man learns once more. At that age he has reached a circle of life of more slowly expanding variety. The motives and the ways of men and of society are becoming experiences instead of guesses; his opinions, consequently, can now come up to his emergencies, and carefully drawn generalities pilot his behaviour safely. Then for the next ten, twenty, or more years, the competent synthesizer, designer, prescriber, writer, statesman, theorist, is found.

After this period the vibration continues in the same manner, but the instances become rare. The majority of men are dead before the completion of the third great act. Those who live beyond it find an altering world demands fresh study and new theories. The axioms, perfect for one generation, must be modified—sometimes radically changed—to suit the next. Great statesmen go to school again, and have, perforce, to employ another theory of rule before the last things had happened; great physicists find their books of middle age in the box-linings of their grand-daughters' trousseaux.

The same oscillation goes on, and is the natural and inevitable mode in which intelligence proceeds and grows. I say natural and inevitable, because, although compelled from time to time by the resistless enlargement of experience to throw over old systems, arts,

and creeds, and to investigate new problems, mankind abhors the suspense, neutrality, and doubt inherent in research, and *will* turn at the earliest moment to the certainty and apparent security of a belief. The indolent do this because it is more easy and requires (as Locke has proved) less labour of thought; the industrious, because labour is impatient of reward, and hastens to convert all abstract science into practice; the noble and enthusiastic, because it is more Godlike to teach than to learn—to create and build up, than to dissect and destroy.

So much, then, for the individual mind and its alternations. Turning, now, to look at general history, we shall find the same alternation carried out at large, and mankind, in successive ages, advancing now by means of science and now by means of art.

Pascal says in his "*Pensées*"—"The same thing happens in the succession of generations as happens in the various ages of an individual. So that all the line of men, during the course of centuries, may be considered as one man who lives all through them, learning continually." Let us bear in mind this suggestion, while we follow hastily the main thread of European progress; and, beginning with Egypt, we shall discover this type-man at the dawn of history on the borders of the Nile collecting what facts he can about nature, and classifying them into a great and elaborate science:—

"If," says Schlegel, in his '*Philosophy of History*' [p. 167, Bohn's ed.], "I wished to characterize in one word the peculiar bearing and ruling element of the Egyptian mind, I should say that the intellectual eminence of that people was in its scientific profundity. . . . In all the natural sciences, in mathematics, astronomy, even in medicine, they were the masters of the Greeks, whose profoundest thinkers derived from Egypt the elements of their doctrines, or caught, at least, the first outline of their mighty speculations. . . . So thoroughly scientific was the whole leaning and character of the Egyptian mind, that even the architecture of this people had an astronomical import far more than that of the other nations of early antiquity."

This opinion of Schlegel has been confirmed by all the more recent Egyptologists. "The Egyptian," says Whewell, "had no theory, and felt no want of a theory." Science was the object even of her arts. Her theories were formulæ; her religion an algebra of the Kosmos. Bunsen, Lepsius, Schlegel, Wilkinson, Vyse, Sharp may be consulted for the proofs.

And vast were the stores of wisdom and science which ages of meditation and power had garnered up in Egyptian cloisters; and deep into the rock of Truth those "men sons of men" had sunk the well whence the waters of knowledge were drawn which irrigated Europe for centuries, and gave to the Greek his leisure for Poetry and Art.

For when her time was come, the stores of science passed into

Greece; into a new state of circumstances, where they were called upon to explain and apply to what was not included in their home application or enigmas. The circle of Egyptian life, like Chinese, had become so stereotyped and bound that the formulæ of science stood sufficient for it, never having to meet sudden and new emergencies; but now it passed into the hands of an utterly different race and people; who, *taking* the science and not *discovering* it, twisted and contrived its sentences and deductions into new applications, to meet their difficulties and requirements, the reverse of a scientific mode. The age of excessive theorizing began, *i.e.*, of synthesizing *for* instead of *from* facts; *i.e.*, of redundant imagination; *i.e.*, of art.

The home of human intelligence was now removed. The lead in mental progress had passed from the Nile to Attica, under the pressure of ethnographic and other laws of surpassing interest, but beside our present subject. Pascal's type-man had changed his head-quarters, as we shall find him often doing.

The Greek was not inductive, and Egypt's "wisdom" had given him a royal road to knowledge. He came in, as it were, for the conclusions; and not having the education of science, his ignorance put them into the most fanciful and imaginative of combinations to explain his problems.

And perhaps there never was a time of more splendid and lovely ignorance than that of Athenian domination, when the brilliant sophistries or the divine dreams of her children led Greece to a poetry of every-day life and a poetizing of familiar objects which will never be altogether taken away from the thoughts of the after-born ages. Humanity, the grand and culminating enigma, became the sufficient receptacle for all amongst the processes and works of Nature which yielded not its meaning to the most indolent gaze and superficial inspection. Seas, skies, and mountains, rivers, woods, and vales, past time and the future, the thunderstorm and the sunbeam, hatred and love—all that was separable from the rest of him in man himself, all that was separable by itself in Nature without, was erected into humanity; brought into a wild, vague brotherhood and sympathy with the unknown of its nature, and there left standing to act and to suffer, subservient to no laws but those ignorances which made up the estimate of man. Caprice was the name of law; and this liberty, born of scientific ignorance, brought, as it should have done, the whole life of Greece into a tropic bloom of poetry and art.

Ignorant of nature and science, her ignorance was concealed, or rather manifested, by an excessive anthropomorphism; whilst upon such a basis naturally rose a system of deductive or speculative philosophy, a polity, and a creed, the most entire exhibition of predomi-

nant synthetical power. Aristotle's categories and Plato's innate ideas and reminiscences express the same condition.

"We," writes Heeren, "measure intellectual activity by the state of science; . . . the Greeks, on the contrary, found their standard in the arts. The State among the Greeks did little for the sciences, because it did everything for the arts; the latter were of more immediate importance to it, while the reverse is true with us. How, then, can we be astonished that the arts were the chief objects of interest to the Grecian State?"

I might quote scores of authorities—almost every Greek scholar—to the same effect; but evidence is superfluous to a fact so all-acknowledged as the preponderance of the art faculties, whilst the keeping and nourishing of the human mind rested in the hands of Greece, and before it passed away to Rome.

For next in the order of time we find the mind of our race at school again—and with the Romans. The world's work and the world's problems had overgrown the Grecian theories about it. To Pascal's type-man, settled in Attica (*Cartophilus*,* let us call him), came rumours of countries, of phenomena, of facts,—in one word, of experiences,—to meet which his Grecian theories have to become overstrained, over-complicated. He is already wearying of the hollowness and extravagance to which speculation runs. The Macedonian conquests increase these difficulties by widening experience unprecedentedly. The rise of Rome introduces him to a people successful and masterful by mere recognition of science and facts. Disgusted with Greece and its endless speculations, which have proved at length so insufficient, he moves his abode to Italy; and there, on the banks of the Tiber, applies himself solely to law, and political science, and arms.

This race of Romulus, to which the custody of mental progress now was trusted, was a people of brass and iron—a hardy, practical, real race, whose energies, instead of worshipping her artistically and poetically, demanded of Nature, with the rude lust of possession, all she had to give. They dug and delved where the Greek sang hymns of praise. They were eminently a scientific generation, and displayed their science everyhow—in their great engineering works, which took the place of architecture; in their systematic assimilation of conquests, their machine-like extension and action of power. They repeated (as Sismondi suggests) the Egyptian, in their splendid mechanical arts and their wonderful system of rule. They had no imagination, and boasted of the want; they despised it, or if it pleased them, bought it at so much a pound of the Greek. Fora, aqueducts, sewers, bridges, roads, walls, express the Roman mind; in contrast to the Grecian porticoes, groves, picture-galleries, temples,

* A name given to the traditionary "Wandering Jew."

gardens. "It is a curious fact," says one historian, "that even after Rome had attained the supremacy of the Peninsula, there did not exist such a thing as even a dawning of Roman literature, although the State had now existed nearly 500 years. So much earlier than their literary faculty did the native faculty of the Romans for governing mankind develop itself."

"It is by the scientific jurisprudence which they have bequeathed to posterity," says Schlegel, "more than by anything else that the Romans have exercised a mighty influence on after ages."

Till the end of the Republic, Rome remained scientific—conquering, extending, learning. At length the boundaries were reached, and novel experiences became more scarce. Such as were encountered were explicable by means of already hoarded knowledge, and Rome began to live on her wisdom and riches; and having toiled for and earned this great fortune, to spend it magnificently. The Augustan age arose. "A golden age of literature and poetry," says Schlegel, "served now to adorn the general peace which Augustus had conferred on the conquered world." "In the times of the Republic," says Sismondi, "the chief object was the public utility: in the days of the empire it was rather the public pleasure."

By degrees the symptoms of a synthetic age appeared and increased. Rome became marble instead of brick. Italy, nay, the whole empire, was covered with sumptuous piles. The speculative philosophies of Greece were revived, and Plato began to attract whole nations as schools.

At this time came Christianity to complete the change. On all sides the certain forerunners of a synthetic age were appearing, but all other developments of imagination and belief were absorbed and swallowed up in the colossal and congenial expanse of the new faith.

Our Cartophilus embraces its tenets, and surrenders cheerfully his now vast but cumbrous natural philosophy and polity (which he has just begun to try and get into shape, under neo-Platonic guidance) to its sublime powers of arrangement and interpretation.

But the world-wide tide that had already set in for synthesis and authority found vent in speculations and theories over and above the sufficient, but comparatively simple, apostolic Christianity, and ran headlong to a license which ended in the age of heresies. Every imagination, speculation, fancy, that under other circumstances would have inspired poetry, architecture, painting, and the arts, now took the shape of a heresy; and the reign of synthesis was never more complete, nor so dangerous.

By-and-by all this reached a point past bearing: the leading intellects everywhere withdrew themselves from a state of things totally inadequate to their necessities, and which they were powerless

to reform. On the one hand, they saw the world given up to the fury of rival and contending sects, who fought each other's theories by the battles of political combination; on the other, to an unsheathed sword in the hands of barbarians. They withdrew, therefore, taking with them the lamp of knowledge, into the cells of monasteries or caves of hermits, leaving the world to the dark ages.

"During these tumultuous scenes of desolation and horror," says Mosheim, speaking of the sixth century, "the liberal arts and sciences would have been totally extinguished, had they not found a place of refuge, such as it was, among the bishops and the monastic orders. Here they assembled their scattered remains, and received a degree of culture which just served to keep them from perishing. Those churches which were distinguished by the appellation of cathedrals, had schools erected under their jurisdiction, in which the bishop, or a certain person appointed by him, instructed the youth in the seven liberal arts, as a preparatory introduction to the study of the Scriptures. Persons of both sexes, who had devoted themselves to the monastic life, were obliged by the founders of their respective orders to employ daily a certain portion of their time in reading the ancient doctors of the Church, whose writings were looked upon as the rich repertoires of celestial wisdom, in which all the treasures of theology were centred. Hence libraries were formed in all the monasteries, and the pious and learned productions of the Christian and other writers were copied and dispersed by the diligence of transcribers appointed for that purpose, who were generally such monks as, by weakness of constitution or other bodily infirmities, were rendered incapable of more severe labour. To these establishments we owe the preservation and possession of all the ancient authors, sacred and profane, who escaped in this manner the savage fury of Gothic ignorance, and are happily transmitted to our times."

Again, of the seventh century, he says:—

"Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloister monks. The monastic institutions *prohibited the election of any abbot to the government of a convent who was not a man of learning*, or, at least, endowed with some share of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study; and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, stated times marked out at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their studies, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading." . . . "They who distinguished themselves most by their taste and genius, carried their studies little farther than the works of Augustin and Gregory the Great; and it was of scraps collected out of these two writers, and patched together without much uniformity, that the best productions of this century were composed."

In the retirement of these Byzantine ages, Cartophilus does no more at first, in the language of Bunsen, than "preserve the corpse of ancient science." But in time his meditations take a more active turn, and through their dark days he labours at analysis once more. He seeks a sufficient scientific system to explain and meet all those

oppressions—problems—difficulties which had given birth to the lawless heresy and mad speculation upon which the world had all but shipwrecked. His scope is restricted to a peculiar field. Within certain very limited boundaries he must find the explanation, for beyond them he cannot and dare not go. It rests mainly upon criticism and words. By understanding these deeply, thoroughly, he will restore this decaying, suffering, barbarous Europe. He will take a science out of the Bible and the Fathers, as the old Roman did out of the world, which shall be enough for the relief of all this oppression. This is the age of the commentators and the schoolmen.* Slowly and laboriously, out of endless controversy, disputations, and subtleties, he at length draws together his inductions into formulæ, and the result is the Church.

This is the end of his science and his learning: furnished with this, he can suspend analysis and abstraction for practical work and deeds. Now he will go forth and smite the oppressor and raise the oppressed. In about 800 years from its origin Christianity takes its second great step. Our Cartophilus has analyzed—has found his researches carried far enough to meet all the difficulties of the time—and, as the Church, becomes the lively oracle for the solution of all problems. The result was admirable: all men, delivered from mere barbarity and brute force, adored the wisdom which enfranchised them. By now the outside world was sunk in an ignorance so deplorable, and groaned under an armed oppression so vast, that it was no hard matter for the intelligence within the Church to appear godlike by its solution of problems, and again godlike by its protection of the weak and wretched from the mailed hand. Soon all that was dark was explained by the Church—all that was powerful achieved. Brewed, then, in the alembic of spiritual alchemy, the dry and perfect science of monastic Theosophy became, in the hands of awakening Europe, what Egypt's science became in the hands of Greece—a poetical and artistic creed—a synthesis applied to all new things on the score of its standing value. Another period of analysis closed, and a magnificent synthesis grew up once more.

The day came for the science to be put into new and wide combinations. Men's minds, broken up into new experiences by the growth of Islamism and the empire of Charlemagne, applied its formulæ in the synthetic, deductive, generalizing manner, to interpret all and every new thing; and the only science known—the Church—was carried on the shoulders of the nations to the throne of the most absolute dogmatism—set in the palace of the most luxuriant art. Then came the age of cathedrals; and then the great

* Mosheim, Book iii. *passim*.

Hildebrand procured the perpetual dictatorship for the head of the Catholic hierarchy; and priestly power became so vast, and serfdom of the soul so sweet, that the laity in golden shackles worked night and day to build the shrines of genius and riches whence alone the priests would stretch their iron sceptres.

But power in possession is conservative, and mankind is progressive; and meanwhile experience was enlarging portentously, and from time to time came questions which could not be cleared up nor answered, so must be stifled.

The theories of the Church, strained to the uttermost, yet failed to meet the exigencies of rising commerce and the growing demands of individual rights. Savonarola was destroyed in vain. He was but the voice of an ever-growing multitude of tongues at home. Abroad, a mighty stress was put upon the sacred ark, till at length, in Germany, the tie was snapped.

There were too many new facts for the old theories. The Church anathematized in vain. It was resistless progress and development which sent mankind again to school. Her doctrines, her interpretations—so perfect for the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries—became as “old wives’ fables” to the fifteenth and succeeding ages. The natural and inevitable law of mental growth traced the limits of the most sublime and splendid tract of time which art has ever yet reigned over. The mediæval synthesis was ended.

Cartophilus, who had been seated all these decades in the Vatican, felt that the office of Pope was become insecure, dangerous, untrue, not equal to the times. By degrees he resigned the Popedom, and after sojourn in the Italian Republics, crossed the Alps, and made his home with the inventors of printing and of the Reformation. He went to school with these transalpine races, and with their great analysts and physicists. Since the “*cinque cento*” he has been learning with them—with us—and learns still. His time of science and analysis is not yet come to a term, although, in our own actual days, transitional. His facts and his discoveries are not yet enough to answer plausibly all or most of the great questions; he waits till they shall appear to be so. Already in some directions he prepares his way and foreshadows his outcoming from science into art.

There is again in these days that forerunner of an age of art and synthesis—the revival of *à priori* philosophies, doctrines of intuitions, and innate ideas (the school of Coleridge in this country), and their consequence—Authority—a counterpart of the neo-Platonism which succeeded the science period of Rome. There is in all directions an increase of speculation and theory, a love for broad though

hasty generalizations, and extensive though superficial knowledge, rather than deep, close, mathematic thought. There is a want of power of concentrated attention. There are Mormonisms and spirit-rappings and ghostologies without end. There is an ever-increasing host of minor minstrels, a growing love for poetry, music, painting, and architecture. There is an exhaustless appetite for new inventions, and for abstract science made straightway tangible. All which things seem the beginnings of change, and to herald the advent of an imaginative cycle once more.

Now our Cartophilus is but the human mind—and his wanderings, its progress. It seems not all unlikely—if this view have any truth in it—that in spite of the fashionable materialism of the hour, he may be about to open the golden gates of the twentieth century to Art and Poetry and Faith.

The subjoined Table gives roughly approximative dates for the alternating periods above enumerated, and presents at a glance one view of the theory :—

TABLE OF ALTERNATING PERIODS OF SCIENCE AND ART.

		B.C.
Analysis.	{ Egypt— Kosmical Science to 600
Synthesis.	{ Greece— Poetry—Religion	600 to 300
Analysis.	{ Rome— Law—Politics	300 to A.D.
Synthesis.	{ Christianity— Neo-Platonism—Heresies	A.D. to 400
Analysis.	{ Byzantium— Commentators—Schoolmen	400 to 800
Synthesis.	{ Church— Popedom—Cathedrals	800 to 1500
Analysis.	{ Modern Science— Bacon—Natural Laws	1500 to

J. T. K.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—THEOLOGICAL.

A Plea for the Revised Greek Text and for the Authorised Version of the New Testament, in answer to some of the Dean of Canterbury's Criticisms on both.
By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A., Vicar of Broadwindsor. London: Hatchards. 1869.]

IT would not be a pleasant task, and would perhaps border on impropriety, for the present writer to criticise in full this little work. But as it has been sent him in ordinary course for notice in this Review, he will merely set down some general remarks and cautions respecting it.

One of those cautions shall be the opening paragraphs of its preface.

"To hear some people talk, one really would think wisdom and knowledge had come with them into the world; until, whether from conceit on their part or from their 'scientific' discoveries, we shall soon have nothing left either of the old world or of the old faith. Once, indeed, even heathens, *ἐκ Διὸς ἐγγόντες*, claimed their descent from Heaven—for said they, *τοὺ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν*, we are his kin; though Christians now derive it (*sic*) from brutes; while language, which of old was, in theory, said to be *προφθορικὸς λόγος*, 'outspoken reason,' in token of its divine origin, is now discovered practically to be nothing but the development of the two mighty roots *BAT-WAU*, which in time overspread the earth. Such profound lore cannot, of course, be gainsaid; but everything, from the creation of the world and of man, to the laws of etymology and the rules of syntax, is now settled accordingly.

"No wonder, then, if, under such circumstances, both the Received Greek Text and the Authorised English Version of the New Testament—monuments of learning of the past—should lately have had a hard life of it. The Greek Text especially; because, being read by comparatively few, any one who takes into his head 'to construct' a text, may try his hand at it with a certain degree of impunity; so that, as things are at present, we have almost as many texts as there are critics; to the great hindrance and confusion of us all. Perhaps is it (*sic*) that 'to construct a text,' after the manner of some men, is on the whole easier than to study and explain the one already existing, which for the last two or three hundred years, has been *ἐφόδιον ἐν παντί χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς*, the provision by the way and trusty guide of thousands on their life-long journey to heaven."

For this mood of snarling ill-nature we are really very sorry, as there is in the little book much that is valuable. The present writer can do no more than disclaim altogether any such spirit towards either the Greek received text, or the English authorised version, as that which is in almost every page of this book attributed to him. His work has now been many years before the public; and he is satisfied that those who have studied it longest will be most ready to bear him out in this disclaimer.

Mr. Malan's position may be very shortly explained. He stands on the simple principle of touching nothing which has stood for the last two or three hundred years. It is the old story of letting alone what seemed to be well, whether it bore the test of genuineness or not. And for this position we have the old style of defence set up: manuscripts classed numerically instead of according to their value: long discussions of the senses in which words are used by the fathers, valuable in themselves as English expositions of the articles in Suicer,—but adduced by Mr. Malan as evidence respecting the original sacred text: subjectivities of all kinds brought forward to show that because such or such a word was not *fitting*, it was not used: the undisputed reading of a *parallel place* in another Gospel, alleged to prove, not discrepancy, but identity, in a disputed case: strong dicta as to readings being “singularly unhappy and uncalled for,” &c. &c.

Mr. Malan does not seem to have the faintest apprehension of textual criticism as a mere humble following of the weightiest evidence. It is with him simply an arbitrary process, whose results are dependent on feeling: but so manipulated at the other end, that that feeling is in almost every case enlisted in favour of the “Received text.”

We need but cite two or three dicta, which will afford biblical scholars a measure of Mr. Malan's critical judgment.

“The Received text, however, agrees with the LXX., and the LXX. with the Hebrew: so that it has right on its side.” (p. 79.)

“Dr. A. rejects *παλιν* (Mark xiv. 69) as an interpolation: but it seems to come naturally after *ἡ παιδίσκη*, ‘the maid,’ showing that she was the one who had said so before, and now said it again.” (p. 167.)

But did it never dawn on Mr. Malan's mind, that the “agreement” in the former case and the “naturalness” in the latter are two-edged arguments?

The crowa of the whole is perhaps his comment on Matt. iv. 17, as shewing the extent of his acquaintance on the one hand with the ancient MSS., and on the other with the work which he is condemning.

“Here the Received Text, *ἡγγικε γάρ*, is by the Dean changed to *ἡγγικεν γάρ*, without his giving any reason or authority for it. Surely it must be an oversight of his, as the “ν” *ἡγγικε* is never used before a consonant except in poetry, to make long a short vowel. The Cod. Vatic. reads, I see, *ἡγγικεν γάρ*: but if the Dean will follow it even when it is wrong, as in this case, why does he not keep to it altogether, instead of only choosing the readings he likes?” (p. 95.)

Now against this let us set these facts: (1) The “ν” *ἡγγικεν* is the uniform habit of the ancient MSS., except in certain curious and hardly assignable cases. (2) In my prolegomena “on the arrangement of the text,” this notice is given: “ν” *ἡγγικεν* uniformly added, except where MS. testimony is overwhelming against it” (vol. i. proleg., p. 97). And there is not a page of my whole work in which many instances do not occur. In the first sixteen verses of St. Matthew, e.g.,—*ἡγγικεν* occurs thirty-six times. This may serve to shew, that Mr. Malan has really taken no pains to acquaint himself with either my book or the ancient MSS. (3) But there is more behind. Is Mr. Malan aware of such editions of the New Testament as those of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and our own distinguished countryman, Dr. Tregelles? He complains bitterly of the want of biblical scholars among us: and pours out his wrath on us sciolists who have presumed to put “plodding” in the place of scholarship: did he never take even a taste of the biblical scholarship of such a man as Dr. Tregelles, or look into his most elaborate and accurate edition of the New Testament? In every one of these editions, the “ν” *ἡγγικε* is uniformly added as in mine: some of them have been before the public more years than mine: yet the first instance of the “ν” before a consonant, which Mr. Malan has ever seen, is in Matt. iv. 17 in my edition, and he then regards it as an oversight!

These few remarks may serve by way of caution, how much stress is to be laid on Mr. Malan's judgment in matters of criticism of the Greek text.

I will not follow him into the later portion of his volume, the censure of my alterations in the English authorised version. While conceived throughout in the same spirit, it concerns matters which require more careful consideration than could be laid out in a short notice, and certainly far more than Mr. Malan, in his present mood, is ever likely to give to them.

Meanwhile, it is a pity to see a learned man studiously ignoring the progress

which has been made of late years in the discovery and appreciation of evidence regarding the sacred text, and running a blind tilt at a fellow-student, who, with a very small fraction of his censor's erudition, but with as earnest a desire to conserve the truth of God's word, has humbly endeavoured to register that progress for the benefit of his countrymen.
H. A.

Korah and his Company, with other Bible Teachings on Subjects of the Day. By G. S. DREW, M.A. London: W. Skeffington.

MR. DREW's volume consists of seven sermons, which were preached to his congregation at Stockwell. Their object is to unfold the principles of the Church, and its relation to the Bible. They are written in a reverent and devout spirit, and the lesson which everywhere rises pre-eminent is the necessity of faith in a God who works righteously, and whose service requires not the unrighteous devices of men.
J. H.

England versus Rome. A Brief Handbook of the Roman Catholic Controversy, for the Use of Members of the English Church. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, M.A., Fellow of Granville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge. London: Rivington. 1868.

AS far as we have been able to examine it, this is a most useful and carefully-compiled manual. The author takes, *seriatim*, all the points at issue between the Churches, and works them out; showing historically, with full references, the dates of the introduction of Roman doctrines, and the primitive testimonies against them.

The little book deserves a place among the row of volumes of primary reference on every clergyman's table.
H. A.

Light and Truth: or, Bible Thoughts and Themes. The Gospels. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co. 1869.

THIS volume consists of eighty-six simple short commentaries on the Gospel narrative of the Four Evangelists. The name of the respected author is a guarantee for their piety and ability. They aim not at critical, but at devotional results; and these results they are eminently calculated to attain.
H. A.

Sermons. By the Rev. JOHN KER, Glasgow. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1869.

THIS is a very remarkable volume of sermons. And it is no doubt a most favourable symptom of the healthiness of Christian thought among us, that we are so often able to begin a notice with these words. We cannot help wishing that such notice more frequently introduced to our readers a volume of Church of England sermons: still, looking beyond our own pale, we rejoice notwithstanding.

Mr. Ker is a preacher of great original thought, and at the same time of quiet rhetorical habits and chastened judgment. In this volume there are multitudes of quotable and noticeable things, but there is not in our experience of its pages one example of "fine writing."

Mr. Ker has dug boldly and diligently into the vein which Robertson opened: but the result, as compared with that of the first miner, is as the product of skilled machinery, set against that of the vigorous unaided arm. There is no roughness; no sense of labour: all comes smoothly and regularly on the page, one thought evoked out of another. As Robertson strikes the rock with his tool, unlooked-for sparkles tempt him on: the workman exults in his discovery: behind each beautiful strange thought there is yet another, more strange and beautiful still. Whereas in this work every beautiful thought has its way prepared, and every strange thought loses its power of startling by the exquisite harmony of its setting. Robertson's is the glitter of the ore on the bank: Ker's is the uniform shining of the wrought metal. We have not seen a volume of sermons for many a day which will so thoroughly repay both purchase, and perusal, and re-perusal. And not the least merit of these sermons is that they are eminently suggestive. They are just what many of us weekly preachers so often find ourselves seeking for in vain: trains of thought which lead our minds onward in the same track, and supply subjects, both identical and cognate, for our own addresses. Such praise requires justification. We take it quite at random from the former portions of the volume:—

"It deserves to be remarked that the man who is saved from sin by love is softened by the love which saved him: but the man who is kept from sin only by pride is made more hard. He may be as near the sin in his real heart as ever, but he maintains a false outward character, and builds an unsafe outward barrier against open sin by being very severe upon sinners. This is the reason why a mere external reformation brings in vanity and pride, and all uncharitableness, sins which, if not so disreputable in the sight of men, are as hateful in the view of God." ("The Pharisee's Mistake," p. 23.)

"The greatest proof of the Divine is, that it is deeply and tenderly human. God became man to show this. Those who have struggled nearest to the centre of truth and life in Christ are those who will have most sympathy with men striving amid waves of doubt to plant their feet on some spiritual certainty: and they who have risen highest in purity of heart will be most ready to stretch out their hand to help a sinner to retrieval. The reason is plain. It is these men who are acquainted with the misery of the conflict and the blessedness of the calm. We know of no greater enemies to Christianity than a hard orthodoxy destitute of the insight of charity, and a cold, self-satisfied morality which seeks its own comfort in being saved, and gathers up its skirts from the touch of what it calls the sinful world. What that world wants at all times, and in our own time more than ever, is sympathy: and it would be a good thing for Christian men to look less to the Pharisee as their model, and more to Christ." (id. p. 24.)

Mr. Ker's style, as the above specimen will show, is simple and clear: very sparing of long words and encumbered constructions. It is not altogether free from Scotticisms: witness, "We would have felt unsatisfied unless we had heard the law of love from His own lips." (p. 3.) . . . "Every star must give up its secret before we have the complete manifestation of God, and even then we would see but 'parts of His ways.'" (p. 237.) But this confusion of the subjective with the objective seems inseparable from Scottish and Irish diction.

H. A.

II.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

A General View of the History of the English Bible. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, B.D. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

MR. WESTCOTT has long since earned for himself a very high place in that noble band of Cambridge scholars who have shown us that Scripture can be studied at once in the spirit of devout reverence, and in that of perfect freedom. Accuracy, thoroughness, large-hearted sympathy have characterized all that he has written hitherto, and the volume which he has now published is, in this respect, not one whit behind its predecessors. The noble words which he has quoted as a motto to his third chapter, from Robert Browning's "Grammarians' Funeral," may be recognised as the key-note not only of the lives of the scholars whose labours he narrates, but also of his own. He, at least, has not been

"Heedless of fair gain,"

or "Greedy for quick returns of profit." His own labours have shown how

"Lofty designs must close in like effects;"

and the under-notes of deep feeling which breathe through his "Gospel of the Resurrection," and his contributions to this *Review* on the "Aspects of Positivism in Relation to Christianity" (*Contemporary Review* for July, 1868), will have led not a few to think of him as "still loftier than the world suspects." The Bishop of Peterborough has done much to deserve the thanks of all friends of the Church of England, and of the theological studies which she fosters, by giving to such a man a position in his cathedral church which is, at least, a partial acknowledgment of the services he has already rendered, and which, it may be hoped, will give him leisure to render many more.

The story of the English Bible has never before been told with anything like the same completeness. Even as regards the outer history, there is scarcely a writer from Lewis to Anderson in whom Mr. Westcott's careful and conscientious work has not detected numerous inaccuracies, more or less serious; and his dissection of the mass of errors accumulated within the small compass of a few sentences, by writers like Mr. Hallam and Mr. Froude, who dealt with the subject only as a *πάρεργον*, will long be a warning to those who are tempted

to substitute hasty criticism or sensational narrative for the words of "truth and soberness." In justice, however, to Mr. Froude, I venture to suggest that in one passage the severity with which Mr. Westcott speaks of him is hardly justified. The historian had spoken of Tyndale's "looking to the Bishop of London (Tunstall) for countenance in an intention to translate the New Testament," and goes on to say that "Tunstall showed little encouragement to this enterprise, but . . . a London alderman, Humphry Monmouth by name, hearing the young dreamer preach on some occasion at St. Dunstan's, took him to his home for half a year." The unhappy phrase of "young dreamer," as applied to a man at the age of thirty-nine, and of a character like Tyndale's, is, of course, open to Mr. Westcott's censure; but the comment, "Tunstall civilly refused Tyndale's application to be admitted into his household, but he was not informed of his ultimate design, to which, therefore, he showed no encouragement, great or little," seems, in its turn, to err on the side of over-positive assertion. Tunstall's refusal, couched in terms of vague civility, "*His house was full; he had more than he could well find,*" leaves the matter, of course, open; but Tyndale's own words, in the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, that after being put off for a time with such excuses, he "understood at the last not only that *there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament*, but also that there was no place to do it in all England," though they do not explicitly state the fact, make the inference that the Bishop knew and did not favour the design quite as legitimate as that he had never been informed of it.

In one other instance also I find myself differing from Mr. Westcott as to the statement current in so many writers, from Foxe and Strype downwards, that "Thomas Matthew," whose name appears at the foot of the dedication of the Great Bible of 1537, was but a pseudonym for "John Rogers," the friend of Tyndale, and the first martyr of the Marian persecution. Of this Mr. Westcott says that "nothing can be more unlikely," and he adopts the other hypothesis that "Matthew probably furnished the money for the work, as Marler afterwards did for the second Great Bible." Much stress, it is true, cannot be laid on statements by writers who, like Foxe and Strype, are so often careless in their work. Their agreement is, however, a proof, as far as it goes, that this was the received tradition of their time, and in the absence of any independent evidence as to the existence of a real Thomas Matthew in the flesh, counts, I think, for more than Mr. Westcott is disposed to allow. Would a man who had been prominent in so great a work have been likely to remain entirely unknown to all English and Continental Reformers? Still more decisive is the fact, not noticed by Mr. Westcott, that in all the official documents connected with the trial of Rogers (they are to be found in Colonel Chester's *Life of him*, pp. 419-421) he is throughout described as "Johannes Rogers, *alias* Matthew." The evidence is all the stronger, because it is not in special connection with the translation. The identity is affirmed as a matter of notoriety by the accusers, and is not denied by the accused.

I have in my turn to thank Mr. Westcott for calling my attention to an error in an article on the Authorised Version which I contributed to Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." I have there stated in a note that the copy of the New Testament presented by Tyndale to Anne Boleyn has some passages in it—such as might be used in devotional reading—carefully underscored with red lines. When I read Mr. Westcott's note that he had been unable to discover them, I went to the British Museum, with the full conviction that I should find them again, but, after collating the copy once more, I have to confess that I failed to do so, and that I must have transferred to that volume what I had actually seen in some other.

As one who has worked, though within narrower limits, in the same field, I gladly bear testimony to the value of the contribution which Mr. Westcott has made in this volume to a satisfactory account of the English Bible. More important and more interesting even than the narrative of its external fortunes is the examination of its internal history which occupies the larger portion of the book, and here Mr. Westcott is almost entirely without a predecessor. He vindicates triumphantly Tyndale's independence as a translator, shows that instead of basing his work upon Luther's, he was more indebted to Erasmus; that in dealing with both of them and with the Vulgate he exercised the

judgment of one who was himself a scholar. His merits are well summed up (p. 211):—

"It is even of less moment that by far the greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles, than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. The achievement was not for one, but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence. He felt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language and thought for ever with the characteristics of the Semitic minds."

Equally thoughtful and suggestive are the remarks on the legacy which the Church still retains from one who, though less illustrious than Tyndale, had yet the merit of faithful and persevering work (p. 368):—

"But the great and enduring monument of the earlier version of Coverdale and Cranmer is the Psalter itself, which had, as we have seen, become so completely identified with the expression of religious feeling, that it was felt to be impossible to displace it. When the last changes in the Prayer-Book were made, it was found, it is said, smoother to sing; but this is not a full account of the matter; and it cannot be mere familiarity which gives to the Prayer-Book Psalter, with all its errors and imperfections, an incomparable tenderness and sweetness. Rather we may believe that in it we can yet find the spirit of him whose work it mainly is, not heroic or creative, but patient to accomplish, by God's help, the task which had been set him to do, and therefore best in harmony with the tenor of our own daily lives."

I must venture, lastly, to express my regret that one whose name justly carries so much weight should appear as advocating the policy of postponing, it would seem indefinitely, the question of the revision of the Authorised Version, on the ground that "the revision of the original texts must precede the revision of the translation, and the time for this even in the New Testament has not yet fully come." Is it not wiser that those who are as competent for the task as Mr. Westcott and many other living scholars are, should be set to make a good work better than it is, and so carry it forward some steps towards completeness, than to wait for the distant prospect of a hardly attainable perfection? Are we not likely, if we follow this counsel, to have to wait, as Cranmer said, when like pleas for procrastination were urged in his time, to "the day after doomsday?"

E. H. P.

Whig and Tory Administrations during the Last Thirteen Years. By HOMER-SHAM COX, M.A., Barrister at Law, Author of "The Institutions of the British Government," "Ancient Parliamentary Elections," and "The History of the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867." London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

MR. HOMER-SHAM COX is beginning to be quite a voluminous writer on our constitutional and political history. He candidly warns us in the brief preface to his present work that there is in it "no affectation of historical impartiality." Allowing, however, for his strong Liberal bias, he does not appear to go beyond the truth when he says that "the obligation of strict fidelity in the statement of material facts has been scrupulously regarded." To the politician, therefore, of either party, the volume should appear itself a useful one; but the Conservative reader should be prepared to find in it, for instance, a consistent and painstaking glorification of Gladstonian finance, and an unsparing criticism of Conservative budgets and expedients. One Admiralty job, of nearly two years back, which Mr. Cox exposes, is indeed a flagrant one. The Naval Stores Act, 27 & 28 Vict. c. 91, makes the mere unauthorised possession of Her Majesty's naval and victualling stores by a private person a criminal offence. To meet, however, in the words of the Controller of the Admiralty, "the urgent want of a large payment into the Treasury during the ensuing financial year," which was to be "a set-off against an increase of Navy Estimates," a large number of ships, with all their stores, were in January, 1867, ordered to be sold. In vain the Storekeeper-General and one of the Secretaries remonstrated, on the ground both that "no amount of money approaching the real value of these ships in relation to their cost" could be obtained at such a sale, and that "the fact that the Admiralty had unreservedly sold large stores would be a permanent pretext in future against convictions under the Naval Stores Act for illegal possession."

The ships were sold, in many instances at less than half their value, whilst in many, again, the stores had to be repurchased for more than the price paid for the ship and its contents:—e.g., the *Cenhoo* and its stores sold for £600, and £1,063 16s. 8d. was afterwards paid for stores repurchased from it! The *Petrel* sold for £630, and stores were repurchased from it for £1,142 17s. 10d.! Mr. Cox gives references for all these statements, and declares that they merely give specimens of the "grotesque transactions" in question,—say, rather of a scandalous squandering of the public money.

On the other hand, Mr. Cox is surely too sweeping when he condemns absolutely Lord Henry Lennox for having in one instance to some extent accepted the highest instead of the lowest tenders for work, and for defending himself by saying that "it is an unjust act in any public department to accept to any great extent offers which it knows must involve those who make them in heavy pecuniary loss, and thus drive the honest trader out of the market." Surely by this time we should all know that there is a false as well as a true cheapness. The man who only looks to a low money price in his own individual purchases, is sure in the long run to eat only French eggs, stale fish, and tainted meat; to drink gooseberry for champagne, and brandied logwood water for port; to wear shoddy and "translated" foot-gear, and smoke cabbage leaves over half-penny newspapers. The Government that accepts none but the lowest tenders, is sure in the long run to clothe its soldiers in rotten uniforms, arm them with suicidal weapons, and send its sailors to sea in floating coffins, stored with unwholesome provisions and adulterated lime-juice. J. M. L.

Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., late Dean of St. Paul's. London: John Murray. 1868.

It was a fortunate coincidence that the two deaneries of the Cathedral Church of London and the Abbey of Westminster should be filled at the same time by the two men who possessed, in a measure larger than that of most others, the gift of writing history. The younger of the two was the first in the field, and had the advantage of a theme round which there clustered a far larger number of national associations, every one of which had left its impress on the building as it now stands. The other followed, writing, for great part of his volume, the history of a church of which not one stone has been left upon another, and throughout that of one which had never been the burial-place of kings, and had received till lately the ashes of but few illustrious men. And yet it will be felt, I believe, that Dean Milman's volume has an interest in some points higher even than that which we find in Dean Stanley's "*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*." It was a fitting close to a career of high literary eminence that the greatest of St. Paul's deans should leave such a legacy to his successors.

In dealing with a book less likely to be generally read, it would be natural to give some brief account of its contents; to track the fortunes of St. Paul's from the days when Egbert, king of the East Angles, gave leave and license to Ethelbert of Kent to found a "magnificent" cathedral, dedicated to the Apostle of the Gentiles, down to the great fire of 1666, which destroyed what had come to be a decayed mass of tottering incongruities, and cleared the field for the structure which is likely to stand for centuries as one of London's glories. The *Memorials of St. Paul's* will, however, probably be in the hands of most readers of this *Review* by the time that this notice meets their eye, and I content myself with noting the chief points in which it may be regarded as an addition of permanent value to our popular ecclesiastical literature.

The connection of St. Paul's with the city at the time when the "city" and the capital were co-extensive terms, and with the See of London, makes its records, in some respects, more closely allied with the changes of national life even than its rival sister in Thorney Island. Coronations, royal marriages, royal funerals, monuments of kings and queens and statesmen, these it must resign to Westminster. But as the Cathedral Church, it witnessed, till Wolsey robbed it of its privilege, the sittings of Convocation during a period when Convocation was more of a reality than it has ever been since, when it was engaged in the work of crushing the Wycliffite Reformers, and did its work only too successfully. There, under Archbishop Arundel, William Sautree, the proto-martyr of English Protestantism (the anachronism of the name is, I trust, a pardonable offence), sealed his confession with his death; and Purvey, the

fellow-worker of Wycliffe in his translation of the Bible, was worried into a miserable apostasy. And there, too, Paul's Cross brought the Church into contact with the life of the nation through the life of London. An annotated edition of the sermons preached there during the Tudor dynasty, with short biographical sketches of the preachers, and notices of the circumstances that connected themselves with each discourse, would, as Dean Milman truly says, be a history of the English Reformation.

"Here Papal Bulls were promulgated; here excommunications were thundered out; here sinners of high positions did penance; here heretics knelt and read their recantations; or, if obstinate, were marched off to Smithfield. . . Here miserable men and women suspected of witchcraft confessed their wicked dealings; here, as we shall see hereafter (he refers to the strange conspiracy of which the Nun of Kent was the centre), great impostures were exposed, and strange frauds unveiled in the face of day. Here, too, occasionally Royal Edicts were published; here addresses were made on matters of State to the thronging multitudes supposed to represent the metropolis; here kings were proclaimed, probably traitors denounced."

Of all the iconoclastic acts of which the Puritan party were guilty during the triumph of the Commonwealth, the least excusable was their destruction of that Cross which had done so much to promote the cause of Protestantism and freedom; which, even when occupied by the most reactionary bigots, had been an appeal, not to the judgment of nobles or clergy or scholars, but to the minds of the people at large, of the laity as being the *Ecclesia*. One could almost wish that when the sermons at St. Paul's were about to resume something of their old prominence, the pulpit under the dome had been in some sense a reproduction of the old Cross, and had borne its name.

Among the most interesting chapters to those who study the growth and corruption of ecclesiastical institutions, is that which gives an account of the Chapter and the Revenue of the Cathedral. The earliest stage was that of Bishop, Dean, and thirty Canonici (clergy who were not monks, but were bound to a collegiate rather than conventual life), afterwards known (the names were, and still are, interchangeable) as Prebendaries, the possessors, *i.e.*, each of separate estates or prebends, in addition to the share which they had in the estates held in common. Dean Milman confesses his inability to tell when or why the number was first fixed at thirty, and fails to notice the remarkable, perhaps exceptional custom, which, carrying out the idea of a perpetual service of praise to be offered up daily, attached to each Canon a given number of the psalms, on an average, of course, five, so that the whole Psalter might be thus apportioned. Donne's sermons on his "Prebend Psalms" connect the practice with one of the great names in our ecclesiastical literature. It is noticeable that, even when the custom must have been long disused, and the idea one belonging to the past, the stalls of the Prebendaries in Wren's Cathedral still bore witness to it by the initial words of the Latin Psalms painted over each; and each Prebendary, on his admission, is still told what psalms are specially assigned to him. The first step in the dissolution of the old order was the retirement of the Bishop to his palace at Fulham. Then came an attempt, on the part of the thirty Canons, to exclude the Dean himself from the chapter as not being one of the corporate collegiate body. The attack was evaded by attaching a stall, with its estates, to the deanery. Then followed laxity in maintaining the old system either in letter or in spirit. The thirty had often parishes at a distance, and it was inconvenient for them to reside within the precincts. They did their work, most of them, by deputies, and so the service was sung by "vicar-clerks," represented now by six lay-vicars as part of the choir. But it was necessary that some should be on the spot to maintain order, and represent the society, and so the duty of residing was imposed as a burden upon a few, varying from two to five. They, by the power of giving leases and receiving fines, became gradually the almost exclusive sharers in the increased value of the estates held in common by the chapter. They in like manner held the largest share in the "obits," or fees for masses for the souls of kings, nobles, and others; anniversaries, or commemorations, and the chantries founded with a view to the same purpose, for the daily offering of the propitiatory Eucharist. To be a Residentiary was now to have a share in the prizes of the ecclesiastical lottery. What had been a burden, falling probably upon the junior Prebendaries, became a privilege eagerly sought for, to be limited by decrees of Bishops, or by the ingenious device of a fine of six or seven hundred marks on admission, to be spent in

feastings. So the Residentiaries came to be "a chapter within a chapter," managing the estates, dividing the substantial profits, leaving each Prebendary to his own estate (these being variable in amount, sometimes, as London began to cover their manors with buildings, rising to enormous value), and to some nominal share in "loaves from the bake-house," and the like. So the Canons Residentiary acquired the state and dignity which have since attached to the name. The Reformation, though it robbed them of their obits and chantries (these were escheated, like so many other conventual and collegiate endowments, to the Crown), left them in other respects in possession of their advantages. The Prebendaries, however, (with the exception of the unhappy holder of the manor, *Consumpta per Mare*, near Reculvers, which had been destroyed by an inroad of the sea shortly after the Conquest), were not unenviable in the enjoyment of considerable, often of very large incomes, with absolutely nothing to do for them. The spirit of reform, as regards cathedral property and its abuses, was lulled to sleep for nearly three centuries. It was well, looking to the fate of Church property under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., that it was so. But with the stirring of political change in the Reform Bill of 1831 came the conviction that a change was wanted here also, and the scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commission adopted by Parliament swept away all the estates of the Prebendaries and Canon Residentiaries into a common fund, left the former with the barren honour of an empty title, and the latter with an income secured and limited by Act of Parliament. But the Act, by accident or design, did not touch the corporate rights of the old body, and the Prebendaries have recently asserted their rights as such, and after an unsuccessful issue in the first instance, have had them acknowledged, on appeal, by the Judges of a higher Court. They, and as it might be contended, they alone, have the right of electing the Bishops, and choosing members to represent the chapter in Convocation. The power to incur the pains and penalties of a *præmunire*, if one wishes for a new "sensation," is a privilege worth fighting for.

Hardly less interesting in its bearing on the life and thought of a past stage of ecclesiastical life is the catalogue of Bishop Gravesend's library, given in Appendix A. The books that represented the theology and learning of a Prelate of the fourteenth century (he died A.D. 1363) are, as might be expected, almost exclusively theological. It is curious to note how predominantly they are scholastic rather than patristic. There is no trace of any knowledge of Greek, such as Grossetete and Roger Bacon had possessed a century earlier. There is but one short treatise of Augustine's, and one of Jerome's, a Latin translation of Eusebius, and the *Pastorale* of Gregory the Great. The great mass of the books are sermons and glosses, the "decretals" of the pseudo-Isidore, with glosses, and commentaries, and "*summe*," more or less based upon them. It is pleasant to note a copy of "*Avicenna*," and a "*Liber Naturall*," as bearing testimony to wider studies, but it is significant that the Bishop's library, as a whole, is valued at £116 14s. 6d., and his *Vasa Argentea* at nearly twice the amount, £214 13s. 11d.

I note also a fact of some interest in numismatics, *sc.* that the accounts of the offerings made at the great Northern Cross (p. 518) were kept in £ s. d.—"*libræ, solidi, denarii*," the last being the only (silver) coin, with its halves and quarters (halfpennies and farthings) actually in use, the first two being monies of account only; and that the barbarous Latin, "*sterlingus*," was used in the contemporary Patent Roll of Richard II. as equivalent to "*denarius*." So it was, perhaps, that the phrase a "*pound sterling*," meant originally a "*pound of sterlings*, or 240 pence."

Those who read the book will find at every page some illustration of the life and thought of a past age, some pregnant sentences embodying the judgment of one who united a vast learning to a singular acuteness, sketches of the character of Deans and Bishops who "*served*," or did *not* serve "*their generation*." Of all these the Memoir of Colet stands out with a pre-eminent conspicuousness. The scholar and theologian whose remains were laid a few months since beneath the Choir of St. Paul's, recognises in him one whose temper, culture, and spirit were kindred with his own. Even in matters of interpretation the Dean of the nineteenth century owns, not without a touch of pardonable exultation, that he was anticipated by the Dean of the sixteenth in the freedom of a non-literal view of the Mosaic history of Creation.

E. H. P.

A History of the Free Churches of England, from A.D. 1688—A.D. 1851. By HERBERT S. SKEATS. London: Arthur Miall. 1868.

HERE we have the story of Church and Dissent from the Revolution to the Religious Census; and in these days of hot controversy it will be sure to command plenty of readers, who will have no cause to complain of any lack on the narrator's part of industrious inquiry, ability of statement, or vigour of style. It will enable us vividly to realize the momentous character of the great questions now agitated, and to feel with considerable force how the present state of things has descended to us from the past. And we are inclined to think that in these days of pleasant literature, only those who are exceedingly inquisitive of the past, or those who needs must understand the present from being called to act and to speak in it, will be very strongly attracted to this subject. For it is a melancholy tale from first to last. The principal person of the drama, the venerable Church of England, having been impeached at the very outset of late and bastard birth, "when Henry VIII. founded a new Church in England," (p. 2), is scolded all the way down, and smitten now on the right cheek, now on the left, till the Census of 1851 has covered her with shame for ever as she awaits the termination of her unhonoured existence. The fond Churchman, who has suspected only a little of all this, would not however be so smitten down and emptied if he might witness in the proud sister's rival a goodness that could satisfy his religious instincts, and compensate him for all he has lost in the proved unworthiness of his old love. The tale is wretched indeed if Cinderella too be a vixen. Mr. Skeats can only tell us facts, he cannot make them; and his facts are a series of distracted brotherhoods, difficult alliances, honest hands combining and tears of joy, followed by suspicions and re-combinations, falling churches, lapsed spirituality, and the voices of leaders wailing over the sins of the Church as well as the world. The Christ of the Church seems nowhere, and is even fled from our own hearts as we peruse the record. Whoever craves to see Him above all things, and reigning amid all the strife and temptations of the human spirit, will generally avoid, we are almost afraid to say, Church history, and take to biography; for true-hearted men there were even among the flushed actors of these unlovely scenes, which as they march before us in the bristling array of controversy seem to be an arraignment of Christianity itself.

We cannot but feel that there may be and that there must be another viewpoint at which this sad history may be seen. We will indulge the thought, if only for its consolation, that religious genius of a certain vein could kindle up the picture with other light; and that there is a power, like that for instance which would visit an Isaac Taylor, of doing justice to fact with all honest conscience and yet with a gracious felicity of placing men before us not for ever scarred and pale with polemics, accounting for their most mistaken courses on some principles at least which have a root or two in the good and the justifiable, taking into account *all* the forces (and they are many) acting in each eventful generation of our chequered history, with a philosophy that will draw out the lessons for us in a winsome way, alluring us erring and imperfect children to do our best in the position we have inherited, to which we are warmly attached, rather than driving us into another that we fear and cannot trust and that has grave admitted faults of its own. If a "Free" Christian can be induced to feel, and not simply to admit, that there is some blessing in the venerable Church of English History, an "Established" Christian may learn to admire the Free, and study his position with a candid and admiring interest and much to his profit. We may depend upon it, neither history nor argument has yet spoken all one way, but like the puzzled umpire they have still something to say on both sides.

C. H.

Memoir of George Steward, Author of "Mediatorial Sovereignty." London: Nisbet & Co. 1868.

GEORGE STEWARD was a man of considerable mark, both intellectually and spiritually. Born of agricultural parents in the middle rank of life, and left, at his father's death, almost without resources, he beat about in the world for a line of life, till at length he entered the Wesleyan ministry, and was settled for some years at Leeds. There he was, when the great storm of 1848 shook that religious body to its foundation, and ultimately severed him from its ranks.

After his formal resignation as a minister, he received a "call" from a congregation in Newcastle. As the engagement professedly involved only Sunday duty, he was able to reside with his family on a farm at Eusemere, on the banks of Ulleswater. It is there that we see him in his real element. Farming was his favourite outdoor occupation: reading, and comments on reading, employed his indoor leisure, especially when, after a few years' trial of this divided life, he resigned his position at Newcastle. An interesting sketch of his life in this "lacustrine dwelling" is given by a friend at the end of the biography.

But all this was rudely broken up by the scandalous failure of the bank at Leeds in 1864. His personalty had been invested in that Company, which was one of unlimited liability. All was in consequence swept away; and he retired for the evening of his life to the house of a son established in business at Middlesboro'.

That life ended during an attempt to rally his shattered health at Jersey, on May 14, 1866.

Mr. Steward was not a great preacher. His delivery was unfortunate, and in consequence he did not do justice to his matter. The writer of this notice once heard him in the Wesleyan chapel of his Leicestershire parish, and from his recollection was certainly not prepared for what he finds in this volume. There is in the extracts here given from his converse and sermons, a racy originality, combined with an almost childlike simplicity of thought, and thoroughly interpenetrated with the deepest and ever-present religious feeling. Many passages remind one forcibly of Richard Cecil, especially as the latter appears in that interesting volume, *Eclectic Notes*.

We have marked a few specimens for exemplifying what we have said:—

"I have got a new thought this morning; I hardly know whether it would do to preach it, yet perhaps one ought to preach all we feel to be true; still Paul speaks of 'learning wisdom among them that are perfect.'

"Do not all the great painters represent Christ as somewhat feminine? Perhaps they only sought the highest type of beauty, though I hope there was something more in it than that. I am much struck with the feminine character of Christ; it is essentially winning, drawing affection after it—it is the impersonation of love. It was not His greatness that impressed His personal attendants, it was the power of His nature over them; hence their grief, their broken-heartedness at His death. Then His power of passive endurance, His patience under suffering, is essentially feminine. Now, is not this a strong collateral evidence of the Incarnation; the miraculous conception; the great fact on which the gospel rests? So to speak, there is nothing of the man about Him but His sex. It is this tenderness that gives the character to our adoration of Him as man, and will do to all eternity.

"The character we call manly is not the normal type; it seems to me a mere excrescence. We have had such struggles with barbarism, and courage and firmness have been so useful, that we have come to regard them as distinctive of man; while in fact they are only distinctive of *fallen* man. Ask a red Indian and an old Greek, and you would find their idea of man very similar. But the character of Christ is quite on another model—altogether different from what a philosopher would have drawn.

"In paradise, was not woman taken out of man? retaining, possibly, more of the primitive type than man himself. This supplies in our worship what the Romanists have clumsily sought in their adoration of the Virgin.

"The mystery of marriage seems to be, that human nature is one—entire; but this human nature has been, so to speak, divided by the production of another; that out of this division there is perpetual unity arising—reunion; putting of them together again; and the production of the same nature as the result—always division and union; a pair in one nature.

"This doctrine bears much on woman's rights; proves her identity of nature. It shows the basis of marriage; it does not rest on ordinance; the two are the complement of one another, there *cannot* be more; they form one complete being. The Christian ordinance is just the reassertion of nature.

"Now as to the great *mystery* of Christ and the Church—take the human nature of Christ as the type of manhood; His death as answering to the sleep of Adam; and the Church as arising out of it. The woman is always the type of life—her very name, Eve, implies it; the womanly nature—the life-nature. The 'seed of the woman,' as applied to Christ, implies the life-nature; it goes down to the whole progeny of the Church. There really is the transmission of a nature from Christ, and this comes from His sacrificial life. This must be the mystery of marriage.

"You have marriage in Paradise—the Church of the Old Testament; the revelation rising into its full meaning in the New Testament.

"Adam is the head of the race; but he becomes so by the creation of another person

from himself. So Christ is the Head of the race of spiritual people; but He becomes so by the creation of the Church" (pp. 96—98).

"The doctrine of ministering angels seem to have dropped out of men's creeds; yet I think it a real teaching of the Scriptures. Nor has it been so generally clouded with superstition as one might have expected. Superstition always clings to the *human*; we pray to saints, not to angels."

"Angels are the only historians; I believe they keep themselves fully informed of what passes here—what the devil is doing, and how he is counterworked. John Milton represents an angel as giving an account of the Creation, and very fine it is; but they know a great deal more by this time. John twice fell on his knees before the angel, he was so impressed with what he taught him. They will be our instructors in another state, unless we suppose our life disjointed from the past, thrown only into the future, which is absurd—and still more absurd to suppose you will get the knowledge of the past by intuition. Here we are in the position of a regiment in the field of battle; there are twenty thousand men engaged, but we know nothing of that; we have got to fight in a corner, perhaps in a thick wood. We must *wait* until all is over before we can understand the plan of the campaign" (pp. 124, 125).

"P— said the other day, 'One must stand by one's colours.' But I have no colours to stand by, I have long got past that stage. Christianity, in its social aspect, is so broken that one cares little for any of its forms. We must love good people wherever we meet them, and worship where we *best* can; that is about my creed" (p. 145).

"An Established Church is the narrowest of all sects. It has the genuine mark of a sect; its preachers preaching only in their own pulpits, and excluding from them all not of their own body. It is in fact the great bar to catholicity in England, and a real bar too. It is strange to hear the Bishop of Oxford mourning over sects, and he the very apostle of sectarianism himself" (p. 147).

"We must beware of bringing in conscience about every trifle—cases of petty larceny do not come before the Lord Chief Justice" (p. 151).

"Thinking, yes, anybody can think. It is only like setting the key when you are going to sing, then you sing on to any tune you have set. For instance, I was speculating this morning on creation—the different kinds of it. There is creation out of nothing—that is, miracle; then there is creation in the sense of forming—that was the creation of Genesis; then creation in the ordinary sense of generation; and so on and on. My best thinking times are when I am shaving and dressing. That is why I am so very long on Sunday mornings. I suppose it operates as smoking does on smokers, or sewing on women,—though I do not like to see women sew, sew, sew, turning themselves into silkworms. Let them read—talk—commune with the mind of the world."

"Strange idea the Gnostics had of the evil of matter! I believe our emotional nature depends for all its manifestations on matter—that, apart from matter, we should be just thinking creatures, everlastingly thinking, round and round, until we hated our own immortality, and begged for annihilation. This is one grand reason for the Resurrection. Look at one day of your life—your pleasure in animals, in nature, in social converse; fancy yourself without any of these interests, or anything analogous to them, you would be very badly off. It is true man's happiness is in God, and he is never happy apart from Him,—these things are but accessories, but they are very necessary and charming ones" (p. 153).

H. A.

The Life and Labours in Art and Archæology of George Petrie, LL.D., M.R.I.A., &c., &c. By WILLIAM STOKES, M.D., D.C.L. Oxon., Physician in Ordinary to the Queen in Ireland; Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin. London: Longmans. 1868.

THIS eminent Irishman, who died just two years ago, is here portrayed for us in a manner worthy of his reputation. Petrie was very far from being a man of one idea: but as every man whose life is worth writing will afford special information in some particular department of inquiry, the biography before us conducts us through the rise and progress of Irish Archæology for the last forty years, which is indelibly associated with the name of Petrie. When the Irish Ordnance Survey was mooted in 1824, it was happily coupled with the idea of a descriptive accompaniment in letterpress; and Captain Larcom, one of the staff, and very soon the chief director, entered heart and soul into this recommendation and gave it the amplest development. While his triangulators and engravers were mapping down the surface of the country, a set of busy investigators in geology, archæology, philology, statistics, economy, natural history, &c., were scattered about to do for Ireland systematically and on a grand scale what has been done for England in a desultory way and by private

efforts, and on the whole with such magnificent results, by her country historians. In this noble organisation Petrie directed the archaeological department, and quickly gathered round him coadjutors of the true stamp, indefatigable, cautious, inductive, and enthusiasts like himself, such as were O'Donovan, O'Curry, Mangan, and others, born for their work, who all looked towards him as their inspirer and to his last days loved and revered him as "father." The project was too good for Ireland! One volume of the precious memoir was printed and Government durst not continue it. Happily however hundreds of quarto volumes manuscript, collections hived by that industrious swarm, all arranged and indexed, are now on the shelves of the Royal Irish Academy, for the historians of Ireland, a race which has hitherto wronged her almost as cruelly as politicians have. Erin, a very Paradise of Archaeology, deserved such a man as Petrie and his school; and it is a perfect treat to follow his footsteps about that interesting land, and to review his works on round tower, abbey, and castle under the able guidance of Dr. Stokes. He was not only the man to archaeologise, but like Hugh Miller in geology, to interest in it likewise the unprofessional, be he only moderately cultured and capable of sympathy. He was a painter and a painter's son: he had a heart for all old Irish melodies heard in the peasant's cabin and the fisherman's hut, as well as a voice and hand to perform and perpetuate them: there was in him therefore soul and feeling that could convert all the dry detail of antiquarianism into poetry, and it is perfectly refreshing to imagine ourselves standing by his side on the bridge of Athlone looking down the stream of the Shannon, or sketching among the melancholy monuments of Clonmacnoise, with an eye and imagination that nothing escapes and his thoughts brim full of historic associations. We should add that the reader will find Dr. Petrie's correspondence pervaded by much warmth of personal friendship, and almost entirely literary and professional; and while his biographer reports him a liberal and a devout Protestant Churchman, his own pen never touches either on politics or religion. C. H.

The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool, K.G., late First Lord of the Treasury. Compiled from Original Documents. By CHARLES DUKE YONGE, Regius Professor of History and English Literature in the Queen's College, Belfast, and Author of the "History of the British Navy," the "History of France under the Bourbons," &c. Three Volumes. Macmillan & Co. 1868.

"It is curious how little one knows about Lord Liverpool—a man who was Premier for fifteen years," was the remark, the other day, of a distinguished historian. It is, perhaps, still more curious that, after reading the three volumes of Mr. Yonge's work, one scarcely feels as if one knew much more about Lord Liverpool than one did before first sitting down to the task. Mr. Yonge's view of history is mainly that of the school which saw in it little else than the fates of armies, states, and cabinets, and we have, in his pages, to look as best we may for the man in the statesman. The work is indeed entitled to a high degree of authority, as being, the author tells us, "founded almost entirely on the correspondence, and copies of correspondence, left behind him by Lord Liverpool, and now in the possession of Colonel and Lady Catherine Harcourt," some other letters having been, moreover, communicated by the representatives of Lord Bexley and of Mr. Canning. Mr. Yonge, however, says that "it is impossible to give any account" of Lord Liverpool's private life, and that there is "scarcely a trace of any correspondence" between him and his successive wives, "because they were never separated."

The second Earl of Liverpool was born 7th June, 1770, before his father had become a peer; educated at the Charter-House and at Christchurch, which he left in 1789; went abroad, and was present at the taking of the Bastille; was elected (illegally, being still a minor) member for Appleby; made, in 1791, a much-remarked maiden speech, in which he was so remarkably foolish as to pronounce "the strength and influence of France at an end," and the "present era . . . not calculated for invasion or conquests;" went abroad again in 1792, saw the follies of the French emigration at Coblenz, and was again foolish enough to consider "moderate, and yet at the same time calculated to inspire terror," the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick (25th July, 1792), which, by its threats of summary chastisement and destruction to the inha-

bitants of towns, boroughs, and villages who should dare to defend themselves, and of delivering Paris to military execution and total demolition, if the least violence or outrage should be committed on the king, queen, or royal family, and if provision were not immediately made for their safety, preservation, and liberty, roused nearly the whole of France as one man, and eventually sent the king, his wife, and sister-in-law to the scaffold. In 1793 he received from Pitt a seat at the India Board, and from this time, except during the short period of Whig rule after Pitt's death, never left office for thirty-four years, advancing step by step until he reached the Premiership, his claim to which seems never to have been thenceforth disputed. In 1796, being now Lord Hawkesbury (his father having been created Earl of Liverpool), he became Master of the Mint; in 1800, Foreign Secretary, under Addington, who gave him a peerage in 1803; in 1804, on Pitt's return to power, Home Secretary. On Pitt's death, in 1806, he was already pressed to take the Premiership by the king, who at least forced upon him the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, in Pitt's place. He returned to the Home Office, under the Duke of Portland, in 1807; shifted (having meanwhile succeeded to the Earldom of Liverpool), under Perceval, in 1809, to the then combined Secretaryship of State for War and the Colonies; and finally passed on to the Premiership in 1812, having thus enjoyed the singular advantage of holding, amongst other offices, every Secretaryship of State before reaching the highest post of all, so as to become familiar with almost the whole range of official experience. On the 17th February, 1827, he was struck with a combined attack of apoplexy and paralysis, which resulted in his death on the 4th December, 1828. He had been twice married—to Lady Louisa Hervey, daughter of the fourth Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry; and after her death, in 1822, to a Miss Chester—but left no children. He seems to have been an affectionate son, and extracts from his letters to his father (always addressed as such), to within a few months of the latter's death, show the intimate relations which subsisted to the last between the two.

Seen through his correspondence, the second Lord Liverpool appears to us very much what one pictured him to oneself before reading it,—a man latterly in general very clear-sighted, but with small foresight; eminently safe, moderate, conciliatory; equanimous in a high degree, by no means magnanimous; capable of bearing unruffled almost all the provocations of Canning's petulance or wounded self-esteem; capable also of expressing—after Waterloo, and Napoleon's surrender to England—the wish “that the King of France would hang or shoot Bonaparte, as the best termination of the business.” Substantially, Mr. Yonge's three volumes add generally but little, towards judging of Lord Liverpool's character, to the words of Lord Brougham, who, after referring to “the candour which he ever displayed in debate,” says:—“It was a part of the natural honesty of his character, which power had not corrupted, and no eagerness of parliamentary warfare could interrupt. His general worth as a man was always acknowledged, and this added very justly to the prevailing good opinion which he enjoyed among his countrymen, almost without distinction of party.” And although Lord Brougham proceeds to say that he regards “this good opinion to have been [*sic*] somewhat overdone,” it is obvious that no eulogies from a partisan could well heighten such praise from the lips of an opponent.

On one point, however, Lord Brougham did not do justice to Lord Liverpool—his firmness. Lamentable as may have been his mistake in introducing the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline, yet Mr. Yonge shows us numerous instances, both before and after this event, in which Lord Liverpool coolly, but tenaciously, refused compliance with the wishes of George IV.; now resisting his building schemes, now insisting on the removal of a favourite (Lord Fife), now appointing a Receiver-General of Customs in the teeth of a royal recommendation, or even actually refusing a canonry of Windsor to the king's nominee, on the sound constitutional ground “that the expectation which might have been personally held out by the sovereign was subject to the responsibility of his ministers; and that it must be a sufficient answer on such an occasion that the appointment has been obstructed in a quarter which cannot by the laws of the country be passed by;” or finally, after, it is true, years of fruitless endeavours, wringing from the king the readmission to the Cabinet of Canning, whom he had never forgiven for seceding from it on the occasion of

the Queen Caroline scandal. Not less firm was his resistance to the Wellesley family in respect of the appointment to the episcopal bench of one of its members, whose personal situation Lord Liverpool considered open to scandal; or to the Duke of Buckingham, in his overweening demands for office. In these respects the publication of this correspondence supplies a clue to the duration of Lord Liverpool's premiership which would otherwise have been wanting. The man could have been no weakling—could not have been, as Lord Brougham asserts, wanting in "spirit" or "political courage," or swayed "by the fear of losing office"—under whom men like Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Peel, Palmerston, served in succession, and often, in spite of mutual jealousies, together; and Mr. Yonge is not far wrong when he says that Lord Liverpool "is the very last minister who has been able fully to carry out his own political views—who has been so strong that, in matters of general policy, the opposition could extract no concessions from him which were not sanctioned by his own deliberate judgment—the very last who, in the strict sense of the word, can be said to have governed England."

Mr. Yonge's handiwork seems conscientious, if not impartial. Opposition to his hero is generally "factionous"—the latter's defence of his own course triumphant; and when, in the course of his long official life, he is found advocating opposite policies on certain questions, his biographer generally supplies in turn the best of reasons for both. In his use of foreign authorities Mr. Yonge is indeed singularly deficient and unsatisfactory. We find him referring to "the collection of letters lately published by M. Feuillet de Corches" on Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, without the slightest hint of the grave and now almost universally-admitted doubts as to the authenticity of many or most of these documents. His chief French reference as to the Napoleonic era appears to be the often untrustworthy memoirs of De Bourrienne; incredible to relate, the Napoleon correspondence is never once specifically quoted, and only once generally mentioned, whilst the many recent French works on the period are entirely ignored. Indeed, his critical sense in reference to foreign countries is so feeble that he actually quotes a palpable royalist squib found amongst Lord Liverpool's papers, manufactured for circulation in the French army in Holland in 1805—a period of the greatest glory of the empire—as evidence of the feelings of that army, to the bulk of which it would have been literally unintelligible. And when full allowance is made for all prejudices, Mr. Yonge's treatment of Lord William Bentinck—one of the very noblest governors India ever had—is signally unjust. He loses no opportunity of depreciating him; and not only does he speak of him as having been "deservedly removed when his mismanagement had contributed to bring on the terrible mutiny of Vellore," when it is notorious that the measures which had caused the mutiny were those of the commander-in-chief, and that he was recalled on the strength of a report from the Governor of Ceylon, founded actually on a mare's nest—the discovery of a plot which turned out to be imaginary—but actually goes the length of charging him with the responsibility of the "disasters of Afghanistan," against the occurrence of which the spirit of Lord William Bentinck's rule, had it been adhered to, would have been an effectual barrier.

Allowing, however, for all drawbacks, Mr. Yonge's work forms a valuable contribution to the political history of the reigns of the Third and Fourth Georges.

J. M. L.

The Authentic Historical Memoirs of Louis Charles, Prince-Royal, Dauphin of France, Second Son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who subsequently to 1793, personated through supposititious means, Augustus Meves. The Memoirs, written by the veritable Louis XVII., are dedicated to the French nation. The Compilation and Commentary by his two eldest sons, WILLIAM and AUGUSTUS MEVES. London: William Ridgway. 1868.

AFTER so exhaustive a title there is little left for us to say. Their Royal Highnesses the sons of the "veritable Louis XVII." who is imagined by historians to have died a captive in the Temple, June 8, 1793, tell us that the poor child was in fact spirited away to London two years previously, where under the name of Meves he passed through numerous adventures, of an extremely mild and quite an innocent character, till the year 1823 when he first learnt his true lineage. He kept it all to himself however, and in 1859 expired in a cab

in London, leaving a widow and seven children, and was buried in Brompton Cemetery. On this remarkable vicissitude of royalty we must reserve our judgment for the present, merely remarking that the illustrious princes appear to us to have divulged the secret of their family rather late and to the wrong public. If they will now only get some one to translate their volume out of English into the language of the "French nation" to which it is dedicated, we shall then see—what we shall see. C. H.

III.—CLASSICAL.

The Tragedies of Æschylus. A New Translation; with a Biographical Essay and an Appendix of rhymed Choral Odes. By E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

THE shade of Robert Potter may well look rueful-visaged, if the news of his now total eclipse reaches the land of spirits. In his day he had the glory, such as it was, of having translated Æschylus, and translated Sophocles. Even in our boyhood we should have been referred to Potter for a rapid survey of the plays which we had to master one by one, taking half a year or so to each, in the original Greek. Now all this is changed. There was some little hope as long as Mr. Plumptre's Sophocles, in its first edition, repelled the old-fashioned readers by unrhymed choruses, a rather un-English invention. But when he put forth a second edition, corrected, compendious, and so complaisant to all tastes, as to offer rhyme in the appendix, to those who would have none of the unrhyme in the body of each play, we felt it time to sing the requiem of Potter, Franklin, Dale, and *hoc genus omne*. With incomparable diligence, and a rare assiduity in his devotion to the Greek drama (for most people only talk of "Greek plays," and this as of something very teasing and obscure, as soon as they have left college), Mr. Plumptre has now accomplished a translation of Æschylus, after the fashion of his improved Sophocles, and thereby asserted for himself a claim to represent that dramatist also, in preference to translators of the old and bygone school. Henceforth we may fairly say of Potter that his Æschylus, like his Sophocles, will be read when Plumptre is forgotten; but not till then! As to Mr. Plumptre, in this second venture he pits himself with more and abler rivals than when he essayed Sophocles; and here, too, we are of opinion that he will be found to hold his own. Upon single plays, he has to match himself against Conington, Milman, and Miss Swanwick in the hardest of them, and he may be read alongside of these with profit, interest, and edification. The Dean's Agamemnon may be more graceful, as the work of a greater master of the lyre; the Latin Professor's more erudite and valuable for reference as to some debatable passage; the lady's version of the Oresteia (by which she so worthily asserts "the woman as the equal of the man") more bold and striking in its adaptation of Greek idioms and phrases to English, that wonderfully represents them. But, taken as a whole, it is impossible to weigh Mr. Plumptre's version beside these without rising from the task impressed with the uniform high level which he maintains, and with the care, skill, acuteness, and even genius, which saves him from inferiority to either of the translators before named. He lays English teachers, moreover, under a further obligation, in that he has reproduced not only those great master-dramas, out of which most credit was to be reaped, but also the so-called easier plays, the Septem contra Thebas, and the Persæ, which have their own special good points, and for which many of us have an affection, dating from a very early period of our classical training. As a translator of these plays, and the Supplices, he has Professor Blackie for his only rival worth naming; and though the Prometheus may boast well-nigh a score of translators, the greater number of them have been fanciful either as to metre or some other crotchet, and few have turned out their work more creditably than Mr. Plumptre.

It is needless to waste words on a regret that this new translator of Æschylus is wedded, past recall, to the theory of unrhymed choruses, or to tempt him to vain regrets by a vision of the larger crop of readers which a downright return

to the English paths of rhyme would have enabled him to reap. We accept, perforce, his "tub to the whale," in the shape of a rhymed appendix, although we could have preferred to see rhyme and unrhyme change places, if we needs must be favoured with both. This, however, must be said for Mr. Plumptre's unrhymed metres, that they are generally remarkably well sustained, and (barring one or two choruses turned into sexsyllabic and octosyllabic verses, which neither resemble the original nor assert a dignity befitting Æschylus, even in an English guise) well and judiciously chosen. And it is easy to conceive that, in practice, the exigencies of rhyme may occasionally so circumstance a translator, that he is made diffuse in spite of himself; as, *e.g.*, where in Agamemnon, 119, *βλαβέντα λισσθίων ξρόμων* is stretched, for rhyme and metre's sake, into—

"All her life's course into death's deep darkness flung,"

whereas the unrhymed version puts it far more concisely and truly,—

"Robbed of all runs to come."

Miss Swanwick's version is "Amerced of future courses." Undoubtedly Mr. Plumptre's choral successes are not in rhyme, but in unrhyme, as may be seen in a comparison of three or four lines of the second chorus in the Agamemnon, which we offer no apology for recalling:—

πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας
φάσμα ἔόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν
εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί·
δμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.—405—409.

Mr. Plumptre's self-elected version is as follows:—

"And in his yearning love
For one beyond the sea,
A ghost shall seem to queen it o'er the house:
The grace of sculptured forms
Is loathed by her lord,
And in the penury of life's bright eyes
All Aphrodite's charm
To utter wreck is gone;"

and though not a match for the late Dean Milman's translation, the last lines of which run—

"Odious in living beauty's place
Is the cold statue's fine-wrought grace;
Where speaking eyes are wanting, love is not,"

they contrast favourably with our translator's alternative version at the end of the second volume, which seems to us less faithful to the Greek:—

"And in his yearning love
For her who now is far beyond the sea,
A phantom queen through all the house shall rove,
And all the joy doth flee
The sculptured forms of beauty once did give:
And in the penury of eyes that live,
All Aphrodite's grace
Is vanished into space."—(P. 251, vol. ii.)

It is, however, fairer to exhibit Mr. Plumptre in the path of verse which he prefers, and to leave the appendix to those who have forsworn unrhymed lyrics. No one, not thus prejudiced, will deny the excellence of the passage we cite from the first chorus in the Suppliants [90—103, *ἰάππει δ' ἐλπίδων—ἀπάτῃ μεταγνοίης*], a passage which, as Mr. Plumptre observes in his very thoughtful introductory Life, "almost simulates the language of a monotheistic creed:—

"And from high towering hopes he hurleth down
To utter doom the heir of mortal birth;
Yet sets he in array
No forces violent;
All that God works is effortless and calm:
Seated on loftiest throne,
Thence, though we know not how,
He works his perfect will.

Ah! let him look on frail man's wanton pride,
With which the old stock burgeons out anew,
By love for me constrained,
In counsels ill and rash,
And in its frenzied passionate resolve
Finds good it cannot shun;
But in deceived hopes
Shall know too late its woe."

This extract, equally with a dozen others which we have marked in the seven plays, would show the adequacy of our new translator's unrhymed metres to reconvey the lofty language and thoughts of Æschylus as found in his choral odes. No one can find fault with the general choice of words in which these are reclothed. We give him great credit for the skill with which he has united dignity with simplicity, and, where it was possible, retained the closest counterparts of striking expressions of the original. About the sole undignified word we have noted occurs in a translation of a speech of Prometheus, where he translates *ἔφυρον ἐκὴν πάντα* (P., v. 438), "They muddled all at random;" and as a set-off to this, we could cite dozens of very happy resemblances to the Greek. Thus, in the Septem contra Thebas (380), *χαλεῖλατοι κλάζουσιν κώδωνες φόβον*, reappears as—

"Bells wrought in bronze ring out their chime of fear;"
and Atossa's play on words, in contrasting her husband's reign with her son's—

πλοῦτον ἐκῆσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ τὸν δ' ἀνδρείας ὕπο
ἐνδὸν αἰχμάζωιν (Pers. 751, 752)—

is reproduced, with little or no abatement of force and point, in—

"Great wealth for thy sons thou gainèdst
By thy spear's might, while he in cowardice
Does his spear-work indoors."

If any one is dissatisfied with his rendering that *crux* of translators, the *ἀνῆριθμον γέλασμα* of Prometheus (v. 91), "Thou smile innumerable," it is sufficient to ask them to show their hand, and produce a more satisfactory presentment of an inimitable expression. A concatenation of sounds or ideas leads us away to the Eumenides, where Mr. Plumptre's version of the remarkable line—

ὁσμὴ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγέλῃ,
"The smell of human blood wafts joy to me,"

is at least as good as any of the best versions we have found of it. One striking characteristic of the volume before us is the thorough conscientiousness of their author, and his strong endeavour to set before them the real sense of Æschylus. This leads him not seldom to give an alternative rendering in a footnote, e.g., in Pers. 279, *πλαγκτῶς ἐν διπλάκισσι* appears in the text as "In far out-floating robes," whilst in a note it is suggested that it may mean "On decks that floated on." And the same feeling has evidently led Mr. Plumptre now and then to give a secondary use to his appendix by adopting in it a different interpretation from that of his textual translation. At all times the reader may be strong in the security that his guide has weighed well his rendering, and that if ever he swerves from Paley, on whom, in the main, he judiciously relies, he does so for reasons which are sure to have force and cogency in them. In dealing with the *jeux de mots* to which Æschylus and his compeers had such an attraction, he has ventured further than seemed wise to either Dean Milman or Miss Swanwick. For instance, in Agam. 670 [*ἀμφινικῇ θ' Ἑλλάδι*; *ἔπει πρὸν τῶς ἱλίανος, ἑλάνερος, ἱλίπολις*], he has tried the experiment of substituting modern alliterative words for the play on names in the original.

"Who gave that war-wed, strife-upstirring one
The name of Helen, ominous of ill?
For great ill, as from Hell,
Brought she on Hellas' men
And ships, and Ilion's towers."

The success is questionable, and the more so, because the mention of Hellas, which is *de trop*, draws off the mind to another scent. But it is, at least, as good as Blackie's,—

"Helen the taker! 'tis plain to see
A taker of ships, a taker of men,
A taker of cities is she."

He is happier, to our thinking, in his rendering of *εἰδος ὀρθόνημον*, in Agam. 681, to which we must refer our readers. The bone and muscle of the translation, after all, are to be found in the Iambic passages, and these are rendered in thorough adequate and consistent dramatic blank verse. We cannot quote samples of it, but may venture to promise our readers that whether they open the volumes at the speeches of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, or at the account of the wanderings of Io, past and to come, in the Prometheus—whether they refresh their memory with the incidents of the Battle of Salamis in the Persæ, or scan the characters and descriptions of the Seven Chiefs (a passage so fine that it deserves more notice than it has attained in modern days), they will discover "nothing but well and fair," no tendencies downward to bathos, and no undue stiltedness in Mr. Plumptre's version.

Of his *Life of Æschylus* this is hardly the place to speak, for it might well claim a separate notice, and is fitter speculation for the pages in larger print, that have already given to the scholar-world Mr. Westcott's article on Æschylus as a religious teacher. It is enough perhaps to say that it is replete with that comparison of things old with things new, that parallelism of Hebrew ways and forms of thought with Greek, those curious analogies, and that desire to trace in pagan literature dim, far-off striving towards a clearer and more true light, which a scholar so full of biblical, classical, and modern reading as Mr. Plumptre can best provide. We augur a fair course to so deserving a launch, and hasten to bid "good speed" to this new English Æschylus. J. D.

IV.—POETRY, FICTION, AND ESSAY.

Elfrida. By ROBERT B. HOLT, Author of "Kenwith," &c. Longmans & Co.

IN an introductory letter addressed to "E. Lee, Esq., Crystal Palace," Mr. Holt revives an old complaint, and makes an old mistake. From the criticisms on his former poem he has derived "amusement," but no guidance, and he "looks in vain for proximate unity of opinion." He places side by side fragments of comment from the *Athenæum*, the *Daily News*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. These we beg leave to place in a first batch by themselves, for a reason which will appear in a moment. Mr. Holt also quotes passages distinctly laudatory from the *Art-Journal*, the *Observer*, and the *Worcester Journal*. Lastly, words of decisive condemnation are reproduced from the *Imperial Review* and the *London Review*.

We have not had twenty minutes' hesitation in deciding that it is absolutely impossible for us to take any case but that of saying "ditto" to the last two authorities. And this is the almost instantaneous judgment of two friends, both versed in poetry, and each giving an opinion without the remotest shadow of concert with the other. Our readers will perhaps be able to form some kind of judgment from the following lines, which we take quite indifferently from "*Elfrida*:"—

"Then from his wrist the graceful monarch drew
A golden band, and with fair speeches threw
This princely largess to the child of song,
Whose lay had pleased him; so the courtly throng
Transferr'd their praises clamour, from the bard,
To laud the bracelet-giver, and hurrah'd
Till they and he were weary, when they stay'd
To wait his pleasure—breathless—and be made
Fools, if he will'd it—for e'en stripling's smile
Gives loyal slaves an idol to beguile
The eye of conscience, when peculiar birth
Claims to be virtue paramount on earth.

"The king was seated by a hearth, whose blaze
Made mimic summer constant to the days
Of frigid winter, while on either hand
Circled the pride and beauty of the land

With fitting rev'rence; so his young heart swell'd
To mate the power whose glory he beheld
In court face-mirrors, fashioned to reflect
His will's expression; but vain thought he check'd
As worth degrading, and desired a Thane
Would take the harp, and breathe a mirthful strain."

Now what is to be observed of these lines is this—not only that they are themselves a mere exercise in rather crude verse, and destitute of one single gleam of the poetic light, but that they are of that dead-level order of writing in which there is no promise. There might be gross faults in half the lines, and yet there might be traces of "the gleam," with genuine promise. But the whole thing is hopelessly and helplessly prosaic to a degree which never is, never was, and never would be possible to a tolerably mature mind in which there was even a latent germ of poetry. We make, and without reserve, the same comment upon the remainder of the volume; and, if Mr. Holt is a rich man, we should like to wager ten thousand pounds against the five fingers with which we are now writing, that if his poem were submitted to Mr. Lewes, Mr. R. H. Hutton, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, and Mr. John Morley, the verdict would be the same.

We now beg leave to call Mr. Holt's attention to two or three facts which are apparent upon the face of the reviews he quotes. With regard to the first batch, he will note, if he looks closely, that there is no phrase employed which distinctly accredits him with poetic *faculty*. There is, as lawyers say, a "common form" with reviewers who do not wish to be rude to a first book, and we should have used it in speaking of this second book, if Mr. Holt had not openly raised a direct issue. In the second place, it is to be noticed that the praise of the *Art-Journal* is of that extravagant kind which is a sure sign either of inexperience or incompetence in a reviewer, while even that in the *Observer*, which at first looks so flattering, is evasive. What sort of praise is it to say that "Kenwith" will bear favourable comparison with *most of the works of poetry of the present day*?

That the *Pall Mall* should write about such a work as "Kenwith," "a long article almost paternal in spirit," would be inexplicable if it were not the fact that journals like the *Pall Mall* and the *Athenæum* have a heterogeneous staff, and that it must often be uncertain into whose hands a book of poems may fall. It is quite established that the power of discerning good or tolerable poetry is the very rarest of critical gifts, and that reviews of poetry are not to be depended upon unless they appear in journals where it is almost certain that the books have fallen into one particular hand of good experience, and recognised catholicity of judgment. For there, after all, is the test: no dependence can be placed on reviewers who keep all their admiration for particular schools; and none upon the ordinary run of newspaper writers.

There is a vein of historic intelligence in Mr. Holt, which, as he possesses some poetic *feeling*, might, we should fancy, make him acceptable as a writer of historic monographs, or even as a translator of verse for purposes of illustration. It is too much to hope, but we should be glad to believe that he was going to drop poetry at once, and work a vein for which he is better qualified.

B. W.

Tricotrin; the Story of a Waif and Stray. By OUIDA. 3 Vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

"TRICOTRIN" appears to us a decided improvement on such former works of "Ouida" as have fallen in our way. With abundant faults, she yet unquestionably shows great talent (we can hardly be wrong in using the feminine pronoun), and though we close the book dissatisfied, yet in our dissatisfaction there is the conviction that she has it in her, with a more rigid discipline than she has chosen to practise, to produce something much better. Her novels have, at any rate, the *quasi* merit of being worth finding fault with. Utter failure or inanity, if for inscrutable reasons they must exist, criticism prefers to let alone. "Tricotrin" is worthy of notice were it only for its effort after the ideal. Realism in English fiction is nowadays fast degenerating into sheer triviality and commonplace. If a writer would transport us into regions where life shows fairer and intenser than when encumbered with every-day pettinesses, we may be thankful for the attempt, even though constrained to pronounce that the success is but imperfect.

In criticizing "Tricotrin" it is only fair to the author to say that she has manifestly been heavily weighted by the senseless rule which renders it all but absolutely necessary to a novel that it should fill three volumes. If "Tricotrin" were compressed into two, it would lose nothing, and gain much. As it is, the interest sensibly flags when we are about one-third through the second volume, and does not revive till we have nearly half finished the third. Of course this involves much "padding." Episodes are introduced which have hardly any perceptible connection with the real movement of the story, and are to a great extent copies of one another; and the main line itself is beaten out too fine for the purpose of covering the necessary space. This is all the more unfortunate for "Ouida's" workmanship, as the tendency to mere rhetoric is a besetting sin with her by nature. All her *dramatis personæ*—peers, great ladies, artists, peasants, *ouvriers*, gentle and simple, learned and ignorant—talk in exactly the same key, and that a highly forced and artificial one. It is here that she especially stands in need of greater self-mastery, to induce her to abstain from ornamentation when it is cumbrous and out of place. Even epigram itself may be overdone, and large doses of epigram and water speedily become almost nauseous.

We must let the author describe her hero, Tricotrin, in her own words:—

"Philosopher, poet, cosmopolitan, artist, democrat, and wanderer. 'Many-sided' as ever could be exacted by Greek zeal for mortal perfection, he could be everything by turns; but for possessions he had naught save his Stradivarius, his *Mistigri*" (a little monkey), "and a well-beloved Attavante's Dante. He had the genius of a Mozart—to make music only to a peasant's festival or his own solitude; the eloquence of a Mirabeau—to remain a Bohemian and be called a scamp; the sagacity of a Talleyrand—to be worth no more, in a pecuniary sense, than one of the vintagers at work among the grapes; the versatility of a Crichton—to shed his talent's lustre forth on French hamlets' bridal feasts, Italian olive-growers' frugal suppers, Spanish muleteers' camp fires, Irish cotters' wakes and revels, Paris labourers' balls and wine-bouts; the wisdom of a Boethius—to laugh at life with the glorious mirth of Aristophanes, to need as little in his daily wants as Louis Cornaro, to love all pleasure with the Burgundian zest of a Piron."—(Vol. i. pp. 27-8.)

He has, moreover, matchless strength and courage, thinks little of scaling a precipice many hundred feet in height on a wild winter night to prevent a crime, or facing a furious, half-barbarous crowd of Biscayan fishermen, and is a philanthropist of the most exalted order, and wanders through a night at Paris comforting and relieving sorrow and suffering wherever he meets them, with a love-song of Béranger's on his lips the while! It will be seen what terrible facilities such a character possesses for becoming ridiculous, and it is no small tribute to "Ouida's" power to say that in her hands he does not. She does not succeed in working out her conception (and no wonder—such a creature would task Shakspeare), and Tricotrin remains indistinct and shadowy; but still, though the perils of burlesque were thick about her path, she has not fallen into them. "The Waif" is a girl found as an infant abandoned in a wood, by Tricotrin, and brought up by his care. She grows up of surpassing beauty, and Tricotrin becomes passionately in love with her; but the Waif is impatient of her peasant's lot; she sees no charm in the simple joys of the life of the people, which he so loves, and pines for the pomp and vanities—magnificent fêtes, equipages, and diamonds. She loves him with a child's love, and is willing to *try* to bring herself to renounce her longing after these things if he bids her; but he sees that the renunciation would be half-hearted, and that the unsubdued desire would be full of peril to a creature so beautiful, so wilful, and so shallow in her affections. But we are not going to tell the story. The contrast between the girl's nature and the man's, and the struggle in her mind between her two loves, are well worked out, and the execution shows real insight and delicacy. "Ouida," however, makes rather heavy demands on our imagination when she introduces *two* men as experiencing all the ardour of youthful passion, one of whom is certainly in his sixty-fifth year, and the other not much younger. Such a state of things is, of course, not impossible, and we grant she could hardly have worked out her story otherwise, but for all that it savours strongly of the ludicrous.

But though large allowances must be made for exaggerations and repetitions, "Tricotrin" is a book of real merit, and worth reading even by those who do not look on novels only as means of killing idle time. "Ouida" has this in her

favour—a genuine and heartfelt love of beauty, and if she will strive to enlarge her knowledge and purify her taste, to be more solid and less showy, she may yet give us a work of which we can speak with less qualified approval.

G. S.

Essays in Criticism. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

It is very satisfactory to find that this book has reached a second edition: it proves it has been read, and few can have read it without being the better. Mr. Arnold has himself much of that quality he so admires in others—he is “edifying.” It is less for his special critical and literary judgments, admirably true as these generally are, that we value him; it is the spirit and temper, the wide sympathies, the delicate and subtle appreciation of the most diverse forms of excellence, the loftiness of thought, the purity of taste, that render his influence so purifying and invigorating. He has the great gift, the *sine quâ non* of real worth in the critic’s work, of a perfect and disinterested love of truth—the aim, as he says, “to try and approach truth on one side after another, not to strive or cry, nor to persist in pressing forward, on any one side, with violence or self-will—it is only thus, it seems to me, that mortals may hope to gain any vision of the mysterious goddess, whom we shall never see except in outline, but only thus even in outline.” To the disinterested and unpartisan-like character of his love of truth are due that urbanity and moderation of tone which so distinguish him. He feels no call to be dogmatic or impatient; to lose his mental balance, or exaggerate the value of his *aperçus*. He can take gratefully whatever grains of pure gold any previous worker may have to offer him, without overmuch irritation that they should be mixed with so large a quantity of alloy. Of his style it is hardly possible to speak too highly. It is, indeed, seldom that we meet an instance of such fulness of matter conjoined with so thorough a mastery over form. It has the grace of perfect ease; it is simple, but *simplex munditiis*. As a living writer of English prose, Mr. Arnold is surpassed, if indeed he is surpassed, by Dr. Newman alone. What keen yet polished humour there is, for instance, in this!—“Perhaps in fifty years’ time it will, in the English House of Commons, be an objection to an institution that it is an anomaly, and my friend the member of Parliament will shudder in his grave. But let us, in the meanwhile, rather endeavour that in twenty years’ time it may, in English literature, be an objection to a proposition that it is absurd.” And no man with adequate powers of judging could read, say, the conclusion of the Preface, or of the essay on “Spinoza and the Bible,” and doubt that Mr. Arnold has the gift of eloquence—eloquence all the more impressive because so rigorously restrained. Mr. Arnold has much to tell this generation which it is for their benefit to know and lay to heart. That he should be slighted at first was no more than natural; it is ever the lot, as he himself says, of those spirits who possess the rare gift of Distinction; but he can afford to wait, satisfied that his words, like all good things, will bear fruit in due season.

G. S.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Seven Churches of Asia. With Twenty full-page Photographs, taken on the spot, Historical Notes, and Itinerary. By A. SVOBODA. With an Introduction by the Rev. H. B. TRISTRAM, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Marston. 1869.

It was a happy thought to combine in a handsome gift-book photographic views of “the Seven Churches” with descriptive and historical letterpress. This method brings together before the eye, in the most effective way, the contrast between the old memories of this region and its present condition. In no part of the world is a greater amount of topographical interest combined with the most serious religious lessons. These hills and plains of Western Asia were always famous for beauty and for natural fertility. These harbours were obviously adapted to be the outlets and inlets of active commercial life. Here celebrated cities were built, and great battles fought in the Classical times. This region, after the introduction of Christianity into the world, was the scene, first

of noted Martyrdoms, and then of great Councils. In due time, after much internal decay, the dark shadow of Mohamedanism came over these fair places; and now, with one or two signal exceptions, though beautiful still, they are marked by the most depressing desolation.

It is, of course, in reference to the Apocalypse that the chief religious interest of these seven cities is found. In the last book of Holy Scripture, solemn admonitions for all time, unfolding more and more as the history of the Church advances, are localized, in the most remarkable way, in connection with certain well-known cities. The more carefully we think of this circumstance, the more startling does it seem that such lessons should be inscribed for us upon definite districts of the Turkish Empire. This is not the place for laying down any principles of prophetic interpretation. But this may be said with truth, that the present condition of these ancient churches is like a parable, in which their spiritual instruction to us may be continually studied. Thus, to take two of them as delineated and described here in this book, the contrast between their existing states now is as great as the contrast between the words addressed to them of old through the instrumentality of St. John. *Philadelphia*, to which words of commendation and encouragement were spoken, is even now a bright and cheerful town. The very aspect of its houses and gardens tells of thriving prosperity. And, as to its surviving Christianity, there is still "an open door" in this place (Rev. iii. 8); its "candlestick" is not removed; out of a population of 15,000, one-third are Christian, who have their bishop and fifteen churches; and one singular circumstance is mentioned here: they are allowed to "use church-bells, which are not employed in any other town in the interior of Asia Minor;" and, naturally, "they glory in the honourable mention of their Church in the Apocalypse." With this it is very affecting to compare the condition of *Laodicea*, and very alarming too, when we remember the indignation pronounced by God against its moral character, and its utter rejection, because it was "neither cold nor hot." (Rev. iii. 15.) Once, no doubt, it was literally "rich and increased with goods, and having need of nothing." Now it is utterly desolate, and might truly be described as a wilderness of stones. No human being dwells there, except when gipsies encamp for a time among the ruins. And all this humiliation becomes the more striking and impressive, when we consider literally the common-place manner in which the destruction of its memorials of ancient greatness becomes more and more complete. "I saw workmen," says M. Svoboda, "cutting the marbles; an old man told me that he had been six years sawing on the same spot; he had dug out the whole entablature, which was all ornamented with figures; they are cut in small pieces and made straight, and sold at Denisy for ten or twelve piastres each."

The early chapters, however, of the Book of Revelation by St. John do not exhaust all the Biblical interest of these seven cities. That one, which has just been mentioned, is in fact very closely associated with St. Paul. It belongs to a little triangular group of the three Christian communities, which he addresses in one of his letters from Rome, the other two being *Colossæ* and *Hierapolis*. (Col. iv. 13.) And here we may turn aside for a moment with our author to notice what he says concerning the third of these places. It is very remarkable for its immense calcareous incrustations, so that its modern name is *Pambouk-kalesi*, or "the Castle of Cotton." In old times it was famous for its thermal waters, and M. Svoboda seems to have made an actual discovery there, which confirms a curious passage in Strabo. That writer speaks of a well in *Hierapolis*, called the *Plutonium*, which exhaled vapours so noxious, as to kill animals that came within their influence. This seems a somewhat strange story, and no doubt it contains some exaggeration: but our modern traveller appears to have proved its general truth; for among these ruins he found a well which obviously answered to the description, and when some fowls were exposed to the vapour they immediately died.

But we turn from the neighbourhood of *Laodicea* to two other of these seven cities, which have a still more marked connection with the Apostle Paul. There is always something pleasing in the thought of *Thyatira*, inasmuch as from this city came the first European convert to Christianity, (Acts xvi. 14.) and it is satisfactory to find that the aspect of the place is still flourishing and cheerful. In this book we can see the general appearance of Lydia's home, with the long ridge of hill behind the town, and the well-irrigated fields around. The description accompanying the photograph reminds us that ever since the

time of Homer Thyatira has been famous for the dyeing trade, with which Lydia was connected. But above all, it is at *Ephesus* that we are reminded of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. One thing, however, we regret very much; that though five views are given of the site and ruins of this famous city, none of them contains the Great Theatre, which survives as a clear monumental commentary on one of the most remarkable scenes of the Apostolical history. (Acts xix. 29, 31.) Various other illustrative particulars, both legendary and historical, are furnished in sufficient detail; and especially we must draw attention to the view of the church at Ayasaluk, in which it is believed that the great Council of Ephesus was held.

We must not lay the book aside without remarking that the Classical as well as the Biblical recollections of this neighbourhood are important and instructive. There is something very grand in the aspect of the ruins of *Sardis*. As we look at them, the mind turns back to the old stories of Croesus and Solon, and then to Xerxes and to Alexander the Great. Hardly anything could teach us a better lesson than this view supplies of the vanity of human grandeur. And another of the seven cities which may carry us further on along the same train of thought is *Pergamus*. Its eminence in history began among the successors of Alexander the Great. It passed into the hands of the Romans under memorable circumstances. Its Library, especially, has a great place in the history of the world of letters. Now every trace of this eminence is passed away. But some notion is obtained of the extent of the magnificent buildings which once adorned the city, when it is remarked that, after centuries of destruction, these ruins are still the quarry, and that this marble is still burnt into lime, for the buildings of the Turks.

One of the seven cities still remains. *Smyrna* has been left to the last; for it introduces us at once into all the modern life of the Levant. These photographs represent it to us as an immense city, with multitudinous roofs, and a harbour crowded with shipping. The flag-staffs of the foreign consuls along the shore, the minarets and cypresses in this meeting-place of many languages, creeds, and costumes, make us mindful of the changes which have occurred in this region since Polycarp was martyred here. And all this consciousness of a new state of things culminates, when we mention the railways which now connect Smyrna with the interior of the country. This volume very fitly ends with a useful Itinerary, informing travellers how they may use these railways for seeing the Seven Churches. For details of this kind we must refer to the volume itself. While joining cordially with Dr. Tristram in recommending it (and no one knows better than he what is worthy of recommendation in any description of the Levant), we must add in candour that there are one or two mistakes in the book which need correction: Timotheus (p. 10) was not the disciple of St. John; the word "Caycus" is written (p. 56) without due regard to orthography; and the Greek (p. 11) ought to be printed in a more scholarlike manner.

J. S. H.

Human Society, its Providential Structure, Relations, and Offices. Eight Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, N. Y. By F. W. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Author of "Christian Believing and Living," "Sermons for the People," &c. London: Arthur Miall. 1867.

THE primary idea of these lectures is one most true and most important: that man must never be looked at as a mere unit; that "Society is a Divine appointment;" or, as the writer further expands the thought,—

"Association is not an accident befalling man on his way. It is an inherent promise, want, fact, put into his complex organization at the start. The social state is not a circumstance, but a law; not an economy, but a principle."

And this idea is developed with a considerable amount of eloquence—sometimes with acuteness and power—as, for instance, where the lecturer shows that those statistical facts, such as the average number of suicides, accidents in travel, crimes in all their varieties, misdirected or undirected letters, which are insisted on by writers of the Buckle school in proof that all social developments are subject to law, instead of leading, as these writers would have it, to the elimination of all Divine action from the world, should lead, on the contrary, "to the conclusion that this law has its seat in the centre and source of all law, in the bosom of God." And it is a true remark, and worthy of being borne in

mind (in spite of the inaccurate and pretentious language in which it is clothed), that "the first aspect of a newly-discovered law often startles us into an atheistic suspicion, but a riper acquaintance with it deepens the confession of our faith."

Inaccuracy and pretension are, however, unfortunately, the two great blots upon a book which might have been a noble one. There is in it a prodigality of reference and illustration, a bold handling of "words of art" in all branches of learning, which might seem to betoken universal science. But when we meet with such an extraordinary perversion of history as the statement that William of Normandy's invasion "broke up the old system of vassalage," whilst it is notorious that it not only introduced the feudal system in its strictest form, but the very word "vassal" itself; when we are told, literally in the past tense, that "the English Trades' Unions, which proposed to do away with the master mechanics, failed," whilst it is notorious that they never were more powerful than now—whilst Dr. Huntington might have learnt, if he had chosen, that more than one of them has branches in America—the Amalgamated Engineers 11; of which two, with 277 members, are in New York City itself; whilst, to cap all, it is notoriously of the very essence of a trade society *not* to "do away with the master mechanics," but, on the contrary, to recognise the relation between employer and employed as affording the very field of its working—it is easy to see that if there be gold in Dr. Huntington's pages, we must beware of the pinchbeck beside it. In no chapter is his inaccuracy more glaring than in that on human society "in reference to social theories." It would be tedious to criticize this in detail; but those who would wish to contrast the candour of the true man of science with the dogmatism of the universal sciolist, should compare Dr. Huntington's account of socialist schemes with that given by Mr. Mill (whom Dr. Huntington appears never to have read) in his "Political Economy." The most crying injustice of all is done to the one leading social theorist who distinguished himself by the strongly moral character of his teaching—the one who, instead of seeking to abolish religion, proclaimed Christianity (however he may have interpreted it) to be "the religion of the people"—whose influence was due—not to his talents, for they were scarcely more than respectable—not to his system, for it was so artless as scarcely to deserve the name—but solely to the strength and purity of his character—the much-maligned Cabet—a man whom Dr. Huntington speaks of as "a plausible adventurer," as having remained at "Nauvoo just long enough to fail utterly, and to subject himself to a criminal prosecution on the charge of obtaining goods on false pretences:" the facts being that he left Nauvoo flourishing in order to come back to France in the very middle of 1851 to meet a criminal charge on which he had been condemned, in his absence, to five years' imprisonment; but from which he now obtained, in spite of every adverse prejudice, and of his own firm expectation of failure, a triumphant acquittal; having called forth by the way, as he passed through London, from one who was to become the world-famous author of "Tom Brown"—and who knows a man when he sees him—a comparison with "his dear old hero Regulus," of "the old Frenchman of sixty-five, in his long coat with pockets, returning by steamboat and railway to dress out his five years' imprisonment."

Finally, it must be added that the amount of "fine writing" in Dr. Huntington's book is perfectly appalling. Conceive 226 consecutive pages in the following key, or thereabouts:—

"There we see the great silent, swinging globe itself, moving, stirring, impelling, shaking together, and compacting again, into an ultimate order of inconceivable magnitude and glory, from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, the children of God that walk, and work, and suffer, and think, and weep, and pray on its breast," &c., &c.

When will our American friends learn what relief there is to a reader or hearer in a little bit of plain English?

J. M. L.

ERRATA.—In the article on "Cholera" in our last number the reader is requested to correct the following:—Page 116, line 6 from bottom, for "Libraries," read "Library;" and page 121 (note), line 2 from bottom, for "constriction," probably vaso-motor nervous, "of the capillaries," read "constriction, probably vaso-motor nervous, of the capillaries."



THE TWO RELIGIONS: THE RELIGION OF THE BIBLE AND THE RELIGION OF THE CHURCH.

THE internal state of the Church of England at the present day is a matter of great general interest as well as of supreme national importance. The institution is exposed to most formidable dangers from without: within, its elements are in equally violent commotion. A large part of this danger consists in the feeling produced on the public mind by the sight of the confusion, the collisions, the seething and fermenting state of this ancient body. If it were at union with itself, if its members stood shoulder to shoulder as they did in the great peril at the time of the first Reform Bill, it might make light of the assaults of all external enemies. But the spectacle which it now exhibits is lamentably different from that which it presented in 1832. Contradictory systems of theology are struggling for pre-eminence within her bosom. Each party denounces the other in the fiercest language of the *odium theologicum*. A series of events has practically brought home to the minds of the clergy that this Church was the child of compromise, that various and often conflicting elements exist in her formularies, that her liturgy was not framed upon any consistent and logical system of thought or theology, and that consequently schools of the most direct antagonism can find in her services grounds for justifying their co-existence within the

same communion. The tendency of the age to push principles to extremes aggravates the evil. Men refuse to acquiesce in an illogical and unsymmetrical body of opinion, even though, viewing it as a practical society, the existence of diverse elements in the Church offers great advantages for its covering the whole people. There is an immense earnestness of intellectual life now at work in the world: we sincerely believe also that the same may be asserted of religious life; and to say this is to say that controversy, mental heat, exploration of first principles, efforts to reject what is irreconcilable with the side espoused, abound in every quarter. The nation is becoming puzzled, and people are asking what the Church of England really is, not only in respect of its constitution, but in the much more important matter of the religion which it professes. The contrast which England presents to Scotland in religious affairs is most remarkable. Sects are multiplied in Scotland as rapidly as in England: indeed probably more so. New religious bodies are thrown out by old ones in Scotland with an ease which is unexampled in any other country; and they sustain themselves with a vigour and an energy absolutely unrivalled. The heat of religious controversy pervades public and private life in Scotland yet more widely and intensely than in England. Sect is opposed to sect; one community speaks of another with a warmth which is not surpassed in English life; and yet the unity of the national belief on religious questions is not disturbed by the excitement. Omitting small fractions of the population, the religion of Scotland is essentially one. The same doctrines are preached in all the churches: the differences turn on modes of Church government and matters unconnected with the religious creed of the people. Even the great doctrine of the independence of the Church—of its essential separation from the State—of the completeness of its powers of self-government, in entire freedom from the interference of either Crown or Parliament—generates no divergences in the general character of the common religion. Society is not rent asunder in Scotland by the collisions of creeds founded on antagonistic principles. A sermon preached in one church could be reproduced with perfect naturalness in another. The religious controversies in which Scotch divines are engaged are directed against outside enemies—against thinkers repudiated by all alike. Internally, amongst themselves, the concurrence in a common view of the nature and precepts of the Christian religion is universal. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that our age no longer admits of a general agreement of a whole people in one and the same religion; for Scotland is at hand to prove the contrary. The stamp impressed on a whole people reached the innermost depths of the national mind in Scotland, and as yet it is ineffaceable.

The difference between the unity of Scotch belief and the multiformity of English thought within their respective Churches is due to the thoroughness with which the Scotch people were impregnated with the ideas and principles of Protestantism at the time of the Reformation. It was otherwise in England. A clear and definite solution was not given here to the religious problem. The Church which emerged from the Reformation in England stood plainly and avowedly on the ground that every citizen belonged to it; but it was composed of heterogeneous elements which were never fused into a single mass. From its very origin the seeds of prodigious diversities of opinion and practice were implanted in the essence of the English Church; and as time rolled on they shot up into very substantive divergences of religious feeling. Large and powerful elements of the old religion were left to acquire fresh vitality in the lapse of ages: whilst the absence of a fixed and unchangeable standard furnished an open field which has been largely occupied by numerous varieties of the Broad Church type.

The present condition of the Church of England is the direct result of the great primitive act of the Reformation. Such as institutions are at their origin, such are they in their subsequent development. This is true of scientific systems, and it is equally true of social, and, most of all, religious institutions. The Church of England is a composite body because diverse, and on some fundamental points discordant principles were inserted into its very nature.

The development has been vast, immense beyond all that any man living fifty years ago could have conjectured. It is not too much to say that at the present hour two great religions co-exist in the Church of England. Some might add a third; but the Broad Church rules over very small numbers in the nation. It is filled with men of superior ability, of high culture, of wide intelligence, and expansive charity; but it is deficient in a positive and well-defined creed, and this defect is fatal to any extensive accession of numbers to its community, if indeed it may be said to be a community at all. The effect produced by the presence of this small but eminent body of Broad Churchmen is no doubt, in the actual situation of the Church, very considerable. They do not propagate a creed, it is true; but they are in closer sympathy than any other of the clerical bodies with the intellectual state of the most educated classes, and this position confers great weight upon them whenever proposals for ecclesiastical legislation or administration are brought forward. Nevertheless, the smallness of their numbers prevents them from being considered as a great party in lay, if not ecclesiastical, Churchmanship, and authorises us to repeat our assertion, that at this moment two distinct religions are in presence of each other in the Church of

England. It is impossible to overrate the magnitude and the significance of this fact. We call them deliberately two religions. Nominally they are two varieties of Christianity, but Christianity is conceived by each under an aspect so radically different, the cast of religious thought, the temper of the religious spirit, the mode pursued of obtaining the great common end of all Christians, their salvation in the world to come, are so mutually contradictory, that the belief and the religious observances of each, in a most real sense, constitute specifically a distinct religion. High Churchmen have formed one idea of the Christian religion; Low Churchmen have framed another. High Churchmen point out one path by which man may mount to heaven; Low Churchmen indicate another. High Churchmen seek to bring men to one mode of thought, one manner of looking at religious matters, one habit of setting their religious feelings to work, one group of processes for creating the religious state; Low Churchmen inculcate their opposites. In a word, High Churchmen are one set of minds religiously; the Low Churchmen are another.

We shall be told, especially by men of the Broad Church school, why should we draw such distinctions? What purpose can they answer? Are not all varieties of churchmen Christians alike? Is it not better to dwell upon what they have in common, than to single out differences, and upon such slender foundations to speak of two religions? We should think the objection unanswerable, if our object were to consider what were the limits of Christianity, and to define when a man ought to be regarded as a Christian or the contrary. Nothing can be further removed from the purpose which we have before us. Our concern in this place is with the actual state of the Church of England, as bearing on the interests of that Church, on the religious condition of the English people, and ultimately as affecting the tendencies and qualities which English civilization will possess in the future; and this examination cannot be carried on, unless it is founded on a correct diagnosis of the actual facts now existing in the Church of England. That two antagonistic modes of religious life are now competing for predominance is a fact patent to the whole world. They do not merely stand side by side in friendly neighbourhood, if not sympathy: they are contending forces. They fight to win ascendancy over the mind of the people; they seek each the overthrow of the other. Nor are they schools of intellectual opinion only; their aim is not solely to make men think in one way rather than in another on a purely speculative subject. Their ambition is at the least as practical as it is theological. They seek to control men's actions; to place them—at least such is the aim on one side—in certain definite relations of obedience to a special class of men; they aspire to a practical rule in many of the most

important departments of human life. It is useless, as any one who understands the actual situation will readily admit, to preach toleration and charity to such combatants; for the avowed object of each party is to exclude the other. Combinations seeking such a vast range of influence and power over society cannot but produce serious effects on the life of the people. The whole community has a profound interest in thoroughly understanding the nature and tendencies of this conflict, the qualities and aims of each of the conflicting forces; for, constructed as English society is, the consequences in the future, if not counteracted, may be overwhelming for evil.

What, then, are these two forms of religious feeling and religious life—these two religions, as we have called them? How shall we best describe them? We should say, in brief, that one was the religion of the Bible, the other the religion of the Church. We disclaim all intention of giving offence in using this phrase. We are thoroughly aware—and who is not?—that both parties acknowledge the Bible and the Church, that both are truly Christian schools, both stand on the same common foundation of Revelation, both believe, and believe implicitly. Yet the cast of their minds is radically opposite, and we cannot find a phrase which points out the characteristic and central element of each side so well as that which describes the one as preaching the Bible, and the other as preaching the Church. The immediate instinct of the one, whenever any religious practice or question may present itself for judgment, is to think of the Bible; the other of the Church. Each recurs at once to one of these ultimate ideas as its first principle; each, when it has received a solution from its own standard, thinks little of its conformity with the other. We repeat, we emphatically disclaim all intention of insinuating that either of these two religions wishes to, or practically does, ignore the Bible or the Church. To describe them on such a hypothesis would be simply to draw caricatures. Each accepts the authority of the Bible and of the Church; but then each understands and accepts these authorities in its own way. They each give the Bible and the Church a peculiar significance in their respective systems; and it is this significance which constitutes the test of the essence of these religions.

The pivot, then, of the religion of the Low Churchmen is the Bible. The very name itself indicates that the Church holds a comparatively low organic place in their system. They have recourse to the Bible direct. The High Churchmen travel up to the Bible by the road of the Church. The first of these two religions places a world-wide chasm between the Bible and every other exposition of the Divine Will. It recognises no co-equal, with much less any rival of the Bible. The Sixth Article of the Church of England contains

the very core of this belief—the fundamental principle of Low Church religion:—"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." It is indisputable that Low Churchmen, and, indeed, every variety of Christian sects except High Church societies, are strictly loyal to this declaration as a principle: its application is another matter. No concurrent jurisdiction on Christian doctrine is admitted by them, no associated source of truth and revelation recognised. For them the Christian religion is a body of truths and facts recorded in the Bible; and, consequently, what they are to be as Christian men, in consequence of these facts and truths, they hold to be entirely and exclusively determined by the declarations of the Bible. And not only are all their intellectual conceptions of religion derived from the Bible, but their relations, also, with each other are held to be necessary and unalterable only so far as the Bible has set them forth as such. They do not believe that any distinct and indispensable form of Church association has been laid down in the Bible. They find none such there. For them the Church is a generic name—to use the language of a most eloquent and distinguished member of the High Church party—for "the totality of regenerated souls." To them the Church means not one visible organized society, not a number of human beings living under the same government, or even a government framed on the same model, but the "Body of Christ," all the Christians over the world, however they may be distributed into separate societies, or by whatever type of government they may be ruled. Hence for them the one Catholic Church is a generic term, summing up all Christian communities under a general idea, founded solely on their common relation to the One Head, Christ, but utterly regardless of the peculiar form which these communities as organised societies may have assumed. They conceive that the Bible reveals nothing more about the Church than this. They understand the sacred records to show that no one Church, practically governed by one legislature or one body, existed in the days of the Apostles. They discover various bodies called Churches, distinguished by the names of the several localities in which they were placed, but these Churches are found not to agree with another on important matters, both affecting opinion and practice. One identical, actually governing institution they find nowhere in the New Testament. In the largest portion of the Christian world they perceive a great Apostle ruling independently. They possess letters written by him to societies which he had founded, which enter into every detail of a Christian

man's life, both individually and socially ; but reference to a superior central institution, appeals to a body which either existed in one given centre, or acted through councils gathered in the name of all the Christian branches, and so constituting one single organ of government, they do not find. This great Apostle lays down doctrines, propounds and argues out the faith, prescribes practices which sometimes differ most vitally from those of other Apostles, regulates worship, passes judgments which he solemnly orders to be executed by the conjoined authority of the particular society and himself as present in spirit ; and in all these vital matters not a trace is discoverable of a higher authority under which he was acting, no allusion to the voice of the Church, not a single remark to raise the supposition that he was not possessed of plenary and independent power as the Apostle of the Gentiles. It is true that on one occasion there was the semblance of a meeting of the whole Church, of a council, as some High Churchmen have called it, at Jerusalem to decide on a practical question of the highest importance to religion itself as well as to the mode in which Christians were to live ; but the Apostle Paul has himself given a full account of the nature of this gathering, which shows it to have been no General Assembly of the Church, in the sense of High Churchmen. The Gentile converts did not observe the law of Moses, whilst the Christians at Jerusalem retained their Jewish ritual. This divergence of view as to an obligation which would give a peculiar character to every Christian's life, both then and during all subsequent ages, naturally raised most perplexing difficulties. Was Christianity a modified Judaism, or was it a totally new form of religion ? The Jewish Christians, as might have been expected, were extremely shocked by what they considered the lawless and revolutionary character of Gentile Christianity. A great amount of jealousy and discord was the inevitable result, and nothing was more natural than that these Gentile Churches should send a deputation to Jerusalem to the body from which Christianity had sprung, and to which most of the Apostles belonged, in order to explain the view taken by the Gentile converts as to the nature of Christianity, and to allay the commotion which was working mischief of every kind. But was this a submission to the decree of the united Church ? was the idea of the Church, of a supreme power sitting to determine doctrine and discipline, present to the mind of a single person in this matter so peculiarly fitted to raise such an idea ? Above all, is there the faintest trace of this supreme power being composed of a body of clergy, of a council of ordained priests, whose prerogative it was, by virtue of their ordination, to settle the faith, to define heresy, and to regulate ritual and worship ? Was it a gathering of Apostles and

bishops to whom St. Paul came to give an account of his teaching, as the supreme authority to which he was by Church law amenable? Nothing of the kind. The body which heard him narrate the work wrought by his hand amongst the Gentiles was "the multitude," the collective mass of all the Christians: and he has taken the utmost pains to show that he went to Jerusalem to explain, and not to be judged. He declares with the utmost energy that the pillars of the Jewish Church, the Apostles at the then central body, who might be presumed to be invested with the central government, had no authority over him. They had nothing to tell him, nothing to order. Their attitude towards him at first seems to have been at the least one of reserve; but he paid them no deference; he stood on his independence, and on his right to administer the Gentile Churches upon his own system. They had received a revelation, a divine mission; and so had he. To each had been assigned his mission, and the resolution ultimately adopted, as recorded in the Acts, rested on the perception by the other Apostles of the fact that St. Paul had received an independent, and, for him, personally, authoritative "revelation."

The difference between the two religions comes out most vividly in their respective modes of thinking as to the nature and importance of those two peculiar and distinguishing rites of Christian worship, the sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper. For the Low Churchman they are unquestionably important; but if he is consistent with his own principles, they are not the primary things in his relation to God and to Christ. They are aids, they are ordinances prescribed and endowed, when rightly partaken of, with especial blessing; they are rites of great eminence, but they are not the Christian life itself. The state of the spirit, the feelings and affections of the Christian man's heart, the appropriation of the Christian truths by his soul, under the action of the Divine Spirit, are the vital matter. All ordinances for the Low Churchman are subordinate to the condition of his soul itself, and are valuable only in so far as they act upon the soul, and as they are observed in obedience to the Divine command. But it cannot be denied that on the sacraments the mass of Low Churchmen in the Church of England do not speak with the precision that is desirable for their own consistency. The long prevalence in Christendom of the High Church view of the sacraments has left a certain trace of hesitation, of vagueness, of dislike to speak quite clearly, which cannot be altogether acquitted of the charge of mystification. A satisfactory account of the nature of the Eucharist, on their own principles, is a most rare thing amongst the Low Churchmen. They cannot accept fairly and honestly the High Church feeling about this ordinance; but yet they shrink from breaking with it altogether.

The result is a great advantage for their opponents, who find even in the Low Church school itself feelings on which to work for converting disciples to their own creed. Equally perplexed are they on Baptism. The High Church view, that an unconscious infant a day old is regenerated by Baptism, contradicts the fundamental idea of the Low Church religion itself. Low Churchmen cannot adopt this view without ceasing to be Low Churchmen. If the sprinkling of water transforms and remoulds the soul of a child destitute of all intelligence, there is an end of the conception that Christianity is purely a spiritual religion. The Low Churchmen feel the certainty of this inference profoundly, and consequently they deny with complete peremptoriness that infant baptism is attended by regeneration. But this denial lands them in a double difficulty. In the first place, the clergy of this party are compelled by the words of the Liturgy to call a baptized child regenerated; and they have no escape from this difficulty excepting by attaching a special and non-scriptural sense to the word regeneration. But, secondly, they are heavily pressed by the words of Scripture; for no competent interpreter can doubt that baptism and regeneration are associated together in the Bible. The language of the Bible is against them; and, on their own ground, this is a very sore perplexity. There is one escape, and that a perfectly effectual one; but they are unwilling to avail themselves of its assistance. They might declare, and they ought to declare, that infant baptism was a practice unknown to the Apostles; that not only does the New Testament not give one single expression which plainly and necessarily implies that infants were baptized in the apostolical churches, but that it can be fairly argued from a passage in chap. vii. of 1 Corinthians that such a practice could not have existed at Corinth. The recognition that the baptism of adults was the only baptism known to the Apostles would clear every difficulty on this point out of the way of the Low Churchmen. It is natural that the sacred writers should assume that men who, at great worldly sacrifice, not free from risk of life, came forward to profess the Christian faith by a solemn initiatory rite, possessed the frame of mind which that fact implied—that they were honestly changed and renewed beings. And then it would be easy to pass on to the conclusion that the baptismal service of the Church of England has been constructed on the language of the Bible, and that the embarrassment has proceeded not from a mistaken view of baptism, but from the application of words used by Scripture of an adult person to an unconscious and, so to say, mindless infant.

But there remains one cardinal point more in the religion of Low Churchmen, and most critical it is. Their religion is built on the revelation contained in the Bible. This is their one sole and para-

mount authority for every duty, every feeling, every doctrine, every practice. The question at once arises, How is the Bible to be interpreted? The Bible is written in dead languages; the state of society which existed at the several times when it was written has utterly passed away. Moreover, the Bible is not framed in a few philosophical and general propositions. It is essentially a history of facts, mingled with letters, and what may be called conversations; and these necessarily abound in every kind of historical and domestic allusions. It is a book resembling in form the work of some classical author; and confessedly many of the instruments applied to opening out the meaning of a Greek or Latin writer must necessarily be employed in determining the sense of the utterances of Scripture. The Low Churchmen then have the strongest interest, as men who found their religion on the declarations of a book written in a dead language, and involving numerous questions of history, to cultivate scholarship to the utmost, to bring all its resources to bear on the exploration of the sacred oracle, and by its help to place before the modern world, as far as possible, the exact circumstances under which Christianity was revealed to man, and the true nature of its teaching. But, unfortunately, it is precisely on this fundamental point that Low Churchmen are deplorably weak. And this weakness, we are firmly persuaded, is the most powerful cause of the greater success which High Churchmen of late years have obtained in influencing the minds of the educated classes. The peculiar character of the struggle which engendered the Reformation produced effects which last down to the present hour. It was a contest between authority and private judgment exercised in the interpretation of Scripture, between the Church and the Bible. The Reformers, consequently, took up the position of an infallible Bible over against an infallible Church. They were, by the very nature of the conflict, forced to stand on an inspired and unerring Bible. The combat was too vehement to allow of their considering what effects an improved scholarship might create on the view to be taken of the contents of the sacred volume; indeed its perfect inspiration was a tenet held by all the disputants. To a Church which was represented as full of error a Bible was opposed in which perplexed mortals would find unerring truth. Their intellectual and religious positions combined to perpetuate this feeling amongst Low Churchmen. The supreme inspiration and infallibility of the Bible has been for them a doctrine which they have clung to with the utmost tenacity as the very foundation of their religion. But unhappily this tenet is not as practically defensible as it is logically valuable for those who take their stand on the Bible. The progress of scholarship and historical inquiry has raised many novel questions respecting the Bible as well as other ancient records and

histories; and the perfect literal accuracy of every statement in the Scripture has not been able to sustain itself. Such a process has been eminently uncomfortable for Low Churchmen. The task of studying how far a particular declaration in Scripture is correct, instead of receiving it with absolute submission, is full of pain and difficulty for them. It overthrows their theory of plenary and unerring inspiration, in which they found rest both intellectually and spiritually. It sends them wandering on an ocean in which they do not perceive any haven. It is easy to quote a text, and have done with all dispute; but to place doctrine on a basis of Greek scholarship, historical investigation, and general learning, generates for them uncertainty, and uncertainty as to the interpretation of the Bible is a perpetual challenge to their religion.

The result has been obvious to all the world. The Low Churchmen have shrunk from the application of their own principle. They have not encouraged the cultivation of scholarship and other instruments of interpretation. They have held close to the axiom of plenary inspiration, and of the obviousness of the sense of Scripture to the unlettered understanding. Hence they have reared few learned men for many years past. When an Arnold sprang up amongst them, and set up a manly and yet profoundly Christian method of interpretation, the largest section of them, the Evangelicals, assailed him with contumely. They stand aloof from every form of biblical criticism deserving the name, and thereby have placed themselves in direct antagonism with the intellectual movement of our age. Scholars, historians, and literary men generally, have found no sympathetic feeling amongst them. Hence they lose the support of natural allies peculiarly fitted to sustain all that is sound and valuable in their religion. The advantage they thus give to their opponents is incredible; for, at a period when intellectual life is so powerful, to alienate the sympathy of the general body of thinking and educated men is to thrust one's self into the background, and to lose the lead in the world. Such a position is full of danger for religion itself; for what can be more disastrous than to create an impression that Christianity is at variance with knowledge, and thought, and intellect? This state of the Low Church community is the great peril and misfortune of our day. The Christian religion is the true religion; and scarcely could any fair mind deny that the Low Churchmen have rightly apprehended the main character and spirit of the revealed Word; and yet they proclaim to all mankind that they are afraid of the scholarly examination of the sacred oracle! They are overwhelmed by neologians, and historical theorists, and rationalisers; they shudder at the havoc they are making with ancient opinions; but they do not study how to answer them. The High Churchmen are oppressed with far

less perplexity in this very grave matter. The Bible is not their ordinary dwelling-place. Their main occupation is not the explanation of texts. The Scripture for them is not the sole fountain of truth. One of the greatest satisfactions they obtain from their religion is the comparative security they acquire against the embarrassments which ordinarily attend the interpretation of the Bible. They possess an infallible interpreter; and it can always defend dogma, whatever scholars or infidels may say. Hence they are not generally hostile to learning and scholarship; for when these go wrong, they have a remedy to correct the evil. Many High Churchmen have shown a freedom in the exposition of the Scripture which would have terrified Low Churchmen: for the former, as they allege, possess a guide who knows the way, and will never let them wander far from it; whilst the latter have no other guide at all but this very interpretation of the authority from which they derive every portion of their religion.

But let us not be misunderstood. We do not for an instant desire to insinuate that Low Churchmen are unable to defend the religion of the Bible. Such an opinion would be tantamount to a belief that Christianity is incapable of maintaining itself before the tribunal of intelligence; in other words, that it is a superstition, and not the true and revealed religion. Such a belief is not ours. We hold firmly the directly opposite faith. We say that the evidences of Christianity are sound and trustworthy, and still more, that an ordinary and uneducated mind can interpret much of the Bible rightly, and can extract from it the pith and kernel of the divine teaching. Nevertheless it remains true that the Low Churchmen hold their ground under difficulties; that they are not up to the requirements of our time; that their power to meet difficult but inevitable questions is below the standard of the actual development of intellect and knowledge; and that consequently they fail too often to explain difficulties and to satisfy many inquiring minds. The effect of this intellectual and literary weakness is to drive numbers into the camp of the High Churchmen, for there doubt is silenced, if not solved; and multitudes exist who deliberately prefer to place themselves in the hands of an authority which speaks in a tone of confidence and self-assertion, than endeavour to work out for themselves a well-reasoned assurance by processes of thought and investigation and intellectual judgment. Many feel that they are not equal to the execution of such a task. Professional aid, an interpreter who undertakes to do the whole of the thinking, an oracle which pronounces itself infallible, and bids the doubting inquirer trust it for results, brings unspeakable comfort. High Churchmen possess the priest; they place upon him the responsibility of understanding

the matter. If infidels or heretics ask perplexing questions, they fall harmless from the backs of the High Church laity. The priest, they think, knows all about it; he has the Church to fall back upon. Why then torment one's self with inability to answer doctrinal, any more than legal, medical, or scientific questions? It cannot be denied that a system which can deal with intellectual difficulties by such a method, enjoys some considerable practical advantages in addressing the multitude of which every society is composed.

Such, in general terms, is what we have called the Religion of the Bible; let us turn now to the Religion of the Church. We at once enter into a new land. A new atmosphere of thought presents itself—new ideas and new principles. A new way of looking at the Christian faith, a new aspect of Christianity, both objectively—as accomplishing the salvation of man—and subjectively—as inculcating new modes of feeling and thinking. Another authority raises its head as concurrent with the Bible; a second source of truth places itself side by side with the words of Christ and the teaching of His Apostles. As we have already stated, this religion does not profess to supersede the Bible. It is a form of Christianity, and has no conscious desire to overrule the solemn utterances of its Founder, or to stand in contradiction with the precepts of those who are acknowledged as the companions and confidants of the Lord. We disclaim every insinuation that it seeks to disparage the supreme authority of Christ. Its divergence from the other system lies in the different construction it places on the declared will and presumable aim of the one common and divine Founder. Nevertheless, it is true as a fact that this religion occupies itself far less with the actual words of the Lord and His Apostles than with the interpretation put upon them by the Church, or rather with the superstructure of opinion which has been reared by the Church upon their language. It is, we do not say theoretically, but practically, not with the voice of the Lord, but with the voice of the Church, that the religion of the Church chiefly occupies itself. What the Church has said first occurs to the minds of its members; the first thought, both as to belief and practice, is, What has the Church pronounced? The teaching of Christ, in this religion, comes to the mind of the believer not directly from His own words, but indirectly through the meaning assigned to them by the Church. The Church is interposed between the Saviour and the soul of man; this is the one central idea, the very essence and principle of the religion of the Church.

It is not possible to exaggerate in words the enormousness of the task of making good so vast a proposition. That in the region of actual fact, the conception of the Church generates a religion radically different in kind and nature from what we have termed the

religion of the Bible, no High Churchman will dispute. They are essentially different systems for the regulation of religious life on earth. Without the special organization of the Church, religion is regarded by a High Churchman as a maimed, weak, and imperfect Christianity. It stands immeasurably below the Church system, not only as a form of thinking and feeling, but yet more so as a partaker in the substantial and objective benefits of Christianity. To declare that the religion which founds itself on the words of the one common Lord and of His confessedly inspired apostles, and admits of no collateral authority or condition, is incomplete and inferior, is manifestly to bring against it an objection of immense magnitude; and it is a matter so vital to all the greatest interests of humanity, that it justifies the demand of the most clear and irrefragable proof in its support. The Christian revelation, no one disputes, professes to accomplish the salvation of men by means of certain facts, and the creation of a certain state of mind. Those who hold to the religion of the Bible, find those facts in the Bible, and affirm that that state of mind, those affections, can be fully and rightly developed by imbibing the teaching there found. That such a result is impossible no High Churchman will scarcely venture to deny; nor will he easily hazard the assertion that the evidence of these facts cannot be established without appeal to the Church, in the strictly technical sense of the term. Nevertheless, he superadds a special machinery to the Bible; he affirms that the facts of Christianity cannot be rightly appropriated except through the channel of a special agency. He grants to the Low Churchman that they both possess the same facts; but he adds that the Low Churchman, by not accepting a particular machinery, fails to appropriate fully, if indeed he does not lose altogether the entire benefit of these facts. The claim is of the most positive nature; it pretends to something specific; undeniably, then, the entire burden of proof lies upon him who makes the claim. That proof, moreover, must be positive likewise. It will not suffice to allege that the agency claimed may be well founded; it must be demonstrated by exclusive and conclusive evidence to be established, or it is a mischievous fiction. The Church in its special sense must be as certain as the Bible, or it is nothing at all as a concurrent authority. The Bible, for all Christians, is confessedly the depositary of revelation: if the same proposition cannot be proved respecting the Church, no decree or decision of the Church can be anything but the utterance of fallible men, and of a society resting on private judgment only.

It is therefore a matter of primary necessity for those who uphold the religion of the Church to demonstrate its nature and its authority. Without such a demonstration, carried out upon the principles of

Christianity and of logic, they are nowhere: the religion of the Bible, without any concurrent authority, either of revelation or interpretation, becomes the one only true Christian religion. The first step in the process must necessarily be a statement of the proposition which has to be proved: the Church must be defined. Now, where, we ask, is a precise and adequate definition of the Church to be found amongst English High Churchmen—one which meets all the requirements of their case, which furnishes them with a positive basis on which to found claims as to government, discipline, control, and, above all, doctrine? We have never seen any such definition; but we go further, and we say that no such definition is possible within the Anglican communion. None such, we affirm, has been framed, and none such can ever be framed. It is impossible to put words together which shall state, in such a manner as to satisfy the purposes of the religion of the Church within the Church of England what the Church is; in whom its government really resides; what specific persons have the right, by authority derived from the Founder of the religion, to determine doctrine; in what consists rebellion against the Church; what, in a word, is the positive and definite constitution of the society called Church. We never met with an English High Churchman who could answer the question without blowing up, on his principles, the foundation of the Church of England. So the question remains unanswered, but the High Church Confederation goes on all the same with the help of vague and solemn commonplaces. A civil society, a nation can maintain itself easily without possessing any precise theory of government, or of the source and extent of its obligations. Citizens live in the same country, and the law reaches them without difficulty or challenge; but what is a religious society which can give no account of its principle of union, or of the nature of the authority which is exercised over its members? The bond of such an association can only be a sentiment, not a rational and intelligible principle; and such and such only—we speak with no wish to give offence—is High Churchism, or the religion of the Church, in its social aspect, within the Church of England. But the High Churchman will reply:—"The Church has its root in the Bible; it is an institution founded by Christ Himself. No party denies that there is a Church." This is so; but the difference of position here between the religion of the Bible and the religion of the Church is wide as the poles asunder. It is a question of interpretation. The Low Churchman labours under no difficulty as to precision and clearness of statement. For him the Church is the whole body of Christian believers of every kind, distributed into many societies, each with its own particular form of government and its own determinations of doctrine and dis-

cipline. It is, in the eloquent language of Mr. Liddon quoted above, "the totality of regenerated souls." The non-High Churchman admits, as every Christian necessarily acknowledges, that Christianity is not a group of scientific statements held individually, as chemical or other scientific knowledge may be held by every chemist personally without the slightest organic connection with any other chemist. It is a mode of life, necessarily creating and sustaining relations with other brother Christians, and thereby combining them into an organic society with a fitting machinery of government and discipline. All these societies, ideally conceived, form one Church; and, consequently, the word Church is a generic term expressing the totality of individual Christians, however socially distributed into different communities. It gathers them into a generic whole, viewed in their relation to the one Head, Christ. There is no want of precision in this view. It may be erroneous, no doubt; the High Churchman has a perfect right to assail it freely; but it has one quality which is totally absent in the system of the English upholder of the religion of the Church. It specifies in plain language its meaning. The highest High Churchman, on the contrary, within the Church of England, is absolutely unable to state precisely what the Church is; he is incapable of putting forward a definite proposition as to the nature of the body from which he derives the authority for what is to be believed and practised. The usual resource of a High Churchman under pressure of inquiry is to call the Church a society administered by officers appointed by a perpetual succession through the imposition of episcopal hands. He appeals to Scripture; he points to the three orders of the ministry actually existing in the apostolic age; he shows that these officers ruled the Church, and then he infers that this method of administration was designed to be perpetual, and that the benefits conferred by the Christian ministry were exclusively limited to officers designated under this form. But he does not obtain a definition of the Church by this reply. Waiving the arduous problem of demonstrating that a single institution of Church government existed in the days of the Apostles, and yet, more, that if such can be shown to have existed *de facto*, it was made an unchangeable polity, binding on all ages—waiving this, we say, the English High Churchman has not escaped from the impossibility of so defining the Catholic Church upon what are called Church principles as to include within it the Church of England. There are several actually existing societies employing a ministry unchallengeable on the score of apostolical orders. They are distinct societies—as distinct as nations in the civil world. They have separate and, on vital points, contradictory forms of government. Their legislatures vary from despotism down to republicanism; their

creeds are anything but identical. Each refuses to be bound in any way, either as to doctrine or administration, by the decisions of any other. They possess every conceivable characteristic of separate societies; they agree on one point only—they accept a common form of appointment to the ministry; and by laying down the necessity of this form being continued through those who have passed through it, they practically create a general caste, out of which they affirm the Church officers must be taken. But these officers may differ, and do differ, in every other respect but the form of their appointment, as widely and as essentially as monarchs are distinct in civil government, although all partaking of the quality of monarchy. It is perfectly open to Dr. Colenso and a couple of other bishops to institute a new society which shall have every church attribute of government. The Arians, as to the definition of Church, were as good Churchmen as the orthodox. With such facts before him, we ask the English Churchman to declare precisely and intelligibly what is the one Catholic Church. Is it the Church of England? if not, then which of the others? and what becomes of the Church of England under that supposition? Suppose the one Church to be the Greek Church, is the Church of England the same society with the Greek Church? Has she the same faith? Will she accept every command and declaration which the Greek bishops utter? The proposition is so preposterous that no sane man could affirm it. It is intellectually impossible to define these societies as one Church, except generically, or else by asserting that the oneness of these distinct societies consists in their having the one common condition of employing officers perpetuated from the Apostles by one common form of ordination.

This being so, the true definition of the Church, on pure Church principles, will be obtained by supplementing the words of Mr. Liddon, and defining "the Church as the collective mass of regenerated and episcopally officered souls." No doubt that the English High Churchman hereby makes a gain of limitation as against the Low Churchman, but it is a very poor one indeed. The latter—we omit here all consideration of doctrine—makes the Church the aggregate of all Christian societies; the High Churchman restricts its comprehensiveness down to the aggregate of all episcopally-officerd communities. But he stands on the same ground, only somewhat narrower: he builds on the same principle. His Church, precisely as the Church of the religion of the Bible, is not one visible and single society; it is only a generic term—a name for a group of thoroughly independent Churches which appoint their officers with a particular form. He has put forth no definition of the Church in his sense of the term. The Episcopal Churches of Rome, of Russia, of America, of England, are no more one than the

Churches of Rome, of Presbyterian Scotland, or of the Wesleyans are one. The Catholic Church is simply for the English High Churchman the totality of Churches which use bishops, priests, and deacons, but which may have assigned to them every conceivable variety of government, legislation, worship, and discipline.

But this is not all. This very form of Episcopal ordination presses on the Anglican with sore distress. It is now acknowledged almost universally by scholars that only two orders of ministers, the Presbyterian or Episcopal, and the Diaconal, appeared in the New Testament. Even the Roman Catholics admit the original identity of the bishop with the presbyter. We will not argue the point; it is sufficient to refer our readers to Dr. Lightfoot's recent "*Commentary on the Philippians*," where he has exhausted the discussion with eminent moderation, learning, and success. The result, however, of his investigation causes no embarrassment to the Roman Catholic. His position is always theoretically strong. The Church, he proclaims, is the one society ruled from and by St. Peter's successors at the centre of government, Rome; and that Church enjoys the power of developing truth, as it pursues its course through ages. Thus it has developed the two original orders of the ministry into three; and the legitimacy of this act cannot be impugned against the Romanists on the ground of theory. It is otherwise with the unhappy Anglican. We are at a loss to conceive how he obtains his divine institution of bishops. He can procure it from the Church only—that is, from a body which he cannot construct without the pre-existing datum of Episcopacy. We see no escape from the difficulty.

But the Anglican High Churchman may still reply, that if it is impossible for him to define the Church as one society, at any rate he possesses a ministry to which supernatural powers have been assigned, and that a clergy founded on the apostolical succession can confer gifts and benefits on Christians which lie beyond the range of Presbyterian or any other form of Church officers. It is perfectly open, intellectually, to the Anglican to put forward such a pretension. He is entitled to assert that the Founder of Christianity, by a supreme act of authority, did attach special advantages to a ministry which should be appointed under a specified form. It becomes, then, a question of evidence. We are thus brought to the second element of the religion of the Church as contradistinguished from the religion of the Bible, the quality of these respective religions; the nature of the service which Christianity, as respectively worked out by each, renders to mankind. Both religions agree in the cardinal truth, that man is saved by Christ, and by Christ alone; but their conceptions of the manner in which salvation is effected differ most materially. Objectively, both stand on

the sacrifice of the death of Christ; but the High Churchman appends the further proposition, that this sacrifice must be perpetually applied or renewed by the agency of a priest in the ordinance of the Eucharist. Subjectively and spiritually, whilst agreeing with the religion of the Bible in placing the essence of Christianity in the position and feeling which the believer possesses towards Christ, he regards them as relations conditioned by the necessary intervention of the priest. Upon this theory of the Church, an Episcopal ministry applies or renews the sacrifice of the death of Christ, a service which no non-Episcopal ministry can do; and, further, it produces certain effects on the souls of the believers, which effects are wanting when, as in the religion of the Bible, the relations of the human spirit are direct with Christ through the sole agency of the Holy Spirit. The enormous importance which this theory assigns to the priest is transparent; but equally obvious is the enormous task imposed on the Churchman of proving, by adequate evidence, that a priesthood endowed with such powers is a constituent part of Christianity. As to the quality of the evidence required to make good such a point, there can be no doubt whatever. It must be clear and peremptory. The establishment of an intermediate agency composed of men invested with supernatural qualifications is a positive enactment. Where is it? every Christian is entitled to ask: where is it to be found? in what words, in what document, is it contained? The evidence needed to support such a definite act of supreme legislation must be far more explicit and decisive than what would be demanded for commands whose moral precepts carried within them much of their own justification. Men do not seek chapter and verse for injunctions to love God and to love one's neighbour. The claim set up for the priesthood has nothing of this moral character: it must rest on an enactment, and on nothing else. That a minister who was initiated into his office by the ceremony of imposition of hands, though that ceremony may have come down in unbroken succession from the Apostles—that such a minister imparts a virtue which no minister otherwise consecrated can bestow, and that his virtue is of the very highest importance in religion, is a notion which can be recommended to no Christian except upon the ground that the Lord or His Apostles has so ordained. Nay, the demand for such tangible evidence is stronger still. Churchmen in every age have instinctively felt that their pretension must be made to rest on something beyond mere enactment, beyond the assertion that Christ so willed, without any reference to the intrinsic value of the command. They have thus been driven into a theory of salvation which furnishes a moral reason for the intervention of a priest. They have maintained, not only that the Lord's Supper could not be rightly administered with-

out an episcopally ordained priest, but also that the bread and wine, after consecration by the priest, become heavenly food, and enable Christians to feed on the body of Christ Himself. Every true High Churchman, of every variety, takes his stand, in one form or another, upon this theory; so impossible do they find it to assert categorically that the Lord required the agency of a minister entitled by a particular rite, whilst they are unable to assign a single moral reason, to imagine a single motive, why it pleased the Lord to make such a law. How could the existence of such a command be maintained in the face of the spiritual character of the Christian religion? But their theory will not rescue them from their difficulty. It is manifestly materialistic. It saves men mechanically and materially. The Episcopal and the Wesleyan ministers may use the same words; the prayers may be the same; the communicants may have every spiritual element provided to them also; the same appeal to their love for Christ; the same reliance on His love; the same affections of the soul; but beyond all these, the Episcopal minister, by his action on the bread and wine, bestows on his fellow communicants a something which is of the utmost importance for salvation. To say the least, he possesses the key to a more direct and more certain way to heaven. The virtue lies in the bread and wine; it is inseparably attached to these material elements; it is the bread and wine, consecrated by the priest, which work the benefit. The materialism of this tenet is so obvious, that every kind of effort has been made to parry the conclusion. The virtue is sometimes alleged to consist in "eating the Lord's body," for which authority is cited from Scripture. Our limits forbid us to discuss this reference to the Bible here; we must content ourselves with denying that the theory that in the Sacrament the soul is literally fed by the Lord's body is the true rendering of His language in the Gospel. Every theory which makes His body the channel of influence on man's soul inserts materialism into Christianity, makes its process of salvation mechanical.

Nor is the matter mended for the High Churchman by the doctrine that the Eucharist is a perpetual renewal or appropriation of the sacrifice of Christ's death. Not the slightest tittle of evidence can be produced in favour of the supposition that such a perpetual renewal is in any way required. The Epistle of the Hebrews directly contradicts such a notion. It lays down explicitly that "the body of Jesus was offered once"—that He "offered one sacrifice for sin"—that "there is no more offering for sin." It proclaims these propositions upon an elaborate argument; and it is melancholy to reflect how men who profess to have Scripture for the foundation of their faith should go on speaking of offering up Christ incessantly for the sins of men. They do not know the meaning of the words

they use. They mean that the one sacrifice of Christ's body is applied to the salvation of the believer by the agency of a priest—an agency which is purely mechanical, and a mere dream of the imagination, so utterly impossible is it to adduce a single shred of authority for it except the fiction of fallible men. To quote the authority of the Church for this belief is perfectly nugatory until the Church has been defined as a definite depositary of revelation embodied in a distinct organization,—a task utterly hopeless for any one but a Romanist. He defines the Church easily enough. It is the society of Christians governed from Rome, and this society has received from Christ the gift of revelation. Every Christian, therefore, must obey Rome; and whatever Rome declares by her proper organs is infallible truth. The assertion is astounding, no doubt, and the proof given of it most questionable; still it gives the Romanist a definition of the Church. But when the Bishop of Salisbury talks of possessing the same powers and gifts as his predecessors, the Apostles included, ever enjoyed, he has nothing to plead in behalf of such an allegation, except the voice of the Church; and what and where the Church is, it is impossible for him to tell. The religion of the Bible has no difficulty in dealing with both him and the Romanist. It simply replies to them that they have no authority whatever for their pretensions.

The consequence which flows from these remarks is clear. We do not deny that it may have pleased God to declare that He will save and bless men on the condition of their performing a certain specific act, resting upon His supreme will and pleasure alone. It may be so. Doubtless such a command may have been given; but it must be proved: and when an injunction of such an arbitrary nature appears in a spiritual religion, the very essence of which consists in God's feeling towards man, and man's feeling towards God, the most rigorous and unchallengeable proof must be peremptorily demanded for such a fact. Direct proof from the words of God Himself confessedly cannot be produced. Indirect proof, built on the assumed possession of a Divine oracle by the Church, presupposes the Church itself to have been proved—a thing which no Anglican High Churchman has ever done or ever will do. If he will come over to the religion of the Bible, he will acquire a definition of the Church instantly; if he remains in the religion of the Church, he stands on a word only, not on any organized body whose mark and limits he can set forth. He is perpetually condemned to a vicious circle. If he takes up the ground of organization and institution, he is helpless to exclude the Arians and the possible successors of Bishop Colenso from the true Church empowered to declare the truth. If he tries to escape this terrible inference by appending the necessity of orthodoxy, he enters into the wide wilderness of opinion, without the

aid of that very guide which the appeal to orthodoxy was made to procure for him. If orthodoxy is necessary to the definition of the Church, then the Church itself is not the test of truth; and the determination of what is orthodoxy and what heresy must precede the knowledge of what is the Church. Our Anglican High Churchman will have become Protestant.

The High Churchism of our day exhibits one most remarkable feature, which is in the highest degree deserving of attention. It has ceased from all endeavour to establish itself by proof. Great thinkers of every age have felt the weight of the duty to make good the evidences of the Christian religion itself. It has been a task ever enjoined and ever performed anew. So also has it been with the great schools of theology in the past. Their efforts to vindicate their several positions were as incessant as they were noble. But the modern English High Churchman soars in a far loftier region. He recognises no obligation to prove his faith to others. His self-assertion suffices: the assumption of his own infallibility is the only reason which he will condescend to give to those who ask him to give an account of his belief. In the early days of the Tractarian movement, elaborate appeals were made to Scripture and to antiquity in support of the doctrines of that school. Defences were written of Anglo-Catholicism, which, whatever might be thought of their success, left but one universal impression of their ability. The Tractarians had a theology, a body of ably-reasoned and argumentative divinity; the modern High Churchmen have none. Their followers are satisfied with the bare assertions of their clergy; and the clergy feel supreme contempt for all criticism and all argument. Least of all do they think of citing Scripture in their support; and no wonder, for Scripture has not the true Church-tone. Mr. Mackonochie indignantly protests against the recent judgment of the Judicial Committee, as cutting off the Church of England from Catholic tradition; and Ritualists passionately exclaim, that without lights and prostrations the Christian religion cannot be carried on. But where, we ask, do these Ritualists place the beginning of Catholic tradition? In the Bible? The Apostle Paul was as fiercely indignant at the manner of celebrating the Eucharist at Corinth as Mr. Mackonochie can ever be at its degradation in an Evangelical church or Dissenters' chapel. But is it with the absence of prostrations, and genuflections, and altar-candles, that St. Paul reproaches the Corinthians, as depriving the sacrament of its honour, and imperilling the vitality of religion? If such a thing is conceivable, let us suppose St. Paul to have written a letter to the Corinthian Church, such as Mr. Mackonochie would have penned. Would not every one instantaneously feel that something very strange and incongruous had made its appearance, and every critic declare the new epistle to

be spurious? It is not then in the words of Christ and his Apostles that the Churchman can find the doctrine and the religion of the Church. To what authority, therefore, does he refer for the sanction of his teaching? What credentials can he produce? in what book? of what age? And when the age and the book are specified, let the proof be given categorically, that the men of that age, and the writers of that book, be it a body of decrees or any other writing, had a commission capable of being made good upon evidence, which lifted them above the ordinary infirmities of humanity, and enabled them to discern and proclaim the truth. But this is precisely the task which the modern High Churchman is at no pains to perform; nay, he treats the demand itself for evidence as a sign of a wrong-minded man, undeserving of attention. Thus he builds on a foundation, which to others seems to be one of sand, and to his own mind rests on self-complacent assertion. The result, however, in the present tendencies of so many of the clergy, is nothing short of a great public danger. The construction of a religion built on the idea of Church, and the failure to produce evidence in its support, endangers Christianity itself. In this respect, the absence of systematic proof in a Low Churchman is far less mischievous. He may be destitute of learning, and be incompetent to state accurately the evidences of the Christian religion; but he possesses in the Bible an incalculable advantage over the Churchman. He points to Christ—to what He did and to what He said, to the example of His goodness, His purity, and His love; and when he says that his aim is to be like his Master, and to be filled with the like spirit, he makes a defence of his religion, which, apart from all elaborate statements of learned proof, has commanded in every age the respect and the consideration of even unbelievers. The appeal, on the contrary, of the Churchman to the Church presents no such picture of a goodness which is itself its own evidence. It gives a reference to fallible men, to worldly men, who have shared in the weaknesses and the sins of human nature; to men who, though partakers of Episcopal ordination and of the gifts claimed for this rite, have been universally acknowledged to have fallen into lamentable errors, and to have been too often disgraced by vicious conduct. Who does not at once perceive the difference of the two positions? The Low Churchman takes his stand on the spirit of the Bible—on the character of a Book which speaks for itself. The High Churchman claims submission to an artificial system, of which every Christian has not only the right, but is absolutely bound, to require the proof. That proof is not forthcoming; nay, the very right of the intellect to demand it is contemptuously scorned. Why, then, should the Christian religion be received? mankind will ask. Let the High Churchman say.



THE CULTIVATION OF THE SPEAKING VOICE.

WHETHER expression by means of musical sounds, or by means of sounds whose intervals are too minute, and commonly too rapid and capricious in their succession for classification or record—whether singing or speaking—be the more ancient mode of human utterance, and which of the two is really the more deserving of the epithet *natural*,—are questions which will probably startle many to whom they are put for the first time, and which will generally be answered, without a moment's hesitation, in one way. Yet, as of most questions, there is a good deal to be said on both sides, especially on the unpopular side, of these. The utterance of least cultivated peoples is generally characterized by the most determined *accent*; they rather sing than speak: while the cries of animals are most of them approximately, some of them perfectly, musical. It would seem therefore that song, as it has been more widely disseminated, must be a (so to speak) *more natural* faculty than speech; and that the first wants of man might have been made known by the former, while the latter is but the more recent result of civilization. Be this as it may, one thing is certain; that though utterance frequently partakes in such equal proportions of speech and song (speech being so musical or song so articulate) that we can hardly say to which we are listening, the two, in their several perfect conditions, are essentially different—results of different

adjustments of the vocal apparatus, and affecting the ear in a different manner.

It is generally admitted, at any rate it ought to be, that the Anglo-Saxon race, now the majority of the population of Great Britain, are less gifted vocally—have the “vocal apparatus” naturally in less perfection—than any other variety of “Indo-Europeans.” As a rule, the English voice, if not always of inferior quality, is almost always of inferior intensity or capacity to (for instance) the Italian, the German, or the Welsh. The number of English speakers who can, without too evident effort and for any length of time, “fill” our largest interiors, or make themselves audible and *intelligible* at an open-air meeting, is as small as the number of English singers who can “hold their own” against a modern orchestra, or make their presence felt in every part of the Crystal Palace transept.

This incapacity is, however, practically of limited importance. Few speakers are ever called upon to fill huge auditoria, and addressing an out-of-door meeting is happily a very exceptional duty. What concerns us more is that, under ordinary conditions, in rooms of moderate size, in presence of very limited audiences, nay, in common conversation, no people give expression to their thoughts—I do not mean *choose* their words, but *utter* them—so imperfectly, with such an absence of charm, as our countrymen. To the foreign and unaccustomed ear the English language *sounds*, as to the foreign eye the Welsh language *looks*, made up of consonants, and these hardly distinguishable one from another. Thousands of English men and women of the upper and middle classes pass through life without ever having fairly opened their mouths, save at the bidding of a dentist. “Paralysis of jaw,” an Italian professor long resident among us used to say (not ironically or punningly), “is chronic in England.” Whether his pupils’ difficulty was physical or psychological, whether they were unable or only *ashamed* to imitate his sonorous and emphatic utterance, he could never quite decide. That for the most part they gave him back nothing but the meanest and the most mincing caricature of it was certain.

As a rule, our speech is wanting both in resonance and in distinctness. We reduce to a minimum the sonority of our vowels, and omit or amalgamate with one another our consonants. Incompetent readers, slovenly speakers, and illiterate “vocalists,” of course try to shift the responsibility of all these short-comings from themselves to the language which they habitually disfigure or mispresent. The tools of bad workmen are proverbially in fault—blunt, crooked, cracked, infirm—every way inefficient. A careful and impartial comparison of European languages must inevitably result in the conviction that in sonority only one surpasses, and only two or three equal, our

own. Certain it is that from the most sonorous of them it is possible to compress into an intelligible sentence a considerable number of very uncouth vocables, especially when the writer or speaker knows the value of "harsh din" as a set-off to euphony. It would be difficult to find an English couplet harsher than the following:—

"E se la scure mai tronca gli sterpi
Suona la selva al sibilare dei serpi."*

While, on the other hand, English passages innumerable might be collected, especially from our writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, skilled to

"Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,"

which in point of euphony—with which alone we have now to do—it would be hard to match, and impossible to surpass, in any other living tongue.

A good deal of this has been said—said again and again, and very forcibly—before. Without taking into account the professional "elocution master" of other days, whose labours, it is to be feared, have on the whole thrown discredit on the art he professed, more than one educated English gentleman has of late devoted especial attention to the art of uttering his native language, and is now by precept and example, by public lecture and private lesson, calling attention to our short-comings, and, no doubt, doing much to lessen their number. It would seem, however, that these gentlemen—wisely, perhaps, in the practice of an art so new that thousands have not so much as heard of its existence, and would question its utility if they had†—direct the attention of their pupils rather to details than first principles; rather to what goes to make up *style*—emphasis, articulation, pace, and the like—than to what underlies all these, the formation and management of the voice.

My meaning will be best explained by reference to a kindred art, that of singing.

Singing, in its highest perfection, involves a combination of gifts and accomplishments the rarity of which is best expressed in the fact that no epoch of musical history can be named in which all Europe combined could have furnished examples of more than half a dozen contemporary great singers. The gifts needed for a singer may be briefly specified as voice, ear, and sensibility; the accomplishments as

* *La Pia. Leggenda Romantica di B. Sestini. Cant. I. Stanz. iv.*

† In neither of the two Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, nor, I believe, in those of Dublin, Durham, or Edinburgh, is this art systematically taught. "To read and write," says Dogberry, "comes by nature;" so, it seems to be thought, does "to speak." A chair of "Public Reading" was established some years since in connection with the "Theological Department" of King's College, London.

what is understood by general musical knowledge. Over and above these, sometimes even all but making amends for the want of any or all of them, he needs skill in another and quite an especial art, that of "playing on the voice." It would seem to be commonly supposed that nothing more was required to form a singer than to bring musical knowledge to bear on voice and ear. "If I only had that man's voice!" is an aspiration often expressed by instrumental performers, in the presence of a well-endowed vocalist; implying of course that, having it, they would then and there give effect vocally to such musical power as is within them. The vocalist might as reasonably say—"If I only had that man's fiddle!" He never *does* say so, because his wish could easily be gratified, and his skill in using his new possession tried,—everybody knows with what result! The most accomplished of instrumentalists, nay, the most learned and inventive of composers, could he be suddenly endowed with the most sonorous, sweet, extensive, and flexible of voices, would find that he had much to do before he could use it effectively. He would start with even less than the usual advantage which a skilful performer on one instrument has in taking up the practice of another. The veriest tyro may possess himself of the ripest and rarest of Cremonas, or the most costly of recently perfected flutes. But the vocalist has not only to learn to *play* on *his* instrument, he has to *make* it; or, if this expression seem to imply too much, he has at least to smooth its inequalities, develop its intensity, extend, or, it may be, restrict, its compass, increase its flexibility, and, in a word, bring it into perfect subjection to his will, make it really a part of himself, an organ of expression for all that is within him.

To the discipline by which alone this result is to be attained, the artists of the golden age of song, the last century, submitted themselves, as a matter of course, during a period of from three to six years. Among our contemporaries this discipline has generally been both less severe and of shorter duration. The art of the singer dies with him, and a fair comparison between the powers of its past and present practitioners is impossible. One advantage, however, it is certain that the former had over the latter; their careers, like their apprenticeships, lasted much longer.*

If the preparatory training which, it might seem obviously, the singer's art demands is often partially, sometimes wholly, neglected, we need not wonder that all training akin to it, in relation to the

* Madame Hasse (Faustina) is said to have been in her zenith at the age of forty-five; and she certainly retained her hold on the public ear for some years afterwards. The late Mr. Braham presents a more recent, and still more striking, example of long-enduring vocal power. But the soprano and contralto are less lasting organs than the tenor and bass.

speaker's art, apparently so much more easy, so much more natural, should be not only neglected, but hardly even recognised as necessary. I shall try to show that such training is not only necessary, but practicable, and in what way.

For the moment I put aside as irrelevant, and indeed comparatively unimportant, all considerations of oratorical detail. The dots to the *i*'s and the crosses to the *t*'s are essential parts of handwriting; nevertheless, if the letters to which they are ever so scrupulously adjoined are ill-formed, the handwriting will be little the more legible, and none the more beautiful. We want to get at the voice itself, the instrument which, unlike the player, neither speaker nor singer can ever exchange for another; to see what can be done to improve it, and bring it under control; to set our pipes and strings in order before we try to make music out of them. Having first done that,—

"All other graces
Will follow in their proper places."

Musical sound is the result of periodic (*isochronous*, or equal-timed) vibrations of the atmosphere, vibrations following one another at an appreciable pace. Sounds whose constituent vibrations are *irregular* in their succession, and whose pace, therefore, is *inappreciable*, are mere noise. All musical sounds are not equally agreeable to the ear. Besides *pitch*, *intensity*, and *duration*, sound has a fourth property technically called *timbre*,* popularly *quality*. It is by its *timbre* that we distinguish instruments of average identical compass from one another, *e.g.*, the clarionet from the concertina, the oboe from the flute. Musical instruments even of the same kind are often easily distinguishable from one another by their *timbre* exclusively; and what is more remarkable, the *timbre* of the same individual instrument, touched or blown by different performers, will often vary considerably. It is possible, too, to imitate closely the *timbre* of one instrument on another of a different class. Still, on the whole, there is a strong family likeness among instruments of the same class, and considerable dissimilarity between those of different classes. A practised ear would be as little likely to mistake a cornet-à-piston for a trumpet, as a practised palate to mistake Château Margaux for Chambertin, though both the instruments and both the wines have many points in common. Still less would it be possible to mistake any artificial instrument for the human voice. Every attempt at imitating the latter by the former has hitherto resulted, not in resemblance, but caricature. The so-called *vox humana* stop, in the Haarlem and some other organs, about which

* We want an English equivalent for this word for which "quality" is a very imperfect substitute. Professor Tyndall has suggested "clang-tint."

ignorant tourists are wont to rave, might certainly be mistaken for a moment, by an inattentive or indiscriminating listener, for a voice—the voice of a very aged female, more ready than skilful in its exercise.

The *vox humana* of the Divine Artificer is an incomparably more complex, as it is an incomparably more beautiful, instrument than any one of its mundane compeers. Fearfully and wonderfully is it made. Not only is its mechanism more intricate, its parts more numerous and delicate, than that of any artificial organ, but the action of this mechanism is complicated by a condition from which every other instrument is free.

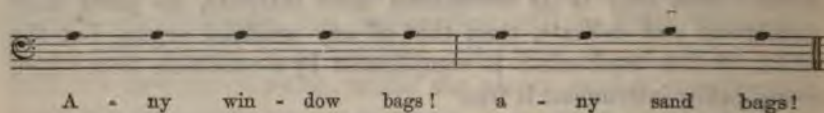
The instrumental performer has merely to *play*; the vocalist has not merely to *play*, but to *say*, at the same instant. Of course I am not unmindful of the existence of thousands of vocal passages (not without their own use and beauty) which involve little or no *saying*, and are rather *played on the larynx* than sung by the voice. But these are only examples of the greater including the less. Though the voice is inimitable by any instrument, some instruments are imitable by the voice. In the full acceptation of the term, there is no singing without saying: that which is sung must also be said.

Not only so. The converse of this proposition, if not always wholly, is very often approximately true. There is no saying without (some) singing: that which is effectively and agreeably said must be (partially) sung. “*Est in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior.*” *

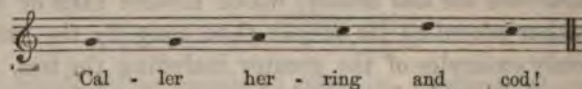
Musical sounds are more agreeable to most ears than cacophonous. Music is preferable, and generally preferred, to noise. Moreover, isochronous vibrations are more extensive in their range than others, are audible and appreciable at greater distances. In familiar language, music “travels farther” than noise. The recognition of this fact would seem to have been coeval with the infancy, nay, the very birth, of oratory. It is attested by the well ascertained practice of antiquity, by the traditions of the Christian Church, and even by the nature-prompted utterances of street-criers. The *accentus ecclesiasticus* may or may not be justifiable on æsthetic grounds. There is no occasion to fight its battle on any such. Practical convenience—absolute necessity sometimes—is enough to account for its origin, and to justify its long-continued use. The first person who ever attempted to address a very large assembly must have discovered, by the time he had uttered a dozen words, that if what he had to say was to be made, not merely audible, but intelligible to any but those immediately about him, his utterance must be *partially* musical; and that the more numerous his audience, and the larger his auditorium,

* Cicero, *Orator.*, c. xviii.

the *more* musical must that utterance be. It is purely gratuitous, however, to speculate on what might, could, would, or should have been the practice of past times, historic or præhistoric, in this particular. Every factory, every ship, and (more familiar instance) every street will furnish us with an example and a justification of *accentus* and even *concentus*. At the beginning of each winter may be heard from end to end of our "long unlovely street,"—



while no one who has spent a day in Edinburgh can have failed to catch the ring of the Newhaven—



Neither the vendor of sand-bags nor the Newhaven fish-wife have any intention of commending their wares through the meretricious aid of art; nor has the one been encouraged by the probable example of Demosthenes and Æschines, nor does the other know—assuredly she would be shocked to learn—that her song is a rag, a very perfect rag too, of Popery. Window-bag man and herring-woman want to be heard, as far and wide as possible; and they set about making themselves heard in the easiest and most effective manner.

If it be true, which few will be found to dispute, that musical is more agreeable than other sound; also, which though equally true is not equally obvious, that musical is audible over a greater space than other sound; it would seem desirable to introduce as large an element of it as possible into our utterance, of whatever kind. Indeed, universal assent to this would seem to be implied in the epithet by which, more than by any other, a pleasing voice is characterized. *Strong, sweet, clear*, figurate expressions all three, are no doubt familiar to us, in connection with voices, as are their opposites, *feeble, harsh, and husky*. But assuredly the highest tribute a voice can receive is conveyed in the word "musical," not used figuratively or analogically, but simply and directly. By a *musical* voice is always meant a voice, the quality of which gives pleasure altogether irrespective of—it may be safer to say over and above—the sense conveyed by it.

It would appear, then, that the sweetness and strength of vocal utterance, as of every other kind of sound, are greater or less, as they are more or less musical; and, to advance another step, that

words spoken will fall more or less pleasantly on the ear, and spread themselves over a larger area, as they approximate to, or partake of the character of words sung. Yet the two acts of speaking and singing are different acts, notwithstanding; have their different uses and their different occasions,—occasions when it would be most inconvenient and impertinent to interchange them. And unless we keep this in mind we may injure both; rob song of its especial charm, and make speech ridiculous. How is speech to be made more musical without turning it into song?

Words are made up of vowels and consonants. Though it be not unexceptionally true that consonants have no individual phonetic existence, it is certain that vowels have; that consonants are practically initiatory, distributive, or interruptory only, indeed, altogether dependent on vowels; and that of necessity therefore vowels are eminently the *sounds* of speech (consonants being rather the *noises*), and form the sole element of it admitting of any appreciable variety of pitch, duration, intensity, or *timbre*. As it is in the utterance of vowels alone that we can estimate the voice, whether of speaker or singer, so it must be through their instrumentality exclusively that we can hope to develop its sweetness and strength, whether in speaking or singing.

Here I find myself face to face with a popular error.

If there be any maxim or rule relating to speech more often heard than another, it is this: "Take care of the consonants, the vowels will take care of themselves." Like many other rules, this contains not merely that "mixture of a lie," which Lord Bacon tells us, "doth ever add pleasure" (to truth), but so large a mixture as almost to neutralize whatever truth it may contain. "Take care of the pence and farthings," but do not forget that "penny wisdom is pound foolishness." Take care of the consonants, by all means; they are the bones of speech; but take none the less care of the vowels; for they are its flesh and blood apart from which bones are very dry bones indeed. Is it unreasonable to attribute to this rule (the latter part of it especially) the cruel treatment which vowels sometimes receive at the hands—*i.e.*, in the mouths—of some who ought to know better? Otherwise why do we so often hear *sich* for *such*, *und* for *and*, *fur* for *for*, and the like? Perhaps, also, the gratuitous interpolation of consonants (of one especially) peculiar to the natives of London, may be only a mode of "taking care of them." We may excuse a "conductor" for informing us that his omnibus is going to "Maiderill," but not an "educated gentleman" for talking of "Victoriarour queen."

But this is a digression.

By the instrumentality of the vowels alone, I repeat, can the

quality of a voice be improved or its power developed, whether in speaking or singing.

But in what way? What is the student, conscious of possessing a harsh or a feeble voice, to do in order to sweeten or to strengthen it? One of the injunctions most frequently addressed to a young reader is—"speak naturally;" to which I should only ask leave to add the words—"if you can." For, whatever may be the case among races more favoured than our own with the gifts of voice—vocal ligaments of greater strength and elasticity, more capacious pharynges and oral cavities, smaller and more regular teeth, mouths, at rest not too large but which seem capable of being opened to any extent, and pulmonary apparatus in like perfection,—speaking "naturally," paradoxical as it may appear, is and must be, till a better "production" of voice is habitual among us, an exceptional power with the majority of Englishmen, and one only attained through very careful training.

Let me explain. In every voice, singing or speaking, there are sounds producible in more ways than one—always in two ways, sometimes in three. The sounds, severally thus produced, are sometimes called "registers," a convenient and sufficiently, if not perfectly, accurate appellation. The compass of these registers varies in different voices even of the same kind; indeed, it is variable even in the same voice. That is to say, the production appropriate to the upper sounds of the first register can be applied to some of the lower sounds of the second, and *vice versa*. Where this power of varying the "production" is altogether wanting or very limited, what is called among singers a "break" in the voice is very apparent, when the passage from one register to another has to be made. From what particular adjustments of the vocal apparatus these different "productions" result is at present uncertain. That they *are* different is easily ascertainable, in his own person, by everyone who can sing, or *speak*; for in this matter, I repeat, the speaking voice resembles the singing. Both these modes of production are "natural" in every sense of the word. It is as natural to speak "from the head," as "from the chest;"* but it is most unnatural to use either mode of production *exclusively*. Yet this, it is certain, the majority of English people do, from imitation and use, which, we are told, is second nature. Moreover, especially in the higher ranks of society, that one of the two registers least able to bear the most work, and which, indeed, would seem to have been intended as a relief and variety to the other, the second, or "head voice," as it is familiarly called, is most frequently called into requisition. In the ordinary transactions of life, in the dialogue, or triologue, or at

* I use these popular expressions under protest, as helping to explain my meaning.

most the "personal talk" of a small circle, the disadvantages of this are not much felt; and if the matter ended here, it would not be worth while to say more about it. But a habit, of speech or aught else, is not easily shaken off; and when shaken off suddenly it has often to be exchanged for a worse one. Quite ignorant of the facts I have just been stating, generally without vocal discipline of any kind, an Englishman called upon to address a large assembly for the first time in his life, is all at once made aware that the vocal "production" to which he is habituated fails him utterly, and that, to any good purpose, he might as well address himself to the dome of St. Paul's as to the people before him. He makes a variety of experiments in pitch and intensity, some of them ludicrous, and all unsuccessful; and having first soared to heights unsupportable by human voice and insupportable to human ear, he drops past the mean elevation at which alone he might securely poise himself, and, plunging "deeper than ever plummet sounded," is lost in an incomprehensible growl.

Of the *plain-song* of the Catholic Church—that precious relic of Greek art, or spontaneous result of an ever-recurring necessity—perhaps both—the basis is *monotone*. Many syllables are recited at one pitch, or on one note; this note being therefore called the "dominant," *i.e.* the governing or prevailing note. This *dominant* is not of necessity a fixed point, though practically a point within a certain limit. The "intonator" has a choice, and of course selects that note on which he has ascertained that he can intonate with the best effect, with the greatest ease, and for the longest time.

Now speech, as I have already said, differs from song in the undeterminateness of the sounds composing it; this undeterminateness resulting from the greater rapidity with which these sounds succeed one another, and the superior minuteness of their intervals. Indeed, the intervals of speech are often so minute as to be altogether inappreciable, the ascent and descent of the speaking voice being made rather by an inclined plane than by even the gentlest gradations, its inflexions being similar in effect to those produced by sliding the finger up and down a violin string in vibration. On these accounts it is no doubt more difficult to ascertain and define the compass or range of a speaking than that of a singing voice. But though difficult, it is not impossible to do so. As there is a pitch at about which each of us can sing, so there is a pitch at about which each of us can speak, most effectively, most easily, and longest; and the first business of the student should be to ascertain this pitch in his own voice, and having done so, to accustom himself to keep to it, not only on special occasions,—in the pulpit, on the floor of "the

House," or the platform,—but wherever he has occasion to utter vocables.

His first attempts to speak thus,—at the pitch *natural*, not necessarily *habitual*, to him—from the right place and in the right manner, will probably be not unattended with difficulty in more ways than one. If his habitual "production" be bad, the substitution for it of a good one can never be easy. Nor will he get much help or encouragement in doing so from others. Our friends are very apt to be puzzled and put out by any change, even for the better, in our look, tone, or bearing. Supposing—as is more than probable—that he has hitherto all but exclusively used the upper register of his voice, his first attempts to use the lower—his "natural voice"—will seem anything but natural; his physical sensations even will be somewhat disagreeable to himself, and his *timbre*, being new and unaccustomed, will be unpleasing to others. Not till it is familiar will any method seem the right one; the unfamiliar, like the absent, is always wrong. Only on the "ripe scholar" does scholarship sit gracefully.

Arts are not to be learnt from books. "Every art," says Johnson, "is best taught by example;" and so difficult and delicate a procedure as "forming the voice," whether of speaker or singer, cannot be carried far by mere precept. Still, a few practical directions may not be without their use, by way of conclusion to an essay (however imperfect or incomplete) on a matter of such general interest and importance. For, though we need not all of us sing, we must all of us speak, though not necessarily in large buildings or to large assemblies. And what a charm is given to even the most commonplace remark by a pleasing quality of voice, and an articulate and intelligible utterance! Of *utterance*, so much of it, at least, as depends on those parts of the vocal apparatus most under our control, the tongue, teeth, and lips, I have said nothing. It is enough, for the moment, to have ventilated a few truths, and enunciated a few principles, in relation to those which are less accessible, and to whose management less attention has hitherto been directed. In respect to these I will briefly indicate a course of discipline which I know to have been tried not unsuccessfully, and which, begun betimes, and carefully and patiently followed up, would, I think, be productive always of good results.

I must assume that the student's ear is sufficiently "true" to enable him, when he hears a musical sound, to imitate it correctly. Those who cannot do this, "for such there needs must be," even in these days, must be left to their own devices. Having ascertained by experiment (which may be made exhaustively in a few minutes) what is the extreme compass of his singing voice, he will know, of

course, what notes lie nearest to the middle of it. One of these will be his average *dominant*, that note at about the pitch of which he can sing most easily, and at about the pitch of which he has to learn to *speak* habitually. But the sounds of speech are, as we have seen, made up of much smaller intervals, traversed too in much more rapid succession, than those of song; and to *speak*, in the proper sense of the word, on a given note, or succession of notes, forming part of any recognised musical scale, is simply impossible. A *sustained* sound is of necessity a *musical* sound, and the act of sustaining it is not speaking, but singing. But though "essentially different," speech and song are not unconnected; indeed, I have said already that, as there is no song without speech, so there is no speech without song. More than this: granting that perfection of speech has been attained by some who have had no skill* in song, I believe the shortest and easiest way to the former to be through the latter; that the speaking voice is best formed and brought under control by the practice of uttering *musical* sounds, and that the surest preparation for good reading is singing† in its simplest form—the *monotone*. I would therefore recommend the student to begin by reciting the different vowel sounds—the most euphonious first—by themselves, and afterwards any passages of verse or prose abounding in them (such are not hard to find), on a given note; keeping generally to the first register, and only occasionally resorting to the second. When this has been done till doing it has become easy, he will have to set about the more difficult task of producing the notes immediately above and below the natural *break* of his voice, both from the first register and the second; or, in other words, applying the production natural to one register to the contiguous notes of the other. Only a very few notes will admit of this exercise, and these will generally be found at the top of the first octave of the voice, whatever its species.

The effort made in acquiring this power will of necessity have so improved the student's control over his vocal organ—not to speak of his ear—that the next step, though a great one, that of exchanging a *perfectly* musical for a *partially* musical utterance, will be comparatively easy to him. Recitation at a given and ascertainable pitch must be followed by recitation which, though involving much and rapidly succeeding variety of *pitch*, has still reference to an

* *No skill* does not necessarily involve *no aptitude*. Every good speaker *might have been* a singer.

† Voices and ears disciplined in one way must surely be better prepared for exercise in another than those which have not been disciplined at all. If this proposition be not self-evident, one among many proofs of it may be cited in the facility with which musicians—singers especially—acquire a good foreign accent. To what can the power of imitation implied in this be attributed but to the superior delicacy of ear developed in the practice of their art?

ascertainable *limit*, within which is the *dominant*. With this he will by this time have become so familiarized in his *monotonous* practice as to be able to use it at will, as a point of departure or of rest; recognising it even in the most rapid and graduated passages from one available extreme of his voice to the other.

One who has gone through a course of exercise such as I have been indicating (the necessary duration of which will vary with every individual instance in which it is undertaken) may still have much to do and much to learn before he becomes a good speaker, but he will have made good preparation for becoming one,—in doing what he could to develop powers, which nature certainly distributes very unequally, but of which art can turn to account the smallest share. From one of the ills which speaker “is heir to,” he may hold himself fairly secure:—clericus or laicus, he will be a stranger to—clerical sore throat.

JOHN HULLAH.



VICE-REGAL SPEECHES AND EPISCOPAL VOTES
IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT,

FROM THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE UNION.

PART II.

GEORGE I.

THE first Parliament which sat in Dublin after the accession of George I. was opened on the 12th of November, 1715, by the Lords Justices, the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway. They recommend to Parliament—while defence is necessary on account of rebellion raging in Great Britain—"such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland but that of Protestant and Papist." On the 16th of January, next year, the House of Lords is informed of the landing of the Pretender in Scotland, and at once enters into an association to defend the king and the Protestant succession, and appoints a Committee to prepare an address to the Lords Justices, urging them to "put the laws in execution against Papists." By this address, which was approved of by the Peers on the 18th of January, 1716, the Lords Justices are requested—although by a late order in Council all magistrates were quickened in the execution of the laws against Papists—to enforce the penal laws with especial rigour against the regulars, as the best plan "to clear the land from those incendiaries and promoters of the Pretender's interest among the common people, whose credulity leads them to an entire dependence on their priests and friars." On the 28th of the same month the Bill to attain the Pretender is passed,

and in the preamble it is asserted that the vast body of Papists in the kingdom had of late years carried their insolence to an unusual height, by many daring acts of presumption committed by them, as well in Dublin as in many other parts of the kingdom." The Peers, in June, 1716, when addressing the king on the suppression of the rebellion, say that the loyalty of the Irish Protestants was a means to prevent those attempts that "might be feared from the great number of Papists that live among us." In the same month a Bill, sent up from the Commons, is passed, to prevent Roman Catholics from serving as high or petty constables. This Bill received its first reading when the bishops were a moiety of the House. In the following year, 1717, the Duke of Bolton, Lord-Lieutenant, reminds Parliament of "the miseries this nation heretofore experienced from a Popish Government," and that he "formerly had the honour to serve the late King William, of glorious memory, as one of the Lords Justices." Primate Lindsay, on the 10th of September, 1717, presents a Bill for more easy recovery of tithes to a House consisting of thirteen prelates and eleven lay lords, which Bill was subsequently allowed to drop.

Perhaps the earliest approach—though but a faint one—towards the yet distant relaxation of the laws which favoured the members of the Established Church, at the expense of Recusants and Non-conformists, was made, on the 20th of November, 1717, by the passing of "An Act for taking away the Oath commonly called 'the Little Oath' on members of corporations by the new rules." This Act was passed in a House consisting of twelve bishops and thirteen lay peers. A protest had been entered against this Act on the 14th of November, when the bishops were a majority, by Primate Lindsay, but was afterwards withdrawn. Acts for regulating the corporations of Galway and Kilkenny, and for strengthening the Protestant interest in those cities, were passed in December, 1717. About this time some petitions of one or two distinguished converts from Popery are entered on the Lords' Journals. One of them, by turning Protestant, made his father tenant for life of his estate, and thereby "so incensed him" that he denied him pecuniary support. Another gentleman, who was the first of his noble family who conformed since Elizabeth's time, has five sons and two daughters whom he educates in Protestantism, and seeks, "for these reasons, to be recommended to his Majesty." Archbishop King with three bishops and four lay peers approve these requests, "the gaining of such sincere and considerable converts being of great moment to the English Protestant interest in this kingdom."

The year 1719 is remarkable as being that in which the Irish Protestant Dissenters first obtained a small measure of relief from the oppression of the penal code. During this year the bishops

formed about one-third of the house, the average attendance of the temporal peers being eighteen, while that of the prelates was only twelve. It is noteworthy that on no single occasion during this year did the bishops form either a moiety or a majority of the House of Lords—a fact which has no parallel in any other of the years during the first half of the eighteenth century. When the Parliament met on the 26th of June, 1719, the Duke of Bolton, the Lord-Lieutenant, made an earnest appeal on behalf of the Irish Protestant Dissenters. The Government were doubtless alarmed by the great emigration of Protestants from Ireland to the West Indies, Cape Breton, and other parts of North America. This exodus, which began in the year 1717 and 1718, was by some persons ascribed to the uneasiness Dissenters felt in the matter of religion, but was almost wholly due, according to Archbishop King, to the high rents exacted for land, which made it “impossible for people to live or subsist on their farms.” The Lord-Lieutenant tried to gain favour for this Toleration Bill, which was intended to soothe the Nonconformists, by reminding Parliament of “the numbers as well as strict union of the Papists among themselves,” and of “their apparent inclinations” towards the Pretender. He told them that he was desired by the king to ask them to consider of some method, consistent with the security of the Established Church, “to render the Protestant Dissenters more useful and capable of serving his Majesty and supporting the Protestant interest than they now are.” The Lords, in reply, assure the king of their desire to cherish union among all Protestants. The peers receive, in August, another royal exhortation to toleration, when the king answers their address, and says:—

“His Majesty hopes that it will not be found inconsistent with the security of the Established Church; but, on the contrary, will be looked on as a means conducive thereto, to strengthen the Protestant interest by rendering numbers of his Majesty’s subjects there, who by the legal incapacities they now lie under, are disabled from contributing to its support, more useful to his Majesty’s service and to the preservation of the constitution both in Church and State.”

On the same day when this answer was read—which Archbishop King says pressed “with extraordinary warmth” towards “gratifying the Dissenters—it was “ordered that the heads of a Bill, entitled ‘An Act to ease persons professing the Christian religion, and dissenting from the Church of Ireland as by law established, from the penalties of certain laws to which they are now subject,’ be read a first time.” And two days afterwards, namely on the 12th of August, 1719, the Lords assured the king of their willingness to allow all his Protestant subjects “such indulgence as may consist with the security of the constitution in Church and State.”

The Dissenters' Relief Bill, which finally became law, was not that which originated in the Lords, but another which was sent up from the Commons and was read for the first time in the Lords on the 16th of October; and, secondly, on the 19th: the House consisting on both occasions of eighteen lay peers and thirteen bishops. The third reading was on the 22nd of October—nineteen lay peers and thirteen bishops being present—and must have been carried almost by the casting vote of the Chancellor, Viscount Midleton; for seven lay peers and nine prelates gave it a determined opposition, and afterwards entered a strong protest against it upon the Journals of the House. The dissentient prelates and peers complain that the Bill endangers the security of the Church by removing "the perfect agreement and unanimity which has constantly hitherto been maintained between the laws of England and Ireland in all things that relate to religion and ecclesiastical matters, as far as the circumstances of the kingdom would possibly admit thereof." It is then asserted that the Bill extends toleration not only to "Dissenters whose principles are already known," but also to all who shall now or hereafter adopt the name of Protestant, no matter what their principles are or shall be. Thus wicked men, it is apprehended, may be enabled "under the name of Protestant Dissenters to poison the minds of the people," to the subversion of Christianity and the constitution. Lastly, the Bill is censured because it does not restrain "any Protestant Dissenter from setting up for a teacher," even before he has any congregation, but will encourage "such persons to go about seeking for disciples and proselytes, to the distraction of the minds of the people, and to the weakening of the Government." The nine prelates who signed the protest were the Primate, Lindsay (whose sleeve had been pulled by the Chancellor in former days), the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the Bishops of Kildare, Clonfert, Limerick, Clogher, Down, and Ossory. All of these bishops but two had been born in Ireland. The Archbishop of Dublin, King, was noted for his learning and talent; Sir Thomas Vesey, the Archbishop of Tuam, was ancestor of the Viscounts de Vesey; and Bishop Stearne, of Clogher, was a distinguished benefactor to Trinity College and various Protestant institutions.

Archbishop King, in some letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, extracts from which are published by Mant, gives an insight to the feelings with which this Toleration Bill was regarded by the Church and State party of the day. The Dissenters, so writes his Grace, wanted not "the ease of their conscience and the liberty of serving God in their own way," but "to get the whole power in their hands and settle Presbytery in Ireland." "The House of Commons," so the archbishop asserts, "were resolved to preserve the test in its

full latitude," and had not "any great mind, that his Grace could perceive, for the toleration; but being so hardly pressed by the Lord-Lieutenant's speech, they seemed under a necessity to do something which might be reckoned a compliance." In the Privy Council the debates on the different clauses of the Bill were long and warm. The archbishop and his party "laboured with the utmost diligence" to attain their object. The divisions were close—ten on each side—the Lord-Lieutenant giving the casting-vote. The archbishop considered the toleration granted by this pernicious Bill to be so wide as is "not preceded in the whole earth," and it could not have passed if the bishops that came from England "had not deserted" their brethren of Irish birth "and gone over to the adverse party." The arguments employed by the sturdy prelate are detailed by himself, and are some of the stock arguments used at all times in behalf of religious ascendancy in Ireland. The exact conformity of the two Churches of England and Ireland was, it seems, one of the conditions in "the original contract between the people of Ireland and Henry II. on the submission of this kingdom," and ever since has been "a necessary piece of policy" for the continuance of the connection between the two countries. The Act of Uniformity was "an essential and fundamental part of the Union with Scotland;" but the Toleration Act "repealeth almost all of it, particularly those parts that are most essential to religion." Moreover, "the king at his coronation swears to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof as by law established in England and Ireland;" and the archbishop "showed that the Toleration Bill then before the House made it impossible for his Majesty to preserve the Church as his oath required, because it put it out of his power."

This Toleration Act, which so aggrieved Archbishop King, was, after all, of a mild character. By it Protestant Dissenters, including Quakers, were relieved from penalties for not going to the parish churches, and for officiating in meetings or congregations, and all Protestant Dissenters taking the oaths were saved from prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts for non-conformity. But the Sacramental Test, as a qualification for office, was not repealed, nor was any benefit extended to Roman Catholics, or to any persons who should deny the doctrine of the Trinity. Yet Archbishop King writes that by this Bill "Jews, Turks, Deists, Pagans, &c., may all set up for teachers, if they take the state oaths," and that "a full liberty is given to all sects to set up their meetings and propagate what doctrines they please." The archbishop's remark, that he would have been successful in opposing this Toleration Act if he had not been deserted by the bishops who had come from England, points to the existence at

this time of an English and of an Irish party among the prelates. But it must not be henceforth concluded that Archbishop King was very Irish or patriotic in his sympathies. The "Representation" which was made to the king on the 17th of October, 1719, declaring his Majesty's prerogative of determining all Irish causes in his Irish Parliament, and deprecating the interference of the English Parliament, bears the signatures of five bishops, but not that of Archbishop King. It is incidentally noticed in this "Representation" that while many Papists—peers and commoners—sat in the Irish Parliament, "their judicature was never questioned. But of late, since only Protestants are qualified to have a share in the legislature, their power, and the right of hearing causes in Parliament, hath been denied, to the great discouragement and weakening of the Protestant interest in Ireland." The same Parliament which passed the Toleration Act for Dissenters passed also some Bills, namely, those for improving the condition of curates, and restoring impropriations, for the advantage of the Church. A No-Popery Bill, however, sent up from the Commons, and read a first time in the Lords on the 30th of October, 1719, was rejected on the 2nd of November following. The sentiments of Archbishop King regarding the supposed terrible effect of the Toleration Act, seem to have been rapidly modified. In 1720 he deputed his friend, the Archbishop of Tuam, to visit for him the Dublin clergy, and wrote some instructions to guide his deputy in the visitation. In particular he asked him to remind the clergy that they no longer could expect the aid and assistance of the civil power, and of ecclesiastical courts as in times past, but that if they used "the means and methods which Christ has left us," they would "go further to support religion and holiness than all temporal motives and assistance could do without them." He appealed also to experience, and said that if one observed the state of religion since the Restoration, it would, perhaps, be found "that the Church never gained more true friends than when the civil power gave her doctrine and worship least encouragement, nor lost more the hearts and affections of her people than when seeming most encouraged."

The years 1721 and 1722 and 1723 were not remarkable for any proceedings in the House of Lords which here require notice. Unity among Protestants was recommended by the Duke of Grafton when he opened the session of 1721; and the peers promised, in reply, "to do everything that lay in their power for the security and strengthening of our excellent Church, as by law established, and the support of the Protestant interest." The same Lord-Lieutenant, in 1723, informed Parliament that the king had "nothing more at heart than to make them a happy Protestant people." "I cannot but think it"—said his Excellency—"a matter deserving your serious attention, to provide

some laws for the further strengthening the Protestant interest of this kingdom, particularly for preventing more effectually the eluding of those in being against Popish priests; it being too notorious that the number of such is of late greatly increased." The peers thank his Grace for "proposing to have such laws made as may best provide for and employ the multitude of poor that infest the whole kingdom, and free us from the crowds of Popish priests, whose numbers of late, contrary to law, are greatly increased among us." In 1724, however, another measure for relief of Protestant Dissenters was passed, namely, the Act for "accepting the solemn affirmation or declaration of the people called Quakers, in certain cases, instead of an oath in the usual form." This Act was only to continue for three years. The Lord Chancellor (Middleton)—the former advocate of the Nonconformists—Lords Mayo, Charlemont, and Strabane, with the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishops of Clogher, Ossory, and Killaloe, enter a strong dissent against this Quakers' Affirmation Bill, on the 27th of January. They state their objections at some length, and under seven heads. First, they argue that the testimony upon "oath—which is the strongest obligation that can be laid upon conscience," and the great security for property—will be to some extent removed by the substitution of an affirmation, which is "not so great a tie upon the conscience as that of an oath." Besides, "the principal men of the Quakers" refuse to submit to any form of affirmation containing an express acknowledgement that to speak falsely or deceitfully is a great sin. For which reason it would be "a betraying and giving up the rights and properties of ourselves and of our fellow subjects, wherewith we are intrusted, by making them subject to the bare affirmation or declaration of every Quaker in all the several cases in the said Bill mentioned." Secondly, the Bill "affects the rights and properties of the king's subjects, not merely in the future but in the past," for many persons have had dealings with the Quakers, and will be "obliged to pay all the demands which such Quakers" may "pretend to have upon them, without any other proof" but "the bare affirmation or declaration" of Quakers themselves. Thirdly, the Bill

"Will not only tend to the great hurt of his Majesty's good subjects, but also be a great temptation to many weak as well as worldly persons to hazard their salvation by joining themselves to that sect, as seemingly acknowledged by us to be men of greater probity than all others, as well as thereby to become for the most part useless to the public as magistrates, soldiers, jurymen, constables, or in any other capacity except that of getting wealth for themselves alone."

Fourthly, the Bill prescribes no way of knowing who is a Quaker, save by a certificate, signed by six credible Quakers, without any way of ascertaining the credibility or the religious persuasion of those who

sign it, whereby a matter of consequence to the properties of subjects is left "at a great uncertainty." Fifthly, because "the punishment which is to fall upon a Quaker, in case he falsely affirms or declares," seems not so great as in reason it ought to be, which it is "feared may be an encouragement to men of that sect to prevaricate in their testimony, whenever they shall be thereunto tempted by the prospect of gain to themselves or their friends." Sixthly, because it is plain

"That Quakers, whatever they may pretend, do not really look upon an oath to be unlawful, none of them having ever made the least scruple of producing other witnesses, whenever there was occasion to swear in their behalf, and many of themselves having often taken an oath in the common course of justice."

This Bill is, therefore, more "a gratification of their vanity and singularity," and a means for greatly promoting their worldly interest than "an indulgence to the tenderness of their conscience." Seventhly, the protesting peers cannot but look upon the great honour done to the Quakers as

"A dishonour done to all the rest of mankind, their affirmation or declaration, without an oath, being in many cases to be taken, where the testimony of any other man, and even of a member of this High Court of Parliament, is not to be admitted except it be given upon oath, which we" (so say the dissentients) "take to be in some sort a degrading of ourselves, as well as all other men, below the rank of the meanest and most contemptible Quaker."

The Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Grafton, closed the session of 1724, during which this Quakers' Affirmation Bill was passed, on the 10th of February, with a speech containing a strong incentive to activity against the Irish Catholics. He assured Parliament that he would direct that such persons only be put into the commission of the peace who are steady adherents to the Protestant interest. His Grace also said:—

"I recommend to you, in your several stations, the care and preservation of the public peace. This desirable end will, in my opinion" (so the Viceroy proceeded), "be greatly promoted by a vigorous execution of the laws against Popish priests, to the neglect of which, I must tell you, is imputed, in a great measure, the increase of their numbers."

The vice-royalty of Lord Carteret—the Duke of Grafton's successor—was marked not only by official exhortations to Parliament to repress Roman Catholicism, but by some additions to the penal laws. Lord Carteret opened the session on the 21st of September, 1725, and after exhorting Parliament to devise a law for "the effectual transportation of felons," proceeds in these words:—

"I also recommend it to you to consider of the best methods for securing us from the mischiefs which may be reasonably apprehended from the numbers of Popish priests and regulars which daily increase. As all

Protestants of this kingdom can have but one common interest, and have too often fatally experienced that they have the same common enemy, there ought to be the strictest union among us."

This speech was pronounced "a very good speech" by Primate Boulter, who moved the address to the king upon it. Boulter succeeded in defeating an amendment proposed to the address by the Archbishop (King) of Dublin, by a majority of nine, in a House of thirty-three peers. This Archbishop of Armagh, Hugh Boulter, had now and afterwards immense power and influence. Swift asserted at this time that "the primate and the Earl of Cavan governed the House of Lords." In December of this year, 1725, the Peers "resolved that no Papist, or reputed Papist, shall, for the future, be intitled to the protection or privilege of this House, upon account of his being employed as Agent, Steward, or Receiver, by any Peer or Lord of Parliament." In 1726 the Peers passed "an Act to prevent marriages by degraded clergymen and Popish priests." By this Act, a Popish priest who celebrated a marriage between two Protestants or between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic was made guilty of "felony, without benefit of clergy." On the day when this Act passed, the bishops formed a majority of the House. The average attendance of spiritual peers during the year 1726 was fourteen, and of lay peers only eleven.

GEORGE II.

Lord Carteret, when a new Parliament assembled on the 28th of November, 1727, urged strenuously the adoption of laws "to enforce the execution of those that relate to the security of the public, and the preventing Popish priests and regulars from coming into this kingdom;" and the peers passed resolutions in conformity with his Excellency's advice. Early in the following year, namely, in February, 1728, Primate Boulter presented to the Lords the heads of a Bill for regulating the admission of barristers, and "for preventing Papists practising as solicitors, and for further strengthening the Protestant interest in Ireland." By this Act, converts from Popery were compelled to prove that they had been Protestants for two whole years before admission to either branch of the law or to offices in the courts. Primate Boulter and Archbishop Synge were members, in this month, of a Committee, consisting of four lay and seven spiritual peers, for preparing a Bill "more effectually to provide for the guardianship of Popish minors, and to prevent their being bred Papists." And Primate Boulter, in the same month, brings up the report of the Committee which sat to arrange concerning the tapestry to be ordered for the House. This tapestry was to represent, in six pieces, the siege of Londonderry—the landing of

William at Carrickfergus—the victory of the Boyne, with the rout of the Irish army—William's entry into Dublin—the Battle of Aughrim—and the capture of Cork and Kinsale by the Duke of Marlborough. The Parliament passed the penal acts which Boulter advocated, and some others which he proposed for the temporal good of the Establishment. They also renewed the Quakers' Affirmation Bill for seven years, despite the opposition of the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Clogher. The Quakers, according to the preamble of this Bill, had "not abused the liberty and indulgence allowed them by law," and had proved themselves friends to the king and the Protestant succession. An Act was also passed whereby it was enacted that no Papist should be entitled to vote at the election of Members of Parliament, or of magistrates for cities or corporate towns. The peers, on the 1st May, 1728,—the bishops being a large majority of the House,—address the Lord-Lieutenant in congratulatory terms, and say :—

"We cannot think that we indulge these pleasing expectations [of lasting prosperity] too far, when we observe party divisions among the Protestants of this kingdom to be much abated—those laws against Popery (which by artful men had been eluded) restored to their first design—and such provision made for the real conversion of the Popish natives as by the Divine assistance may in time make us one people."

The leading part taken by Primate Boulter and the bishops in the Parliamentary business of this period appears from Boulter's own letters, wherein he seems the life and soul, not only of the legislation affecting the internal welfare of the Church, but also of the penal legislation affecting the Irish Roman Catholics. He was ably seconded in his efforts by the Irish prelates, who in the year 1729 formed a large proportion of the House of Peers. Indeed, the bishops formed a majority of the House on nineteen occasions, and a moiety on three occasions in that year, during which the House met on only thirty-two days. The average attendance of bishops was fourteen, and of lay peers only eleven. On the 10th November, 1729, in a House consisting of twelve lay and eight spiritual peers, it was ordered that the House should "be put into a Committee" on the Friday following, "to consider of the present state of Popery." The progress of this Committee is duly reported by Ralph Lambert, Bishop of Meath, who, on the 22nd December, brings up several resolutions. It appears from these that the not sufficiently putting the laws against Popery in execution had encouraged great numbers of Popish priests, monks, friars, and Jesuits, to come into Ireland of late, to the great danger of the peace of the realm, "and to the great oppression of the Papists themselves." It was resolved to charge all justices and magistrates to use greater strictness; and it was ordered that "the Bishop of

Meath, the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Earl of Cavan, do prepare and bring in a Bill for better securing the Protestant interest," &c. The Bishop of Meath brings in accordingly a No-Popery Bill on the 30th of December, 1729, in a House of twenty members, of whom fourteen were prelates. This Bill, however, was suffered to drop, nor were any penal Acts passed in 1730.

The next session was opened on the 5th of October, 1731, by the Duke of Dorset as Lord-Lieutenant, who asked Parliament to consider whether further laws against Popery were not required. On the following day the peers expressed their desire to stop the further growth of Popery, and the whole House was made a Committee for religion. The primate, on the 10th November (seventeen prelates being present in a House of thirty members), reports from the Committee; and the Peers thereupon order the judges to prepare a Bill "for the more effectually disarming the Papists in this kingdom." This disarming Bill was discussed on several occasions, and finally was agreed to, the bishops being in a large majority on every occasion. The Bishop of Meath next presents a Bill to annul mixed marriages performed by Popish priests, and Boulter presents Bills against Popery, for registering the Popish clergy, and for compelling converts to educate their children in the Protestant religion. In 1732, Boulter offers a Bill to render more effectual the Act for disarming Papists; and, in 1733, the Bishop of Killala presents another Bill to prevent marriages by Popish priests between Protestants and Roman Catholics. By Acts passed in this Parliament, it was made illegal for barristers or solicitors to employ Popish clerks or apprentices; and Protestants, who had Popish wives or children, were disqualified for the Commission of the Peace. But the House of Commons rejected several penal Bills against the Catholics which had been agreed to by the Lords. In the year 1733, the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, made efforts to prevail on the Irish Parliament to repeal the Sacramental Test Act, in favour of the Presbyterians; but so much opposition was encountered, that the Government relinquished their design. Boulter says that if the proposal had come before the Lords, "there would have been at least two to one against it." The Irish bishops and clergy in this same year, 1733, memorialled the king with success for a charter to be granted to an association for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland, and the famous Charter schools were established.

During the long vice-royalty of the Duke of Devonshire, which lasted from 1737 to 1745, the laws, it is said, were administered with leniency, although no relaxation of the penal code was attempted, but some few additions to it were made. In 1740 a stringent Act for more effectually disarming all Papists was passed through Parliament,

the Archbishop of Dublin, Hoadley, reporting its progress in the Lords. In 1743 a Bill for naturalizing the Jews was "committed" by a majority of five peers in a House of thirty-five members, the Bishop of Cork (Clayton) reporting it. This Bill did not succeed in its subsequent stages, and when again presented to the peers in 1745, was lost by a majority of six votes in a House of twenty-eight members—George Stone, then Bishop of Derry, entering his dissent against its rejection. The Earl of Chesterfield became Lord-Lieutenant in August, 1745, when the rebellion in Scotland was raging, and when opening the Parliamentary Session in October, inquires

"Whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of Papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorize restraint."

A Protestant Defence Association is now formed. It is made felony for a Roman Catholic priest to celebrate marriage "between a Papist and any one who hath been or hath professed him or herself to be a Protestant within twelve months" before such marriage. Acts are also passed against foreign enlistment and foreign education. In 1747 the Earl of Harrington recommends the Charter schools to Parliament. The Bishop of Meath, in 1748, presents a Bill to restrain foreign education. Primate Stone gets an Act passed in 1750 to prevent clandestine marriages by Popish priests. The Charter schools, in 1751, are recommended to the care of Parliament by the Duke of Dorset, the Lord-Lieutenant. Similar charges concerning the Charter schools are given to Parliament, in 1753, by the Duke of Dorset, and in 1755 by the Marquis of Hartington, at successive openings of the sessions. Some further legislation against Roman Catholics seems to have been contemplated by some of the peers in 1756. On the 5th and 6th of January in that year—the bishops forming a majority in the House—it was resolved:—

"That the number of Popish priests, monks, and friars had of late increased in this kingdom to the manifest prejudice of the Protestant religion and of his Majesty's Government;" and "that the allowing a competent number of Popish secular priests to exercise their functions under proper rules and restrictions, with a due execution of the laws against regulars and persons exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, would tend to deliver this kingdom from the great number of monks and friars that at present infest it."

It was also resolved "that the number of parochial ministers of the Established Church of this kingdom is not sufficient to extend the Protestant religion in those countries [districts?] that are Popishly affected; that parishes should be divided and churches

rebuilt; and that the "actual residence of a minister of the Established Church upon every benefice" where there is, or shall be, a church built, will be a means of stopping "the growth of Popery." A Bill for the compulsory registration of Popish priests, which was of a highly offensive character in the eyes of Roman Catholics, was forthwith, on the 6th of January, introduced by Viscount Limerick. This Bill provided that Popish priests should be licensed to officiate, if two Roman Catholics in each district would enter into security for their good behaviour, and enacted that the whole number of priests so licensed or registered should not exceed one hundred throughout the whole of Ireland; that these priests should be seculars removable by the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council; that if any priest should cause a Protestant to recant, his permission or licence should be withdrawn; and that all the old penalties should remain in force against regulars and Popish officials exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. De Burgo, author of "*Hibernia Dominicana*," and subsequently Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, who was present at all the debates on this Bill in disguise ("occultus"), relates that the bigoted exertions of Viscount Limerick and his lay adherents to pass the Bill were defeated by the votes of Primate Stone and three archbishops on one occasion; of sixteen prelates on another occasion; and, on a third day, of ten prelates. It appears from the Journals that fourteen prelates and twenty-one lay peers were present on the 21st of January, 1756, when the Bill was considered; that twelve spiritual and fourteen lay peers were present on the 22nd, when the Bill was agreed to with amendments; and that it was ordered, on the 29th, when fifteen bishops and twenty-two lay peers were present, to be read a third time that day three months. When the Bill came on again upon the 29th of April, nine bishops were present, and only seven lay peers, and the obnoxious Bill was adjourned to that day month—a day on which the House did not meet. Primate Stone, in this year, 1756, carried a Bill for the increase of benefices and furtherance of clerical residence by aid of the First Fruits and Boulter's bequest. A Bill, sent up from the Commons, to relieve Protestant Dissenters from the penalties of certain portions of the penal Act of 2 Anne, chap. 6, and to enable the Dissenters "to hold commissions in the militia, and to act in the commission of array," was favourably received by the Lords. It was read a first time on the 29th of April, when the bishops were a moiety of the House; a second time on the 4th of May, when thirteen bishops and eighteen lay peers were present; and it was passed on the 7th of May, when the House consisted of twelve bishops and twenty-two lay peers. The royal assent to this and the other acts of the session was given on the day after the passing of the Dissenters' Relief Bill, and Par-

liament was, on the same day, the 8th of May, 1756, prorogued by the Lord-Lieutenant, who informed both Houses that, "by strengthening his Majesty's hands they had, in the most prudent manner, consulted the preservation of all that could be dear to them as Protestants or men."

The Duke of Bedford opened the parliamentary session in 1757, on the 11th of October, with an exhortation to "consider the state of the Charter schools, and what further steps may be taken to strengthen the Protestant interest, and to promote the linen manufacture." On the same day the Earl of Clanbrassil repeated the attempt which he had made the year before, when he was the Viscount Limerick, to pass a Bill for compulsory registration of Popish priests. His Bill obtained a second reading on the 2nd of November, when sixteen lay and twelve spiritual peers were present. It was adjourned on the 21st of November, by fifteen votes against eleven, to the 6th of December, when it passed a third reading, and was sent for "transmission" by a vote of nineteen peers against eighteen of those present, or, when proxies were called for, by twenty-four votes against twenty-one. This Bill, however, which Stone and the other prelates warmly opposed, never received the royal assent.

GEORGE III.

The Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Halifax, opens the session in October, 1761, with a speech concerning the new king, assuring Parliament that the preservation of "the Constitution in Church and State" will be "the first and constant object of his care." His Excellency also reminds Parliament that "there is no object more worthy their attention than the Protestant Charter schools;" and that "notwithstanding the peaceable demeanour of the Papists in this kingdom, it must always be their duty and interest to divert from error, by every effectual though gentle method, the deluded followers of a blind religion." The Peers promise, in reply, to accept gratefully his Excellency's "assistance to establish them, under his Majesty's paternal influence, an opulent, flourishing, Protestant people." When the next Viceroy, the Earl of Northumberland, opens Parliament, in 1763, he thus mentions the then recent riots in parts of Ulster and Munster:—

"The tumultuous risings of the lower people, in contempt of laws and of magistracy, and of every constitutional subordination, must, if not duly attended to, be productive of the most fatal consequences. They are a disgrace to a country of liberty; they are ruinous to a country of commerce; and must be particularly fatal here, where the least check to the rising spirit of industry is so very sensibly felt, and so very difficult to be retrieved. No means can serve more effectually to prevent these disorders for the future, than the encouragement of such institutions as tend to impress on

the minds of the lower order of people early habits of industry and true principles of religion. For this purpose your Protestant Charter schools were established, to which I therefore recommend the continuance of your care, encouragement, and support."

The Earl of Hertford, as Lord-Lieutenant, in 1765, also commends the Charter schools to Parliament, observing that "when our thoughts are turned to promote industry in the people, we should remember how necessary religious principles and virtuous education are to obtain that end." These schools were styled by Viscount Townshend, the Lord-Lieutenant in 1767, "the great sources of industry, virtue, and true religion."

Under Viscount Townshend's Viceroyalty, in 1768, the attention of the peers was turned to the statistics of religion furnished by the bishops in compliance with a late order of the House, and at the same time an effort was made to repeal a portion of the laws against Roman Catholics. On the 3rd of February, 1768, the Peers—in a House of thirty-seven lay and eighteen spiritual lords—ordered the judges to prepare a Bill, "to enable Papists to lend money upon mortgages," with a special clause, however, "to prevent Papists from being mortgagees in possession." Lord Annaly, the Lord Chief-Justice, presented, accordingly, a Bill for such a purpose, which was read a first time on the 1st of March, when nine prelates and twenty lay peers were present; and a second time on the day following, when only five prelates were present in a House of twenty-three peers. On the 8th of March, when nineteen lay and nine spiritual peers attended, Lord Annaly's Bill was sent for "transmission," but made during that year no further progress. Nor was Lord Annaly more fortunate in the following year, 1769, although his Bill to enable Papists to lend money on mortgages was again, after several adjournments, passed and sent for "transmission" on the 8th of December. Lord Annaly made another vain effort in 1771, when his Mortgage Bill was read a third time, with a majority of twenty votes, on the 11th of March, and was sent for "transmission," but was never passed into an Act. On the 10th of May in the same year, 1771, Lord Annaly presented a second Bill "to secure repayment of money really lent by Papists to Protestants on mortgages;" but this Bill was rejected by the Lords on its second reading, on the 13th of May, by nineteen votes against twelve.

"A Bill for the better encouragement of persons professing the Popish religion to become Protestants" was, in 1772, presented to the peers by the Earl of Charlemont. This Bill got a second reading on the 4th of March, when sixteen lay and three spiritual peers were present; was adjourned on the 11th of March by a majority

of two votes in a House of thirty-eight members, of whom seven were prelates; and was dropped altogether on the 13th of March, when it failed to get a third reading, in a House of twenty-eight lay and eight spiritual peers. A Bill was, however, sent up from the Commons in this year, 1772, to encourage those Roman Catholic priests who should conform to Protestantism. By the Act 2 Anne, chapter vii., section 2, converted priests were to have £20 yearly for their maintenance, to be levied off the county; and this maintenance, being found insufficient, is now doubled, and raised to £40 per annum. Five prelates and twenty-one lay peers were present on the 18th of May, when this Act passed. The Peers rejected, on the 22nd of May, 1772, a Bill which the Commons sent up to secure the repayment of money really lent by Papists to Protestants on mortgages. The votes for this Bill were eighteen for, and twenty-three against it; or, with proxies, twenty-seven for, and twenty-five against it.

Earl Harcourt, in 1773, informed Parliament at its opening, that it was his "duty to call their particular attention to such laws as respect the religion and morals, the security and good order of the people. It is in vain"—so the Lord-Lieutenant proceeds—"that laws are made for the punishment of offenders, unless their morals can be reformed and their minds impressed with principles of virtue." He then commends the Charter schools as "the seminaries of true religion and industry." A Papist Mortgage Bill, introduced this year by Viscount Mountmorres, obtained its third reading and "transmission" upon the 17th of December, by a majority of five peers, in a House of thirty-three; or, counting proxies, by twenty-nine votes against seventeen. Nine prelates and nine lay peers entered a strong protest against the passing of this Bill. The dissentient peers declare in their protest that all the penal laws against Papists in Ireland were caused by their rebellions and treasons, and tend to preserve the Protestant interest—that "every actual or virtual repeal of any part of those laws will encourage the spirit of Popery," and excite discontent among Protestants, "especially as arguments were offered" by some advocates of the Bill "which may be considered as levelled against the whole system of the Popery laws"—and "that this Bill tends in part to repeal" those penal laws. They say also that "as attempts to introduce Bills in favour of Papists have become frequent, the number of converts to the established religion has decreased in proportion;" and they impute this decrease, which was "particularly observable in the last two years," to the expectations the Papists had of obtaining this very Bill; it having been rejected by the Lords, in 1771, "by a majority of only two voices." This Mortgage

Bill—so these peers protest—will prevent conformity more effectually even than an Act permitting Papists to purchase land; for six per cent. can be had by mortgages, but only four or four and a half per cent. by purchase of estates. The eldest sons of Popish purchasers would have a strong inducement to conform, and thereby make their fathers tenants for life, acquiring the reversion and inheritance to themselves. An estate purchased by a Papist, moreover, will gavel, or descend in equal shares, among his sons; but money lent on mortgage will not gavel, and “the whole may be disposed of by the Popish parent to that child who is most zealously attached to the Popish religion.” It is then argued that this Bill will increase the power and influence of the Papists by increasing the number of Protestant debtors to Popish creditors—by subjecting Protestant electors to the control of Papists, and filling Parliament with their nominees—and by “polluting some of the sources of justice” when “those intrusted in inferior stations with the administration of the laws may be tempted not to exert themselves in their offices against Papists while their estates are mortgaged to persons of the Popish religion for larger sums than they can readily or conveniently pay.” It is also urged that, as Papists in England are not allowed to take mortgages, though the Protestants there “exceed the Papists in number in the proportion of above one hundred to one,” it cannot be right to grant such an indulgence to Papists in Ireland, “where they exceed the Protestants in number in the proportion of four or five to one, at the least, and where there is too much reason to dread the increase of their influence.” The dissentients likewise regard “any accession of influence given to the Papists under the present Bill as given entirely out of the landed estates of Protestants.”

The prelates who signed this protest, in which they so thoroughly identified themselves with the full and fell spirit of the Popery laws, were the Primate, Robinson; the Archbishop of Dublin, Cradock; and the Bishops of Limerick, Cloyne, Ferns, Ossory, Cork, Dromore, and Killaloe. Four of these bishops were subsequently made archbishops; for Agar of Cloyne became Archbishop of Dublin and Earl of Normanton; Fowler of Killaloe also became Archbishop of Dublin; Newcome of Dromore became Primate; and Bourke of Ferns, afterwards third Earl of Mayo, became Archbishop of Tuam. This intolerant protest had its effect. When Lord Ranelagh, in the following year, 1774, again brought forward a Papist Mortgage Bill—for that of 1773 did not become an Act—it was rejected, on the 10th of May, by the votes of twenty-nine peers against twelve; or, with proxies, by forty-three votes against twenty.

But if relief in temporal matters was denied to the Roman

Catholics by the bigoted opposition of some bishops and lay peers in 1774, there was a very important concession made to them in a matter of sentiment in the same year, by "an Act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him." By this Act it was conceded to Roman Catholics that they might believe in the spiritual power of the Pope without being necessarily disloyal to the King of Great Britain. They were permitted to take the oaths of allegiance, and to declare their belief "that the Pope of Rome neither had, nor ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm." Thus, as Bishop Mant says, "the small end of the wedge" was introduced, and a beginning made towards the repeal of the penal laws.

Four years later a more substantial triumph was afforded to the Irish Roman Catholics. The Earl Buckinghamshire (who in 1777 opened Parliament with a speech commending the Protestant Charter schools in especial reference to "educating the distressed children of the North in sound principles") was the Lord-Lieutenant, under whom was carried, in 1778, "an Act for the relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion." This Bill was sent up from the Commons and read a first time on the 6th of August, when seven bishops and twenty-six lay peers were present. On the second reading, on the 10th, its "committal" was vainly opposed by eighteen peers against thirty-one, or, reckoning proxies, by twenty-eight votes against forty-four. The third reading was carried on the 12th, by a majority of thirteen in a House of twenty-three members, or, with proxies, by thirty-six votes against twelve. The Earl Clermont, William Henry Fortescue, had the honour of reporting the majority on this Bill, a distinction of which the present representatives of his family are, doubtless, deservedly proud.

The preamble of this Bill contains what Bishop Mant bewails as "a parliamentary innovation;" for instead of using the term "Papists," or "persons professing the Popish religion," as in other Acts, and as in the body of this Act itself, it speaks of "the Roman Catholics of Ireland," from whose "uniform peaceable demeanour for a long series of years" it is deemed reasonable to remove certain disabilities and incapacities imposed by Queen Anne. This Act allowed Roman Catholics to purchase or inherit leasehold estates for 999 years, and removed the power which a conforming eldest son of a Roman Catholic proprietor had of making his father tenant for life. But the benefits of the Act were not extended to converts from Popery who should relapse, nor to any converts from Protestantism to Popery. No dissent, or protest, was entered by any of the prelates against this Act, which received the royal assent on the 14th of August, 1778.

After an interval of two years, the Irish Protestant Dissenters were gratified by the repeal of that part of Queen Anne's penal statute which imposed the Sacrament upon Dissenters as a test or qualification for official employment. This Bill was brought up from the Commons on the 20th of April, 1780; received its second reading on the 27th, when twelve bishops and twenty-six lay peers were present; and was passed, on the 2nd of May, in a House of eight spiritual and eighteen temporal lords. Four prelates—the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam and the Bishops of Kildare and Limerick—enter their reasons for protesting against this Act, "because," as they conceive, "it makes a most material alteration in the Constitution of this kingdom, the consequences whereof are much to be apprehended, though possibly they may not all be foreseen in their full extent." The Archbishop of Cashel records another protest and says:—

"The same attachment to the Constitution of this country, in all its parts, which induced me, in the course of the debate, to offer at large my reasons for opposing the progress of this Bill, has determined me to leave my dissent against the passing of it on record to posterity."

An Act for naturalizing all such foreign merchants, traders, workmen, and farmers as shall settle in this kingdom, was likewise carried in this year, 1780, through the Lords, after some opposition; the Earl Clermont reporting the majority of sixteen peers in a House of twenty-seven members. A Bill "for the relief of tenants holding under-leases containing covenants of perpetual renewal" was also proposed this year, and was strenuously resisted. Its third reading was carried on the 19th of August, by a very narrow majority of one, or, perhaps, by a casting vote. Twenty-one peers entered a protest, being headed by Beresford, Earl of Tyrone, who was aided by the Primate, Robinson; by the Archbishop of Cashel; and by another Beresford, the Bishop of Dromore, who was subsequently created Lord Decies. The Earl of Tyrone entered a second dissent, signed by himself alone, in which he calls the Tenant Relief Bill "a gross violation of the Constitution, and a measure dangerous by its example to the liberty and property of the subject," and an "alarming precedent."

The Charter schools, which were brought under the notice of Parliament at nearly every sessional opening, were thus alluded to in the Earl of Carlisle's speech in October, 1781:—"The humanity and wisdom of those motives which influence your support of the Protestant Charter schools, as seminaries of true religion and honest industry, will continue to engage your regard."

The most important Acts for the relief of both Roman Catholics and Dissenters were passed in the year 1782, when the Duke of

Portland was Viceroy. On one and the same day, the 25th of April, 1782, two Bills, sent up from the Commons, received their first reading in the Lords, eleven prelates and twenty-two lay peers being present. These Bills were entitled respectively "An Act for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion," and "An Act for the relief of Protestant Dissenters in certain matters therein contained." The former of these Bills, which repealed many of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and gave them power to hold land in fee, was carried through its second reading on the 2nd of May, by thirty-nine votes against twenty-five (the Earl of Westmeath reporting), or, with proxies, by forty-six votes against twenty-nine. This Act and another which repealed the laws against Popish schoolmasters were passed on the 4th of May, and received the royal assent without any protest being entered against them by the bishops.

The Act for repealing the Test Act in favour of Protestant Dissenters, which was the second of the Bills sent up from the Commons and read a first time on the 25th of April, was much more bitterly regarded, and was strenuously, but vainly, opposed. This Bill was petitioned against on the 30th of April, by Kilner Swettenham, Esq.; the Rev. Henry Gervaise, Archdeacon of Cashel; Thomas Torrens, Prebendary of St. Patrick's; Beather King, Prebendary of Cloyne, and Rector of Kildrough or Straffan in Dublin; William Warren, Prebendary of St. Patrick's; and the Rev. Samuel Murray. The second reading was carried on the 3rd of May, by twenty-nine votes against twenty (the Earl of Mornington reporting), or, reckoning proxies, by thirty-five against twenty-three. The third reading was carried on the 4th of May, when a very long protest against the Bill was adopted by twenty-two peers, thirteen of whom were prelates. Three archbishops—Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel—and Newcome, of Waterford, afterwards the primate, were among the thirteen bishops who thus resisted concessions to Protestant Dissenters, or, as Mant describes them, "the hereditary enemies of the Irish Church." The protest complains at great length of the privilege granted to Dissenting ministers to celebrate marriages between Dissenters, and describes, under various aspects, the evil consequences apprehended to result to Protestant Dissenters themselves from such a privilege. The alarming and somewhat ludicrous anticipations of the bishops were not, however, shared by the Duke of Portland, who, when congratulating Parliament at the termination of the session on the successful issue of their labours, said:—

"You have cherished and enlarged the wise principles of toleration; and made considerable advances in abolishing those distinctions which have too long impeded the progress of industry, and divided the nation. The

diligence and ardour with which you have persevered in the accomplishment of those great objects must ever bear the most honourable testimony to your zeal and industry in the service of your country, and manifest your knowledge in its true interests."

The Protestant Charter schools were duly noticed by successive viceroys at the opening of each session. Thus the Earl of Northington in 1783, the Duke of Rutland in 1785, and the Earl of Westmoreland, in 1792, concur in commending these institutions to Parliament. Under the vice-royalty of Lord Westmoreland, some other steps were taken to abolish the penal laws. On the 24th of February, 1792, when the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Ossory, Cork, and Killala were present, the Bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe was brought up from the Commons, which gave Roman Catholics admission to the bar, allowed them to practise as solicitors, employ Roman Catholic apprentices, intermarry with Protestants, and teach school. This Bill was passed, with a slight amendment by the Lords, on the 3rd of March, when eight prelates were in the House. In this Act the phrase "Roman Catholics" was used instead of the offensive term "Papists," and its use gave great umbrage to the Church and State partisans. The Lord-Lieutenant, Westmoreland, when closing the session, conveys the approbation of the king to Parliament, and praises the wisdom that guided their proceedings, especially in the liberal indulgences they "afforded to their Roman Catholic brethren, by establishing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profession of the law and the benefits of education, and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures." The Earl of Westmoreland, in 1793, when opening Parliament, advised further inroads upon the penal code.

"I have it in particular command from his Majesty" (so said his Excellency) "to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's subjects in support of the established Constitution. With this view his Majesty trusts that the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his Parliament."

This speech proved the precursor of a Roman Catholic Relief Bill, passed on the 20th of March, 1793, by which the Catholics obtained a right to educate their children, vote at elections, hold civil, military, and other appointments, take degrees in Trinity College, and enjoy other privileges.

"An unusual ferment"—so the Report of a Secret Committee of the Lords—at this time (1793) disturbed Belfast, the county Antrim, and other parts—"prayers having even been offered up at Belfast

from the pulpit for the success of the French arms." The Report of the Lords' Committee to inquire into the causes of these disturbances, states :—

"The people at this time called defenders are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the Committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion—in general poor, ignorant, labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they are assisting the Catholic cause. In other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view; but they talk of being relieved from hearth money, tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. . . . But the Committee think it their duty to state that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances," &c.

Earl Fitzwilliam, in January, 1795, opened Parliament with a speech in which the erection of a Roman Catholic educational institution by State aid was hinted at :—

"Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration" (so said his Excellency to Parliament) "the state of education in this kingdom, which in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may require some new arrangement. Considerable advantages have been derived, under the wise regulations of Parliament, from the Protestant Charter schools, and these will, as usual, claim your attention. But as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, it is hoped that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it in the manner most beneficial and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland."

The earl then alluded to the state of affairs, and said :—

"The king has called upon the skill, courage, and experience of all his subjects wheresoever dispersed; and you must be duly sensible, in such a crisis as the present, which rarely occurs in the course of human affairs, of the advantage of his Majesty's thus endeavouring to profit of the united strength and zeal of every description of his subjects."

Earl Fitzwilliam, doubtless, alluded to the disturbances in France, which prevented that country from any longer affording a suitable resort for Irishmen who wished to study for the priesthood, and rendered it a necessity that some college for Roman Catholics should be provided in Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam was, however, suddenly recalled, and was succeeded in the vice-royalty by Earl Camden, under whom, in May, 1795, the Maynooth Bill was passed. This Bill was brought up from the Commons on the 9th of May, when eleven bishops and thirty lay peers were present. It was read a second time on the 11th of May; and was passed on the 13th of May, eighteen prelates and thirty-four lay lords being in the House. Earl Camden, at the close of this session, congratulated the Parliament and said: "A wise foundation has been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy."

diligence and ardour with which you have persevered in the accomplishment of those great objects must ever bear the most honourable testimony to your zeal and industry in the service of your country, and manifest your knowledge in its true interests."

The Protestant Charter schools were duly noticed by successive viceroys at the opening of each session. Thus the Earl of Northington in 1783, the Duke of Rutland in 1785, and the Earl of Westmoreland, in 1792, concur in commending these institutions to Parliament. Under the vice-royalty of Lord Westmoreland, some other steps were taken to abolish the penal laws. On the 24th of February, 1792, when the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Ossory, Cork, and Killala were present, the Bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe was brought up from the Commons, which gave Roman Catholics admission to the bar, allowed them to practise as solicitors, employ Roman Catholic apprentices, intermarry with Protestants, and teach school. This Bill was passed, with a slight amendment by the Lords, on the 3rd of March, when eight prelates were in the House. In this Act the phrase "Roman Catholics" was used instead of the offensive term "Papists," and its use gave great umbrage to the Church and State partisans. The Lord-Lieutenant, Westmoreland, when closing the session, conveys the approbation of the king to Parliament, and praises the wisdom that guided their proceedings, especially in the liberal indulgences they "afforded to their Roman Catholic brethren, by establishing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profession of the law and the benefits of education, and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures." The Earl of Westmoreland, in 1793, when opening Parliament, advised further inroads upon the penal code.

"I have it in particular command from his Majesty" (so said his Excellency) "to recommend it to you, to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's subjects in support of the established Constitution. With this view his Majesty trusts that the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his Parliament."

This speech proved the precursor of a Roman Catholic Relief Bill, passed on the 20th of March, 1793, by which the Catholics obtained a right to educate their children, vote at elections, hold civil, military, and other appointments, take degrees in Trinity College, and enjoy other privileges.

"An unusual ferment"—so the Report of a Secret Committee of the Lords—at this time (1793) disturbed Belfast, the county Antrim, and other parts—"prayers having even been offered up at Belfast

of March, 1798, against the Bill for restricting the liberty of the press. Those patriotic peers acknowledged, in their protest, the abuses of certain publications, but yet refused to "allow that it is either just or wise to attempt the curbing of such licence by any attack upon the liberty of the press, that sacred bulwark of our happy constitution." They advocated "the constitutional right of the Irish subject" to lay his grievances before the public, and expressed their "fixed opinion that public tranquillity and good order could only be restored to their distracted country by such measures as would conciliate the minds of the people." For this reason they thought it "in the highest degree impolitic, by laws of this nature, to foment and embitter those discontents which it ought to be their endeavour to assuage." But the signatures of the prelates—which were denied to protests breathing sentiments of patriotism, justice, and liberality—were freely appended to documents, from which, considering the true mission of the signers, they ought to have been carefully excluded. Loyalty, doubtless, is one of the Churchman's duties: but considering the extraordinary wrongs and administrative cruelties, which preceded the rebellion of 1798, and which accompanied and followed its repression, it is unpleasant to find the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishop of Meath, signing, in March, 1798, the proclamation of the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, urging the "officers commanding his Majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression of the rebellion." Still more distressing must it prove to all who believe the office of the Church to consist in devising methods to save men's souls, not to kill their bodies, to find the very first signature heading the proclamation for martial law in May, 1798, to be that of William Newcombe, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. Lord Clare's name succeeds to the Primate's, and the next signatures are those of the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, followed, at some interval, by those of the Bishops of Meath and Kildare. Yet the prelates, it must be remembered, only acted up to the spirit of the "prayer for the chief governor"—first placed in the Irish ritual by Act of Council in 1715—whereby it is supplicated that "he may use the sword" not only "for the protection of this people," but also for that of "the true religion established amongst us."

The Marquis Cornwallis, in June, 1798, received the sword, the emblem of vice-regal office in Ireland, and the rebellion was—it was supposed—speedily terminated. On the 19th of July, a message of pardon and amnesty is communicated to the House of Lords, and the peers, in reply, speak of Ireland having "risen to a height of prosperity which the most sanguine [sanguinary?] expectation could not have anticipated, and of which no former period of our history can furnish an example." They add, "that our commerce has been

enlarged, our Constitution improved, and every class of Irish subjects bound more closely to the throne of their sovereign by the most gracious acts of concession and beneficence." Such a laudatory address to Government starts up strangely amidst the groans and wailings of a broken nation; but it was voted without a single dissentient. The notions of the rebels with regard to religion may here be hurriedly noticed. "The intention was"—according to Dr. Macnevin's examination, taken in August, 1798—"to abolish the Church establishment, and not to have any established religion, but that all persons should exercise their respective religion and pay their own clergy. For my part," said Macnevin, "I would as soon establish the Mahometan as the Popish religion, though I am myself a Roman Catholic." When asked whether the mass of the people in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught cared for parliamentary reform or Catholic emancipation, he replied, "I am sure they do not; but they wish much to be relieved from the payment of tithes." Emmett also represented the people as wishing "principally for the abolition of tithes." The "ignorant and unwary" among the Roman Catholics were also persuaded that Government intended their destruction:—

"The vilest arts" (so said Earl Cornwallis to Parliament, in October, 1798) were used to persuade them "that in a reign which was marked by a series of indulgences to all sects of Christians, it is the intention of his Majesty's Government to oppress and even to extirpate that description of his subjects who received repeated and recent marks of his favour and protection."

A fresh Act of Parliament was passed in March, 1799, giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to employ martial law for extinguishing the still smouldering embers of rebellion. Five lay peers (no bishop joining them) dissent against this Bill because they conceive—

"That, instead of stimulating the minds of men by laws of this nature, the best and surest means of restoring tranquillity to this distracted country would be, to conciliate and secure the affections of the people towards the happy Constitution under which they were born, and their confidence in Parliament by the enactment of good and wholesome laws."

When the Legislative Union was recommended to Parliament by Lord Cornwallis in 1799, as essential to the security of the connection between the two countries, it was proposed to insert in the address to the king an assurance that the Union would tend "more than any other cause ultimately to a separation of Ireland from Great Britain." This proposal, which was negatived by forty-six votes against nineteen, was supported by fourteen peers, including the Duke of Leinster, the Earls of Granard and Charlemont, and the Bishop of Down. The Bishops of Down and Waterford, Dickson and Marlay, are found in February, 1800, dissenting against the Union, in company with twenty-four lay peers. When the resolutions on the Union

came for debate before the House on the 22nd of March, 1800, it was resolved by the fifty-four lay and fourteen spiritual peers there present, that "it would be fit to propose that the Churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, should be united into one Church, and the archbishops, bishops, deans, and clergy of the Churches of England and Ireland shall, from time to time, be summoned to, and entitled to sit in, Convocation of the United Church in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established with respect to the like orders of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of Scotland. And the continuance" of this Establishment shall be deemed a fundamental condition of the Union. This resolution was afterwards altered, as appears from a report made to the House on the 26th of March, by expunging the part relating to Convocation, and by the substitution of the following words: "And that when his Majesty shall summon a Convocation, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the several provinces in Ireland shall be respectively summoned to, and sit in the Convocation of the United Church." But the whole Convocation clause was omitted by the English Parliament. On the 26th of March, when the resolutions for Union were carried by forty-eight votes against sixteen, or, with proxies, by seventy-two against twenty-two, the Bishops of Down and Waterford join the dissentient peers in protesting against the Union as "a new system, totally subversive of every fundamental principle of that constitution which we consider as the best security for those liberties which the subjects of Ireland now enjoy."

Among the last Acts of the Irish Parliament was one passed "to quiet and bar all claims of tithe agistment for dry and barren cattle." This Bill was brought up from the Commons on the 10th of April by Lord Castlereagh; was "committed," after some opposition, on the 14th; and passed on the 15th: nineteen peers entering their dissent. Their reasons are stated at length. The clergy are by common law as much entitled to agistment as to any other tithe. A precedent is set by this Bill for transferring property from persons who have a right to it to other persons who have no right to it whatever; and if such a principle be once established by law, it is not possible to say how far it may be carried, or what security will remain for property of any kind. Besides no compensation has been given to the persons now despoiled. But the dissentient peers confess that the right to agistment-tithe had lain dormant for sixty years, and that its revival might lead to discontent and commotion,

and therefore they refrain from "any active opposition." The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin were not among the seventeen prelates who signed this protest.

The third reading of the Act of Union was carried on the 13th of June, 1800, by forty-one votes against fourteen, or with proxies, by seventy-three against twenty-one. Dissentient and protesting were twenty-two peers, of whom two were the Bishops of Down and Waterford. They protest, among many other reasons, because the measure "unites the legislatures but does not identify the nations. Their interests will remain," so say the dissentients, "as distinct as they are at present." Finally they protest—

"Because the argument made use of for the Union, namely, that the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue; and as the Ministers have declared that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly and under all difficulties their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the Minister to enter our protest against the project of Union."

Four prelates—Cashel, Limerick, Cloyne, and Killala—were present in the House of Lords on the 1st of August, 1800, when the royal assent was given to the Act of Union, by which the Irish Parliament ceased to live. One solitary bishop—Joseph Stock, of Killala—was present in the House of Lords on the day following, when the Marquis Cornwallis, after offering his "personal congratulations" upon what he termed "the fairest monument of his Majesty's reign," gave its last vice-regal prorogation to the Irish Parliament.

TABULAR DIGEST OF THE ATTENDANCES OF THE PEERS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT FROM 1634 TO 1800.

The years when the Bishops were a majority are thus * marked.

The total attendances in	Temporal.	Spiritual.	Number of the days on which the House met.	Average of Temporal Peers present.	Average of Spiritual Peers present.	Number of times the Temporal and Spiritual Peers were equal.	Number of times when the Spiritual Peers were a majority.
1634† were	567	237	20	24	10		
1635	132	43	11	11	3		
1640	283	166	15	16	9		
1641	72	19	7	10	3		
1642	42	25	9	5	3	3	
1643	1	1	1‡				
1644	14	6	2	5	2		
1645	45	34	7	5	4	2	
1646	7	12	2	4	6	2	

† From 1634 to 1695 (inclusive) committee-attendances are counted among the total attendances, and allowance has been made accordingly in striking the averages.

‡ The House met on two other days in 1643, but no account of the attendances is recorded.

The total attendances in	Temporal.	Spiritual.	Number of the days on which the House met.	Average of Temporal Peers present.	Average of Spiritual Peers present.	Number of times the Temporal and Spiritual Peers were equal.	Number of times when the Spiritual Peers were a majority.
1661 were	159	72	31	4	2	3	3
1662	298	110	49	4	2	5	3
1663	39	13	5	6	3		
1665	125	46	9	9	4		
1666	156	50	29	5	2	1	1
1692	508	363	22	13	9		
1695	1,198	954	61	16	13	6	5
1696	63	37	9	7	4	3	
1697	1,250	769	70	17	11		3
1698	807	629	48	16	13	2	3
1699	336	232	20	16	11		
*1703	676	717	44	15	16	5	11
*1704	309	326	26	11	12	2	12
*1705	538	598	45	11	13	8	29
*1707	758	786	56	13	14	5	31
1709	820	727	58	14	11	9	18
1710	481	303	40	12	7	2	1
1711	642	542	43	15	12	4	8
1713	424	326	23	18	14	2	2
1715	655	271	24	27	11		
1716	750	507	46	16	11	3	4
1717	676	593	54	12	11	3	19
1719	1,039	708	57	18	12		
1721	642	344	37	17	9	2	1
1722	99	102	11	9	9	2	4
1723	543	458	37	14	12	3	6
1724	377	258	22	17	13		2
1725	514	441	32	16	14	7	6
*1726	122	160	11	11	14	2	7
1727	183	168	11	17	15	5	2
1728	696	635	54	12	11	4	38
*1729	380	443	32	11	14	3	19
1730	385	340	26	15	13	5	6
*1731	434	541	35	12	15	2	28
*1732	255	308	20	12	15	4	12
1733	698	593	40	17	15	2	11
*1734	458	519	36	12	14	1	25
1735	596	479	39	15	12	4	5
*1736	325	345	23	14	15	3	9
1737	539	416	34	15	12	2	5
1738	478	459	33	14	13	2	14
1739	319	211	21	15	10	2	1
1740	381	303	29	13	10	6	3
1741	266	192	23	11	8	5	2
1742	121	116	13	9	9	1	4
1743	316	259	24	13	10	3	5
1744	421	261	20	21	13	1	2
1745	430	408	32	13	12	..	15
*1746	354	389	31	11	12	..	15
1747	405	340	29	14	11	1	7
1748	366	341	27	13	12	1	8
1749	247	232	24	10	9	1	12
1750	497	492	39	12	12	7	15
1751	374	207	26	14	8		
1752	476	338	36	13	9	..	8
1753	229	187	21	10	9	1	5
1754	6	10	1	6	10	..	1
1755	192	180	23	8	7	1	11

The total attendances in	Temporal.	Spiritual.	Number of the days on which the House met.	Average of Temporal Peers present.	Average of Spiritual Peers present.	Number of times the Temporal and Spiritual Peers were equal.	Number of times when the Spiritual Peers were a majority.
1756 were	516	455	45	11	10	5	14
1757	318	189	23	13	8	3	
1758	451	294	34	13	8	4	3
1759	280	74	25	11	3	..	1
1760	403	185	37	11	5	1	6
1761	275	153	20	13	7	2	1
1762	720	204	35	20	6		
1763	275	171	19	14	9	..	4
1764	554	357	42	13	8	3	6
1765	316	174	19	16	8	1	3
1766	576	347	42	13	8	3	3
1767	341	191	24	14	8		
1768	1,220	486	47	26	10		
1769	668	251	31	21	8		
1771	1,228	425	53	23	8	..	1
1772	1,354	489	57	23	8	1	
1773	602	245	29	21	8	..	4
1774	1,221	528	60	20	9		
1775	535	303	30	17	10	..	4
1776	471	235	32	14	7	1	
1777	445	280	25	17	9	3	
1778	1,217	642	74	16	8	5	2
1779	549	90	27	20	3	..	2
1780	870	459	59	14	7	2	4
1781	549	305	28	19	11	..	3
1782	1,456	666	62	23	10	2	3
1783	591	298	39	23	7	..	1
1784	1,614	527	60	26	8		
1785	1,881	486	81	23	6		
1786	1,621	515	61	26	8		
1787	1,573	604	70	22	8	?	
1788	1,179	469	61	19	7		
1789	1,561	429	52	30	8		
1790	1,273	266	40	31	6		
1791	1,271	311	52	24	6		
1792	969	245	48	20	5		
1793	2,001	453	91	22	5		
1794	630	189	30	21	6		
1795	1,340	448	56	24	8		
1796	1,409	440	62	22	7	..	1
1797	1,740	510	90	19	5		
1798	1,958	606	111	18	6		
1799	1,380	491	84	16	5		
1800	2,190	395	100	22	4		

W. MAZIERE BRADY.

ERRATA.—In Part I. of this article in our last number, the reader is requested to correct the following:—Page 271, line 18, for “22nd” read “2nd;” and page 272, line 8 from bottom, for “its communion” read “the communion.”



ON THE STUDY OF SCIENCE BY WOMEN.

IN speaking of the study of science by women, I desire, at the outset, to guard against the supposition that I consider such study to present any exceptional peculiarity to distinguish it from the study of science by men. Male and female students, in any branch of science, must go through the same training, and have their qualifications and capacities tested by precisely the same rules; neither is there anything in these studies which is naturally more attractive or advantageous to persons of one sex than of the other.

Nevertheless, the fact is indisputable that at the present time the students of science among men greatly outnumber those among women. Some persons attribute this circumstance to an inherent specific distinction in the minds of the two sexes of man. They assume the existence of a natural distaste or incapacity for scientific pursuits among women, and they consider it neither possible nor desirable to encourage them in the successful prosecution of such studies.

Others perceive in existing social and conventional arrangements, which exclude women from those opportunities of cultivating their intellectual faculties which are freely enjoyed by men, a perfectly sufficient explanation of the difference in the numbers and the proficiency of persons of each sex engaged in scientific pursuits.

The last is, I think, the true solution of the question, "Why are

there fewer scientific women than scientific men?" The assumed difference in the minds of the two sexes is purely hypothetical; the practical difference in the training and advantages given to each is a fact as indisputable as the one which it explains.

I do not deny the existence of distinct types or orders of mind among mankind—all I deny is the coincidence of any one of these types with the physical distinction of sex.

If we take an assemblage of persons of both sexes, and test the differences of thought, opinion, or capacity existing among them, by putting before them any proposition on which opposite views can be held, I believe it would be impossible to find one which would range all the men on one side, and all the women on the other. If it were true that there is a specific difference, however slight, between the minds of men and women, it would be possible to find such a proposition, if we took one which corresponded to this distinction. When a naturalist seeks to group a number of individuals into a distinct class, he fixes on some character or set of characters common to them all, and distinguishing them from other individuals. When he finds such a group distinctly defined, he calls it a species. But when he finds two individuals differing very widely from each other, yet so connected by intermediate forms that he can pass from one extreme to the other without a violent break any where in the series, he considers them to be of one and the same kind. If we apply this principle as an illustration of the variety in human intellects, taking the conventional masculine type of mind as one end of the scale, and the conventional feminine type as the other, we shall find them connected by numerous intermediate varieties, distributed indiscriminately among male and female persons; that what is called a masculine mind is frequently found united to a feminine body, and sometimes the reverse, and that there is no necessary nor even presumptive connection between the sex of a human being and the type of intellect and character he possesses.

The equality of men and women, as regards intellect, resembles the equality of men among themselves, or women among themselves. No two are alike, no two are equal, but all start fair, and all have an equal right to advance as far as they can. Like a crowd of men and women on a level floor, all stand on the same plane, but some overtop the others. If we measure them by physical stature, there will be a considerable disparity between the sexes, and it will take an unusually tall woman to reach the height of the men. If we measure them by mental stature we shall find a different result. A woman who is somewhat taller than the masses of her sisters will be found to overtop the majority of the men.

The existence of a difference in the intellectual powers of the sexes is a question fertile in endless disputations, which can only be satis-

factorily set at rest by the test of observation and experiment. Wherever this test has been impartially applied, by studies and examinations conducted without reference to the sex of the student, the honours have been fairly divided between men and women, and no line of demarcation has made itself apparent between the character of the subjects chosen, or the degree of proficiency attained. The extremely limited area in which this test has been applied renders it, as yet, hardly safe to draw a general conclusion from the results, though these have hitherto pointed all one way; but the existence of equality or disparity between the intellectual endowments of the sexes can only be established by the result of studies pursued under a common method, under the stimulus of similar incentives, and tested by the application of a common standard.

Most of the inducements for pursuing scientific studies are common to men and women. But there are some considerations which render such pursuits of greater value to women than to men. Prevalent opinions and customs impose on women so much more monotonous and colourless lives, and deprive them of so much of the natural and healthy excitement enjoyed by the other sex in its freer intercourse with the world, that the necessity for some pursuit which shall afford scope for the activity of their minds is even more pressing in their case than in that of men. In default of mental food and exercise, the minds of women get starved out. Numbers end by falling a prey to morbid religious excitement; while others, after vain struggles against their destiny, sink at last into a weary kind of resigned apathy, and men say they are content. But no one can measure the pain that has been endured ere the yearnings for a wider and freer existence subside into deadened calm. Many women might be saved from the evil of the life of intellectual vacuity, to which their present position renders them so peculiarly liable, if they had a thorough training in some branch of science, and the opportunity of carrying it on as a serious pursuit, in concert with others having similar tastes. Many a passing moment would then be made bright with a flash of thought which would otherwise have stolen away unmarked into the irrevocable past.

Men, who have been in the habit of enjoying the advantages attending systematic study and of the liberty of thought and speech not yet attained by women, do not need to be reminded of the benefits they derive from them. But women, who have never had the opportunity of finding out by experience the value of these conditions of mental life, do not always appreciate the magnitude of the loss they endure. If they did, I think they would not be content with their enforced exclusion from the pale of scientific society.

One of the greatest benefits which intellectual pursuits bring in their train is that of affording a peaceful neutral ground in which

the mind can take refuge from the petty cares and annoyances of life, or even find diversion from more serious troubles. Like prudent investors, who keep a part of their capital in the funds, those who place the sources of a portion of their income of enjoyment in some pursuit wholly unconnected with their personal affairs, will find they have an interest which is perfectly safe amid the chances and changes of life. I do not for a moment maintain that intellectual pursuits can afford consolation in sorrow—for that we must look elsewhere; but they are undoubtedly capable of giving solace and diversion to the mind which might otherwise dwell too long on the gloomy side of things, and of beguiling the tedium of enforced solitude, or of confinement to a sick room. For an instance of this I may refer to the example of one of the most illustrious naturalists of the age. Mr. Charles Darwin has informed us that some of his most curious and interesting observations respecting the habits of climbing plants were made when he was a prisoner, night and day, to one room; and we cannot doubt that the occupation they afforded him not only served to lighten the weary hours, but occasioned him an amount of positive enjoyment which one less gifted might have failed to secure, though at liberty to participate in the ordinary pleasures of social life.

Such an example should encourage others to do likewise. Many particulars respecting the commonest of our wild plants, animals, and insects, are as yet imperfectly understood; and any woman who might select one of these creatures, and begin a series of patient observations on its habits, manner of feeding, of taking care of its young, of communicating with its kind, of guarding against danger, on its disposition and temper, and the difference in character between two individuals of the same species, would find such occupation not only exceedingly entertaining, but, if the observations were carefully noted, the result would be something of real, if not of great, scientific value. Gold is gold, whether our amount be an ingot or a spangle; and we need but to open our eyes, and carefully observe what is passing around us, to add perpetually to our store of the pure gold of knowledge.

No one should be deterred from either making or reporting original observations by the feeling that they are trifling or unimportant. Nothing that is real is considered insignificant by the naturalist, and observations apparently the most trifling have led to results which have turned the whole current of scientific thought. What could be a more trifling circumstance than the fall of an apple from a tree? Yet the appearances presented contained the clue that unravelled the mystery of the planetary movements. The law of gravitation maintains the stability of the universe, yet the fall of a pin to the ground is as truly a manifestation of this force as the movement of

the earth in its orbit. With the sentiment of the poet in our hearts,—

"That very law that moulds a tear,
And bids it trickle from its source,
That law preserves the earth a sphere,
And holds the planets in their course,"—

we shall never regard any appearance as trifling which the tremendous forces of nature concur to produce.

How seemingly unimportant are the movements of insects, creeping in and out of flowers in search of the nectar on which they feed! If we saw a man spending his time in watching them, and in noting their flitting with curious eyes, we might be excused for imagining that he was amusing himself by idling an hour luxuriously in observing things which, though curious, were trifling. But how mistaken might we be in such an assumption! For these little winged messengers bear to the mind of the philosophical naturalist tidings of mysteries hitherto unrevealed; and as Newton saw the law of gravitation in the fall of the apple, Darwin found, in the connection between flies and flowers, some of the most important facts which support the theory he has promulgated respecting the modification of specific forms in animated beings.

It is true we are not Darwins nor Newtons, and cannot expect to make surprising discoveries; but we may be sure that these, and all other philosophers, have found an exquisite pleasure in tracing the workings of nature, and this enjoyment may be had by all who follow, however humbly, in their footsteps. And if we wish to understand their theories, it is refreshing to find our attention directed at the outset to pleasant and familiar natural objects—to varieties of pigeons, to humble-bees sucking clover flowers, to beetles swimming with their wings, to primroses and crimson flax, and grotesque orchids with their wild, weird beauty, setting traps for unwitting insects, and making them pay for their feast of honey by being the bearers of love-tokens from one flower to another—to be sent, in fact, to the Book of Nature, and bidden to read its wondrous stories with our own eyes.

Besides the addition to our store of positive knowledge, there is another important advantage to be derived from scientific study; namely, the cultivation of those habits of accuracy in speech and thought which are so absolutely necessary to its successful prosecution. One of the first lessons which a scientific student learns is, that he must not take a mere impression on his own mind as representing a positive fact, until he has carefully verified its accuracy by comparing it with the results of observation, and is prepared to state exactly on what grounds he entertains it. And when he hears an assertion made, he will pause before accepting it as true, for the

mental inquiry whether the asserter is likely to be personally acquainted with the fact he alleges; and if not, what are his probable sources of information. On the answer to these expressed or unexpressed queries will depend the measure of credence to be given to the assertion in question. A reverence for accuracy of this kind would arrest many a baseless and painful rumour; and if it is the tendency of scientific investigation to conduce to such a tone of mind, the most inveterate sceptic as to the benefits of intellectual culture for women might be induced to confess that it is better that maids, old and young, should graduate in the School for Science, rather than in the School for Scandal.

If we turn from the consideration of the advantages women would gain from taking an active part in scientific pursuits, to the means accessible to them for prosecuting these studies, we perceive a very deplorable state of affairs.

The necessity for some common ground on which all interested in intellectual pursuits may meet, has been so strongly felt, that there exist all over the country institutions and societies, devoted either to literature and philosophy in general, or to the cultivation of special departments of knowledge. But most of these institutions, especially such as are devoted to the higher branches of scientific investigation, have one strange and injurious deficiency. They do not throw open such opportunities as they afford for acquiring knowledge freely to all who desire it; they draw an arbitrary line among scientific students, and say to one half of the human race, "You shall not enter into the advantages we have to offer; you shall not enjoy the facilities we possess of cultivating the tastes and faculties with which you may be endowed; and should any of you, in spite of this drawback, reach such a measure of attainments as would entitle one of us to the honour of membership or fellowship in any learned society, we will not, by conferring such distinctions on any of you, recognise your right to occupy your minds with such studies at all." It is no light mortification to a woman, who is desirous of prosecuting a study, to find that those best qualified to help her on her way are sedulous in affording her all the discouragement in their power, and that the doors of the high places of science are rigorously closed against her.

In order to have definite information on this head, I applied to the secretaries of one or two of the scientific societies of the metropolis, with the following result. Mr. White, Assistant-Secretary of the Royal Society, writes:—

"In answer to your inquiry as to what is the position of women with regard to the Royal Society, I beg leave to say that the Society is not open to women; that ladies are not admitted to the meetings, and have never been elected Fellows.

"Mrs. Somerville many years ago was elected honorary member of the

Astronomical Society, but I am not aware that she has ever written F.R.A.S. after her name."

Mr. Henry Walter Bates, Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, kindly furnished me with the following statement:—

"1. Women are not entitled to become members or Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society. But they are allowed to attend the meetings as visitors introduced by Fellows, and, if they are teachers of geography, they can obtain a Council card of admission for the season.

"2. There is no instance on record of the Society bestowing medals or other rewards on women. Lady Franklin received a medal on behalf of her deceased husband. Women have distinguished themselves as explorers, both singly—Madame Pfeiffer—and with their husbands—Lady Baker, Madame Helfer, Madame Semper—but I do not think it has been proposed in our Council to bestow a reward for geographical merit on a woman.*

"3. Women are admitted as visitors to the Ethnological Society; but I am not aware that this is allowed or practised in any other scientific society.

"Ladies are Fellows of the Royal Horticultural Society; but this is not for scientific purposes, but to obtain admission to the gardens. Ladies are not generally invited even to the *soirées* of learned societies such as the Royal, the Linnæan, etc. Ours is an exception, a small number being invited as friends of the President. They are, however, invited freely to the *soirées* of the microscopical clubs and societies, and seem to avail themselves very largely of the privilege, and to look through microscopes quite as eagerly as the men. They are also invited freely to the *soirées* of the Society of Arts. I think if a lady was to offer a really good paper on a scientific subject to any of these societies, it would be accepted and published like a man's paper in their transactions. I have seen papers by ladies (I think) in the transactions of the Linnæan Society."

Mr. Bates speaks of a lady offering a really good paper on a scientific subject. But so long as ladies are shut out from the association of those who are engaged in such pursuits, it is hardly to be expected that they would have either the stimulus or the opportunity of producing much that was valuable; and he seems not quite certain that if they did, their papers would be accepted and published.

To the list of ladies enumerated by Mr. Bates, as having distinguished themselves in geographical exploration, I may add the name of Mademoiselle Alexandrine Tinné, who, a few years ago, fitted out a steamer at her own expense, to explore the Bahr el Ghazal, one of the tributaries of the White Nile, and accompanied the expedition,

* Mr. Bates writes with regard to the ladies last-named in his statement:—"Madame Helfer accompanied her husband, Dr. Helfer, to Burmah and the Andaman Islands, and assisted him in his scientific investigations. Madame Semper travelled with her husband, Dr. Semper, in the Philippines. Their narrative is not yet published, but it will, I have no doubt, show how much Dr. Semper owed to the enterprise, endurance, courage, and scientific enthusiasm of his partner. They travelled in a small boat round the islands, dredging the sea bottom for marine animals, and had sometimes to run in ashore to escape from pirates. The result was a most magnificent collection of the animal productions of the Philippine archipelago."

along with her mother and aunt. I remember that, at one of the meetings of the British Association, some one asked Sir Roderick Murchison, whether the Royal Geographical Society would mark its sense of her munificence and courage in geographical enterprise by electing her a Fellow of the Society. The learned president received the proposition with something very like disdain, making an observation to the effect that they never had conferred such a distinction upon a lady. The gentleman who asked the question read a letter from Mademoiselle Tinné, giving intelligence of the progress of the expedition, which, at that time, was tolerably prosperous, but subsequently became entangled among the dreary swamps of the equatorial Nile regions, and fever and disaster arrested its progress. But the enterprising lady is still bent on making further explorations, and when last heard of, in December, 1868, she was on the point of setting off from Tripoli to Lake Tschad and the kingdom of Borran. The expeditions of these ladies in Central Africa have been often referred to in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.

We cannot claim the honour of numbering any of these distinguished ladies among our countrywomen. Madame Helfer and Madame Semper are probably foreigners, and the ladies Tinné and Lady Baker certainly so. I call them distinguished because, though they have not attained the honours or distinctions bestowed on other explorers, they have done the deeds which merited such reward.

I have been informed that on one occasion the authorities of the Royal Astronomical Society had a discussion as to whether they should award their gold medal to Miss Caroline Herschel for her discovery of five comets. It was understood that it would undoubtedly have been given had the discoverer been a man. But they came to a determination akin to that of the Royal Geographical Society—not to recognise or reward services to science when rendered by a woman, and the medal was withheld.

When the Meteorological Society was formed it was decided to admit women, and four ladies were elected on the original foundation; among them the Countess of Lovelace—Byron's daughter "Ada." In a little while one of these ladies, the wife of an eminent meteorologist, wrote to say that she had been told it would be injurious to the Society to have women as members; she, therefore, thought it her duty to resign, and she hoped the other ladies would follow her example. One of them did so; but another, who could not be made to comprehend the necessity for maintaining the scientific disabilities of women, refused to withdraw, and no one even suggested the propriety of resignation to Lady Lovelace. But the two ladies who remained members are since dead, and no others have been elected; for it appears that the Royal Charter which was sub-

sequently obtained would not have been granted to any Society which admitted women to participate in its advantages.

The story of the connection of women with the scientific societies of the metropolis being chiefly of a negative character, is thus soon told. That a different complexion would be given to the tale, were the advantages and the honours they possess open freely to all lovers of intellectual pursuits without invidious distinction, may be reasonably inferred from the results obtained where this principle has been acted on.

In illustration of this proposition I will read a report, which has been furnished me by a lady in Dublin, of the working of an institution which has been doing a good work for some years, and is now named the "Royal College of Science for Ireland." The lady to whom I am indebted for the information is herself a student, and has carried off some of the highest prizes.

"Dublin, October 14th, 1868.

"MY DEAR MISS GOUGH,

"You have given me a very pleasant task in asking me to retrace the history of our College; it is endeared to us by the associations of many years. And we are proud of it because it is, I believe, the only one in the kingdom where, as our much-esteemed Dean Sir Robert Kane said to me a few days ago, 'woman is in her proper intellectual position, on a perfect equality with man.' I shall rejoice that the working of our College should be more widely known among the friends of our cause, and I think the facts I can bring forward will interest them, and will strengthen their hands.

"Sir Robert Kane has kindly given me every assistance by ordering all the reports and records of the College, and of the older institution to which it succeeded, to be placed in my hands for this purpose.

"Shortly after the Great Exhibition of 1851, a museum was established in Dublin by the Department of Science and Art, and called the Irish Industrial Museum. Sir Robert Kane, President of the Queen's College, Cork, was appointed Director. In 1854 a staff of professors was added, chosen from among the most distinguished professors of the University of Dublin, of the Royal College of Surgeons, and members of the Royal Society, and of the Royal Irish Academy, who gave courses of lectures on the following subjects:—Geology, botany, zoology, physical science, and theoretical chemistry. These lectures were partly free, the last twenty or thirty requiring the small fee of 3s. 6d. They were attended by large numbers of men and women of different classes of society. In the session of 1855-6, examinations at the end of each course were instituted, and prizes of £3, £2, or £1 in books, or in money, were given to the best three; certificates were given to those who, though not attaining to a prize, showed a fair degree of proficiency. The Department also granted its bronze medal to the winner of the first prize in each class.

"At the very first examination several gentlemen, and *three ladies*, presented themselves; one of the latter won the first prize in botany and zoology (which were united the first year), and the other two took good places in the same subjects and in geology. This step met with no opposition from any one connected with the place, but with every encouragement from the enlightened Director. At the public distribution of prizes at the close of the session, his address contained these words:—'We have been

avoured by the presence here, as students in our classes, of several ladies (hear, hear), who have distinguished themselves not only by their attention and diligence, but have, also, at the competitive examinations held by the several professors, distinguished themselves in a very great degree. The result will, I trust, lead to very important consequences." And his excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, who handed the prizes, when congratulating the students, spoke of them as 'my young friends, to whichever sex you may belong, for I am happy to find you are not exclusive in the award of your prizes.' So quietly was this important step taken; but we shall never cease to remember with gratitude the three ladies who took it—Miss Halgena Hare (now Mrs. Lewis), Miss Frances Armstrong (now Mrs. Whitsett), and Miss Kate Egan.*

"From that time till the October of last year, the School of Science in the Irish Industrial Museum continued to flourish. Large numbers of male students, and a considerable number of female students, attended the lectures. The latter so frequently won first or second prizes, that instead of enumerating them here I shall append to this the results of some of the examinations, writing opposite to each name the number of marks attained. The Dublin press always spoke most favourably of the union of the two sexes in this institution. Here is one of many extracts I might make; it is from a leading Dublin paper on the occasion of the distribution of prizes for the session 1857-8:—'A very interesting feature of the proceedings was that ladies entered the lists as competitors, and vindicated the genius of their sex by carrying off the highest prizes.' And successive Lord-Lieutenants spoke sensibly, courteously, and approvingly of the female students. Here is a short extract from one of Lord Carlisle's addresses on such an occasion:—'It is always a pleasing circumstance here, that whereas in almost every other country where we hear of classes, and lectures, and competitive examinations, the actors in these operations are almost exclusively of the rougher sex, while here without any departure from the rigid rule of impartiality, the lists are entered and the palm is, as we have frequently seen, carried off by lady aspirants.' And in 1858 Lord Eglinton said:—'I rejoice to find that among these students such a fair, —in the double acceptation of the word,—such a fair sprinkling of the gentler sex; not only have they attended all the classes, but have attained eminent distinction in them.'

"The people of Dublin showed their appreciation of the School of Science by crowding to the distribution of prizes, and applauding the successful student as each was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant; and when the successful student was a lady, she received a double meed of applause, so far were they from thinking that she had stepped out of her sphere.

"The examination papers of the School of Science can be had on applying for them, and they will bear comparison with those of any college or university in the kingdom.

"In the October of last year, '67, the School of Science was enlarged, more professorships were added, the instruction was made more systematic, the fees were raised from 3s. 6d. to £2 for each course of lectures; it received the name of the Royal College of Science for Ireland, and Sir Robert Kane was made Dean. Some of the new professors, strangers to the institution, were startled at the idea of mixed classes, and wished to exclude the female students; but this opposition was really an advantage to our cause, for it elicited the gratifying fact that the Dean, and the

* "Since writing the above I have found that a fourth lady entered for examination —Miss Frances Hare (now Mrs. Appleton), who has since been a successful student at the Female Medical College, London."

original staff of professors, who had seen the working of the system for thirteen years, were unanimous for our admission as before, and overruled the opponents. The high fee is still a great barrier; however, two ladies entered, one competed at the examination in pure mathematics, and won the first prize.

"The success of the female students disturbed, of course, very much the preconceived notions of some people, who had always taken for granted that the female intellect was inferior to the male; and not being able to combat the stubborn facts that appeared from time to time in the newspapers when the results of the examinations were published, they tried to account for them. One manner of doing so was by stating that the female students had more leisure for study than the male students. This was not true as a general rule; three, at least, of the most successful female students I know to be engaged during the greater part of the day in supporting themselves by teaching, while their evenings were of necessity often occupied by those domestic duties from which men are free.

"Another way of accounting for their success was that those women were above the average, and that among the students were to be found first-class women, and only second or third class men. The women may have been above the average; the men, large numbers of them, certainly were. A few simple facts will show this. In 1859 a lady won the first prize in physical science; among her competitors was a gentleman who, about the same time, passed the Woolwich examinations most creditably. In 1862 a lady won the first prize in chemistry, and was 320 marks (the total being 1,000) a-head of the nearest male competitor, who had passed several examinations in Trinity College, Dublin, where he was a student, but had been attracted to the college by the fame of its chemical courses. In 1863 another lady took the first prize in chemistry, and the gentleman who took second prize was the best student that year in the chemical classes in the Royal College of Surgeons. In '65, '66, and '67 first prizes were taken by ladies, while among the male competitors were those who had won scholarships and exhibitions at the South Kensington May examination; and at the examination in June, when a lady won the first prize in pure mathematics, ALL her competitors were exhibitioners.

"When I say that some people have tried to account for the ladies' success, I wish it to be clearly understood that those cavillers were entirely unconnected with the Museum. The most perfect harmony, courtesy, and good-feeling has always existed there. We sit on the same benches in the lecture theatre, and read in the same library; and I have seen students of both sexes, after an examination, looking over the examination papers and asking each other which questions they had answered. I was the first lady who worked in the laboratory, and I found my fellow-students as ready to tender me any little civility I needed, as if I were in a drawing-room. They would lend me a piece of platinum wire, or a pair of crucible tongs, when my own were not at hand, as simply and as politely as they would have turned over the leaves of a piece of music. "M. C."

SESSION, 1855 AND 1856.

GEOLOGY.		BOTANY AND ZOOLOGY.	
Prizes.		Prizes.	
1. William Plunkett.		1. HALGENA HARE.	
2. C. W. Bateman.		2. William Plunkett.	
3. Edwin Birchall.		3. FRANCES ARMSTRONG.	
Certificates.		Seven certificates granted.	
FRANCES ARMSTRONG (1st).		KATE EGAN (3rd).	
Then follow the names of five gentlemen.		FRANCES HARE (4th).	

* The names of the ladies are in small capitals.

SESSION 1856 AND 1857.

Total number of marks, 1,000.

GEOLOGY.		CHEMISTRY.	
Prizes.	Marks.	Prizes.	Marks.
1. D. McCready	871	1. John Mulligan	895
2. FRANCES ARMSTRONG	792	2. M. P. Dowling	850
3. HALGENA HARE	775	3. KATE EGAN	730
Then follow the names of twelve gentlemen.		Then follow eleven gentlemen.	
PHYSICAL SCIENCE.		ZOOLOGY.	
1. E. J. Wood	930	1. FRANCES HARE	895
2. FRANCES ARMSTRONG	885	Then follow five gentlemen.	
3. C. McCready	780	BOTANY.	
Then follow six gentlemen.		1. C. McCready	895
		2. E. J. Wood	785
		3. FRANCES HARE	675

SESSION 1857 AND 1858.

CHEMISTRY.		PHYSICAL SCIENCE.	
Prizes.	Marks.	Prizes.	Marks.
1. Not awarded		1. J. P. Brophy	700
2. HALGENA HARE	640	2. HALGENA HARE	585
3. Alban Meredith	575	3. Alban Meredith	555
One certificate granted.		ZOOLOGY.	
BOTANY.		Total, 2,000.	
1. William Corker	920	1. William Hartford	1,840
2. ZOE LEIGH CONEYS	770	2. HARRIET HARMAN	1,824
		3. A. F. Gordon	1,700
GENERAL EXAMINATION IN FIVE SUBJECTS.		Certificates.	
Total, 3,000.		KATE EGAN	1,600
1. HALGENA HARE	1,830	Alban Meredith	1,500
2. Alban Meredith	1,331	HESTER HARMAN	1,300
		Mathew Higgin	1,250

SESSION 1858 AND 1859.

ZOOLOGY.		PRACTICAL ZOOLOGY.	
Prizes.	Marks.	Prizes.	Marks.
1. HESTER HARMAN	930	1. A. Gordon	1,980
2. William Corker	640	2. HARRIET HARMAN	1,890
3. John Dowling	600	Two gentlemen follow.	
Two gentlemen follow.		PHYSICAL SCIENCE.	
GEOLOGY.		1. MATILDA CONEYS	796
1. J. P. Brophy	899	2. S. Boileau	504
2. KATE SEYMOUR	810	3. J. Donovan	480
3. William Corker	765	Then follow three gentlemen.	
Certificates.		BOTANY.	
J. F. Murray	640	1. HARRIET HARMAN	850
MISS PALMER	590	2. J. F. Murray	680
MRS. MURRAY	545	Certificate.	
J. O. Rearden	440	MRS. MURRAY	370
C. H. Brien	400		

SESSION 1859 AND 1860.

GEOLOGY.		PRACTICAL ZOOLOGY.	
Prizes.	Marks.	Prizes.	Marks.
1. Not awarded		1. Not awarded.	
2. A. Penny	595	2. HESTER A. HARMAN	690
3. A. McAlister	523	3. C. H. Brien	600
<i>Certificates.</i>		<i>Special prize for collection.</i>	
MRS. MURRAY	503	HESTER A. HARMAN.	
HARRIET HARMAN	503	BOTANY.	
MISS UNDERWOOD	420	1. HESTER A. HARMAN	825
J. F. O'Rearden	402	2. Philip Lyons	685
MISS HARE	385	3. J. Pierce	595
C. H. Brien	381	<i>Certificates.</i>	
		Then follow four gentlemen.	

SESSION 1861 AND 1862.

GEOLOGY.		CHEMISTRY.	
Prizes.	Marks.	Prizes.	Marks.
1. William Dudley	688	1. ZOE LEIGH CONEYS	875
2. SARAH G. KEOGH	665	2. Henry Chute	555
3. M. SINTHORPE	613	3. George Griffin	515
Then follow seven names, including one lady, who got fourth certificate.		<i>Certificate.</i>	
		R. Fitzgerald.	
LABORATORY EXAMINATION.			
MATILDA CONEYS		Equal, each attained 1,000 marks, which was the total.	
James Cohill			
S. Johnson			
J. Laylor			

SESSION 1862 AND 1863.

GEOLOGY.		CHEMISTRY.	
For this class fifteen gentlemen and three ladies competed; fourth place was taken by		Prizes.	Marks.
		1. MATILDA CONEYS	936
		2. John Benson	911
		3. S. Johnson	903
		A. S. Kerrison	
		W. O. Really	
		A. W. Scott	
BOTANY.			
Prizes.	Marks.		
1. MISS McCLEAN	900		
2. MISS LEEPER	670		
Then follow seven gentlemen.			

SESSION 1863 AND 1864.

GEOLOGY.	
Prizes.	Marks.
1. Bryan Clincho	884
2. MISS LEEPER	795
3. H. G. Penny	783
<i>Certificates.</i>	
Mr. Lloyd.	
Mr. Westropp.	
MISS QUINLAIN	675
MISS M'KAY	578
MISS A. SMITH	555
Then follow three gentlemen.	

SESSION 1864 AND 1865.

GEOLOGY.	
Prizes.	Marks.
1. MISS SWAN	957
2. William O'Donovan	888
3. M. Smith	865
Ten gentlemen follow, who get certificates.	
BOTANY.	
1. ADELINA RORKE	956
2. R. D. Fennell	819
3. T. O. Atkinson	776
Five ladies and seven gentlemen follow.	

SESSION 1865 AND 1866.

Prizes.	BOTANY.	Marks.
1.	MARIAN SEARIGHT	903
2.	GRETA D. STRITCH	859
3.	ANNETTE SMITH	847
Six gentlemen and two other ladies follow.		

SESSION 1866 AND 1867.

Prizes.	BOTANY.	Marks.
1.	MARIAN HAYES	821
2.	William Hunt	800
3.	GERTRUDE HAYES	772
Four gentlemen and one lady follow.		

SESSION 1867 AND 1868.

PURE MATHEMATICS. Total, 100.

Prizes.		Marks.
1.	MATILDA CONEYS	84
2.	William Hunt	76
3.	James Kilroe	74½

The experience gained in this institution ought to afford encouragement to those who are seeking to raise the standard of education for women by opening to them the advantages of existing educational institutions. It proves, by practical experiment, that men and women can associate with as much mutual advantage in the classroom and examination-room as in the home and the drawing-room, and that there is no necessity to isolate them from the sympathy and encouragement each gives the other in their common pursuit. It points to the possibility of rendering all public institutions for education, national in the broadest sense of the word. The means provided for cultivating the mind of the nation should be freely accessible to all who have minds to cultivate; and the honours and rewards attaching to intellectual attainments, such as scholarships, fellowships, university degrees, and membership in learned societies, ought to be within the reach of either man or woman who has the taste to desire and the ability to earn them. Educational provisions ought to be strictly correlative to educational necessities, for needs and rights in this respect are convertible terms. These needs and rights have been admirably defined by Mr. J. G. Fitch in the very important Report presented by him to the Schools Inquiry Commission. If the doctrine which he enunciates with regard to women be extended so as to include both sexes, it will embody the principle which should guide every effort made for the promotion of national education, whether of an elementary, secondary, university, or scientific standard. "The true measure of a (man or) woman's right to knowledge is (his or) her capacity for receiving it, and not any theories of ours as to what (he or) she is fit for, or what use (he or) she is likely to make of it."

So long as intellectual pursuits were confined to a select few, and the masses of the people, men and women alike, cared nothing for

these things, the disadvantages of the exclusion of women from participation in these pursuits were but slightly felt. There was nothing in this exclusion to cut them off from the sympathy of those with whom they lived, or to cause divergence or estrangement between their minds, and those of persons with whom they habitually associated. If they were on a low level intellectually, the men around them were on the same, and so the balance was preserved. But now we see symptoms of a change. Everywhere educational institutions of more or less pretensions and efficiency are springing into being. Scarcely a town but has its mechanics' institute, debating society, literary society, or some kindred mechanism for promoting intellectual activity. But almost invariably the efforts of those who promote these institutions are directed to producing a divorce between the thoughts and sympathies of those who should be mates and helps to each other in all the concerns of life. They see man and woman, ignorant and undeveloped, grinding at the mill of life's daily toil. They desire to lighten this toil, by affording a glimpse of something beyond the narrow horizon of each day's mechanical duties. They go to the man, and they open to him the vista of intellectual enjoyment, leaving his companion uncheered in her solitude, unthought of, uncared for. Should she cast a wistful glance at the prospect, and ask why she may not share in the good things they set forth, she is encountered by the assurance that the pathways that lead to the higher regions of thought were never meant for her to tread, and with a contemptuous reproof for her presumption in wishing to stir a step beyond her appointed "sphere." So, bereft of the companionship of her partner in ignorance, the last condition of that woman is worse than the first. After profiting by the advantages denied to her, he returns elated with the consciousness of superior wisdom, and complacently propounds theories as to the "radical inequality of the sexes—the radical inferiority, physical, moral, and intellectual, of woman."

The danger of producing disunion in families by teaching all the men, and leaving all the women out in the cold, is no fanciful one. It is already beginning to be felt, and will increase with the success of every attempt to promote popular education that is not based on comprehensive principles. A very intelligent working man in one of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, with whom I was conversing on the subject of a public movement in which he was greatly interested, informed me that it was a source of serious trouble to him that his wife had not kept up with the advance of his mind, and for want of knowledge and cultivation, was unable to understand the importance of the work on which he was engaged, and unwilling to see him devoting his attention to it, or to sympathise with his efforts

for its advancement. He spoke in sorrow, as feeling it a real misfortune, and as if his were but a representative case as regards the effect on domestic happiness of the present one-sided system.

Some of the educational institutions so far recognise the existence of the other sex as to make a feeble effort to supplement their main provisions by the establishment of supernumerary "women's classes." I have not heard whether these well-meant but ill-advised efforts to combat the evil have done much good. The little I have heard leads me to the belief that the result has been what one might from the first have anticipated, and that the interest displayed in these classes has been languid. There are not a sufficient number of women as yet roused to the interest of such subjects to afford material for the promotion and continuance of such isolated classes, and the fact of their exclusion from the companionship of the other sex acts as a damper on their spirits. They would not care much for social pleasures if they were only admitted to women's balls, women's dinner parties, women's croquet parties, and women's concerts; and if they are only allowed to participate in intellectual pleasures on these exclusive terms, they will certainly not derive from them either the advantages or the healthful stimulus which these are capable of affording.

It seems to me a matter for sincere regret that any effort made to promote the intellectual activity of women should be based on this system of separation and exclusion. Whatever difficulties may be thought to stand in the way of studies conducted in concert, none can exist, even in imagination, when the proposal is simply that of simultaneous and identical examinations; the placing of all the papers together for judgment, and making out the class list in order of merit, with absolute impartiality and indifference as to whether the papers were the production of male or female students. The success of the local examinations in connection with the University of Cambridge, where no difference of any kind is made in the examination of girls and boys, should point out the principle to be acted on in further efforts in the same direction. The only matter for regret in respect of these examinations is the treatment of the successful students, in the invidious distinction implied in the exclusion of girls from the class lists. The boys who pass honourably have their names published; the girls who pass honourably have their names suppressed. It is just as natural for a girl as for a boy to be pleased to see her name in a list of those who have done well. The University encourages the boys by marking the proficiency they have attained as something to be proud of; it discourages the girls by implying that the acquirements they have gained are something to conceal, or be ashamed of.

A still further departure from the principle of equality has been

made by the University of London. They have instituted a special examination for women, to which no male student is admitted, and the recognition attached to success is a mere certificate of having passed, without the honours of a University degree.

Perhaps I ought to consider the step that has been taken by the London University not so much a departure from the principle of intellectual equality as an advance towards it. It is the pleasanter, and possibly the truer way. Certainly, before this concession was made, women were not allowed by the authorities to have any rights at all in the matter. Now that their eyes have become partly open to the needs of women in this respect, we may hope that the process will not stop till complete justice has been done.

From all that I can gather respecting the proposed examination, it is in no way inferior in what examinees call "stiffness" to that provided for the other sex. A woman who passes in any subject will do quite as much as a man who passes the men's examination corresponding in grade. But though she will have worked as hard and done as much as the men, she will not have equal honour. The men will say to her: "You are not on our level; you have only passed the women's examination;" and she will not be admitted as a graduate whatever the amount of intellectual power or attainments she displays. The whole arrangement proceeds on the principle that it is very womanly to work, but "unfeminine" to receive pay or reward for work. Women may be admitted to the course of study, but not to the honours or advantages to which that course of study leads men.

It will not be very wonderful if an experiment based on what seems a radically false principle should prove a failure, and if high-spirited and accomplished women who are conscious of no moral nor intellectual inferiority to the other sex, should refuse to enter an examination which does not place them on a level with others. It is only to be hoped that the possible failure of an experiment of this nature will not be used as an argument against better devised future attempts to extend the educational privileges of women.

The efforts made by the London University to help women up the ladder of learning remind me of the history told by Mr. Frank Buckland of his endeavours to facilitate the ascent of salmon up rivers, the natural course of which had been obstructed by weirs and dams placed there by man. After exhausting his ingenuity in providing a way for the salmon up these artificial barriers, by means of a contrivance "nicely adapted to their special tastes and capacities," he found, to his dismay, that his pains had been entirely thrown away, for "the ungrateful beasts wouldn't go in!" But Mr. Frank Buckland is a man of resources, and failure is no word in his vocabulary.

He informed us that the only plan then available was to catch a salmon, and ask it what it wanted. Of course the creature very soon told him, and the moment arrangements were made in accordance with its real needs, off it went, like an arrow, up the stream, on its way to the mountains. Now, if those who are sincerely, but perhaps somewhat blindly, trying to open the way to a higher life for women, will be as wise as Mr. Frank Buckland in seeking to adapt their means to the real feelings and wishes of those whom they are striving to benefit, instead of to what they imagine women ought to feel and desire, they will be as successful as he was in setting the struggling creatures free, and in peopling the stream of life with fish worth catching, instead of leaving nothing for the angler but the minnows and sticklebacks "of the period."

Besides the special benefits to women themselves, results of a yet more important nature with respect to the happiness and welfare of mankind, would follow from making them acquainted with the results of scientific inquiry, and imbuing their minds with the principles on which such researches are based. The importance of scientific knowledge is not yet appreciated by the general public. A knowledge of science is frequently treated as if it were merely a branch of learning, like Latin or Greek, and the question of making it a part of general education is regarded as if it were simply a question of what course of study was best fitted to train the faculties or suit the taste of the student.

But surely there is a more important aspect of the study of science than that which regards it as merely a mass of curious and interesting information. Men and women constitute an integral portion of a universe governed by uniform and undeviating laws. It is the object of scientific explorers to discover these laws, a pursuit in which they may be said as yet to have hardly made a beginning. Every step gained in advance reveals something which can be turned to account in ameliorating the hardships and discomforts of life, and promoting the happiness of mankind. With complete knowledge of the conditions under which we live, and complete conformity to these conditions, we might hope to see most of the evils that afflict our race entirely disappear. This knowledge is presumably attainable by human faculties, if the search be conducted with sufficient perseverance, and based on right principles. The greater the number of minds that are impressed with this belief, the greater the encouragement that will be given to the inquiry, and the greater the probability and the proximity of success. When the conviction of the preventability of misery shall have become the prevailing one, men and women will cease to meet its existence chiefly with endeavours to palliate its effects, but will set resolutely to work to remove its causes.

They will then no longer accuse either chance or Providence of sending the ills that afflict mankind, but perceive that they are traceable to the action of inexorable and undeviating law, and that most, if not all of them, may be averted or avoided by human foresight acting on human knowledge.

When the science, the practice, and the principles which lead to this habit of thought shall cease to be considered the exclusive privilege of the dominant sex, and become the heritage of humanity at large, the progress of the race will receive an impetus which shall carry it on at a pace hitherto undreamed of. The rate of advancement will be far more than doubled, because the untrained and stationary half of mankind necessarily acts as a drag on the other. We seek to unloose the locked wheels of the car, and to set free the imprisoned energies now pining for scope.

There is a strong tendency greatly to undervalue the extent and the intensity of the feeling that exists among women of dissatisfaction with their present condition, and with their exclusion from participation in the pursuits that interest and occupy men. It is assumed that the majority are contented, and that the desire for an amelioration of their lot is felt only by a few exceptional natures. But let not those in whose hands the power lies, pass over the cry so lightly. Many are the signs of the times which tell a different story. Among many voices, one has been raised that had no strength in itself, but in the truth of the note that it rang. That note has found an answering chord in thousands of women's hearts, and has come back from near and far, over the length and breadth of the land. Not in loud and turbulent cries, but in tones unmistakably clear to an ear attuned to catch the delicate harmonics that breathe from sorrowful and suffering souls. And not from our land alone, for women's hearts are everywhere the same. Voices have resounded from the Alps; signs have reached over the Pyrenees; echoes have bridged the Atlantic. No false note could awaken so deep and so wide a response; no harsh tone could evoke such loving sympathy.

The cry for equal rights for all human beings proceeds from the irrepressible consciousness of equal needs, and the possession of common feelings. The movement now hourly gaining strength for the social, educational, and political enfranchisement of women, arises from no spirit of opposition or rivalry with men, but from deep and intense sympathy in their noblest aims and aspirations.

LYDIA ERNESTINE BECKER.



HENRY ST. JOHN LORD BOLINGBROKE.

"TELL me," says Thomas à Kempis, "where are now all those great doctors with whom thou wast well acquainted while they were living and flourished in learning? In their lifetime they seemed to be something, and now they are not spoken of." The reputation which some men have while they live, dies with them. Posterity reverses the judgment of their contemporaries. It is said that Burke once exclaimed, "Who now reads Bolingbroke?" And yet in the days of Queen Anne where was there a greater man than Bolingbroke? It was the summit of Pope's ambition that as Bolingbroke's name was wafted down the stream of time, his own might be as the "attendant bark" participating the gale. His "Essay on Man" begins—

"Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things
To low ambition and the pride of kings."

To the same patron he addresses the concluding lines—

"When statesmen, heroes, kings in dust repose,
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,
Shall then this verse to future age pretend,
Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend."

A man who, like Bolingbroke, was the admiration of the age in which he lived, must have had something to recommend him. Lord

Brougham said that Burke's question, "Who now reads Bolingbroke?" suggested another equally natural exclamation: "What would we not give to hear him!" Tradition makes Henry St. John the most accomplished orator that ever graced the Senate House of England. There is a story that Pitt was once conversing with some friends about the *desiderata* most to be lamented. One said, "The lost books of Livy." Another said, "Those of Tacitus." A third, "A Latin tragedy." Pitt said, "A speech of Bolingbroke."

That no speech of Bolingbroke's is extant is the more to be regretted, since the world has set so little value on the many volumes of his works which he bequeathed to it as his last and most valued legacy.

It is with these neglected volumes that we have at present to deal. This may seem a disadvantage, but there are many things without interest in themselves which become interesting in their connections. We have to look at Bolingbroke under many aspects. He is at once philosopher and theologian, Christian and deist.

As a philosopher, Bolingbroke was a disciple of Locke. Intellect was the artificer, and sense the instrument, while experience was the pillar of fire that was to lead to the land of promise. Metaphysicians like Plato, Socrates, Plotinus, Descartes, and Malebranche were but idle dreamers, filling books with "jargon," as their own heads were full of "whimsies." These were the *ignes fatui* by whom Bolingbroke was not to be misled. The works of Plato and Aristotle, he says, have been preserved, perhaps more to the detriment, than the advancement of learning. He doubts if Plato was always in his senses; and as for Socrates, he lost himself in the clouds, substituting fantastical ideas for real knowledge. If the philosophy of the eighteenth century had had a spirit, we should have said that it incarnated itself in Bolingbroke. He scorned as fanaticism the belief that the Divine mind communicated directly with the mind of man. To suppose, with Cudworth, that we are partakers of the Divine nature, and that God breathes upon our spirits, is not only enthusiasm, but blasphemy. He traced the inspiration of Quakers and Methodists, with the metaphysical reveries of Malebranche, back to the pagan belief that all things were full of God, thus expressed by Cicero: "*Cognitione divinorum animorum animos humanos commoveri.*" Like the century which he represents, Bolingbroke was essentially anti-Pantheistic. His favourite philosopher among the ancients was Anaxagoras, who believed in God, certainly, but who also believed Him to be as far away from the world as it was possible for God to be.

Bolingbroke was to teach, as his fundamental principle, a *first philosophy*, which was to have nothing to do with that of "the philo-

sophical and theological tribe." It was not to be an "ontology" nor an "ontosology," nor any metaphysical pneumatics woven out of scholastic brains. It was to be, however, a real philosophy, and not such as Lord Bacon describes, "a science of general observations and axioms." Its objects were to be natural theology or theism, and natural religion or ethics. The method of it, so to speak, was to rise from below from observation and experience, not to descend from above by supernatural revelation or by hypothetical reasoning. Natural philosophy, he says, is the mother of all the sciences. There are things outside of us, and there is within us a consciousness of our own existence. These are the foundations of all the knowledge we acquire of body and of mind, which are both alike objects of natural philosophy. Metaphysicians who demonstrate the existence of God and the certainty of moral duties *à priori*, are compared to Ixion, who imagined he embraced Juno in his arms, while he only embraced a cloud. But to proceed by way of observation, by reasoning from the natural world, we rise to a certain knowledge of the existence of God. "We know that God is, but we do not know what He is." This was the favourite saying of Hobbes, and it was adopted by Bolingbroke. To the general statement all theologians agree, whether metaphysicians or not; but with Hobbes and Bolingbroke it meant that there was nothing in common between the Divine mind and the human; that intelligence was not the same with God as with us; and that we were not judges of God's moral attributes. This conclusion was supposed to result from the method of starting with Locke's axiom that there was nothing in the mind which was not derived through the senses; the mind could only be trusted so far as it could lean upon the senses.

The existence of God is demonstrated not by *à priori* reasoning, nor by innate ideas, nor by the universal consent of mankind, but by reasoning from "nature up to nature's God." Here we must stop. We must not confound what is to be known of God with what is unknowable. We have no capacity to understand the manner of His being. We cannot explain the divine nature. The only attributes of which we can know anything are what Bolingbroke calls the physical, such as are manifested in the natural world—power and wisdom. We cannot speak of divine justice or divine goodness. We rise from a knowledge of ourselves and the works of God to a knowledge of His existence, His infinite wisdom and infinite power. With this knowledge we should be content. The phenomena of nature do not give sufficient foundation for our concluding that God is just or good. There are many things in the world which seem to say that He has no such attributes; that is, according to our ideas of justice and goodness. It is absurd to speak of man imitating God,

except in so remote and imperfect a sense that the expression should never be used, much less such a duty recommended. Those writers and preachers who exhort us to imitate God "must mean, not the God whom we see in His works, and in all that His providence orders, but the God who appears in their representations of Him." It was an instance of the impertinence of Socrates' doctrine, that "he imagined in his auditors the power to make themselves as like as possible to their great exemplar, the Supreme Being." Bolingbroke quotes St. Paul and Dr. Barrow as authorities against the believers in the moral attributes. St. Paul declared the divine judgments unsearchable, and God's ways past finding out. The advocates of Judaism reasoned against the casting away of the Jews and the receiving of the Gentiles from their ideas of justice and the other moral attributes. St. Paul answered at first from ideas of general equity and the nature of God; but, after steering his discourse through various rocks, he thought it safe to cast anchor and cry, "Oh, the depth!" There was no solution but in the incomprehensibility of God. Dr. Barrow says that God may often act according to rules of wisdom and justice not to be comprehended by our faculties, and that those rules of equity and experience which we follow in our transactions with each other would be found incongruous and deficient if applied to the dealings of God.

The right following of Locke's method, and the conclusions which were supposed to be its inevitable consequences, led Bolingbroke to deny the immateriality of the soul, and to question its immortality. Though we can demonstrate that there is a God, and though we conclude that He must be immaterial, because of the absurdity of supposing Him material, yet we cannot prove that there are any other immaterial beings. Evodius inquired of St. Augustine if the soul, when it forsakes the gross terrestrial body, is united to one more ethereal, which was one of the Platonic "whimsies;" but no one, says Bolingbroke, asks such questions now. Nor is any one so inquisitive about spiritual physiognomy as to ask how the soul of Dives could be distinguished from that of Lazarus. We have no right to make the hypothesis that soul and body are distinct substances. We have a perfect idea of matter, but not of spirit. We understand solidity and extension. They are the primary qualities of matter, and by them we conceive it. Descartes, indeed, says that thought is the primary quality of spirit. But this is untrue; for thought is no more the essence of soul than body is of motion. The supposed distinct spiritual substance of the metaphysician "must sink into nothing, or be confounded with the other." Locke, who was more cautious than Bolingbroke, says that we know no more of the extended substance than of that which thinks; and he conceives it

possible for the Divine Being to have given to certain systems of matter, sense, perception, and thought. This hypothesis Bolingbroke embraces as actually the truth, and hence the conclusion that, so far as we can know, the soul ceases to exist when the body is dissolved. But this absence of proof, that the soul is a distinct immateriality, does not amount to a proof that there is no future life. Bolingbroke leaves this an open question. In itself, in its own nature, the soul he says is mortal; but God may give it immortality. Had Adam and Eve not been driven from Eden, they would have eaten of the tree of life, and have lived for ever. God may yet give us to eat of the tree of life; but there is nothing to convince us that He will. We have no claim upon Him. At the same time we cannot say that He will not. Seeing He has given us life once, the probabilities are that He will continue to give it. Bolingbroke especially notices the universality of this belief among all nations, and the usefulness of it in restraining vice and promoting virtue; and speaking of the first chapter of Butler's "Analogy," which treats of the probabilities of a future existence, he says:—

"This hypothesis may be received. It does not so much as imply anything repugnant to the perfection of the Divine nature. I receive with joy the expectations it raises in my mind—the ancient and modern Epicureans provoke my indignation when they boast as a mighty acquisition their pretended certainty that the body and the soul die together. If they had the certainty of this, could the discovery be very comfortable? I should have no difficulty which to choose, if the option was proposed to me, to exist after death or to die whole."

From his *first philosophy* Bolingbroke educes a system of natural religion and moral duty. By applying ourselves to the observation of the phenomena of nature, corporeal and intellectual, we avoid fantastical and arrive at some degree of real knowledge. Natural theology is a revelation to the reason of mankind. The morality of actions is tested by their bringing happiness agreeable to our nature. It does not depend merely on the will of God nor on innate ideas, but on the fact that virtue is the perfection of man's nature, and that he conforms himself by the practice of it to the designs of infinite wisdom. He, as it were, co-operates with the Almighty. There may be rewards and punishments reserved to another life, but with these the religion of nature is not concerned. It teaches that morality is our highest interest, because it tends to the greatest happiness of the whole of mankind. Even should this present life terminate our existence, moral obligations remain the same. God has given us faculties by which we may know all that is necessary for us to know in our natural state concerning His existence, His nature, His attributes, His providence over His creatures, and their duties to Him and to each other.

Bolingbroke, as a theist, has a great controversy with divines, whom he charges with being in a confederacy with atheists. The latter, looking at the evils of the world, conclude that there can be no God, otherwise these evils would not be permitted. Divines, looking at the same evils, infer the certainty of a future life in which the present inequalities will be rectified. Bolingbroke denies the existence of the evils, and sets up a vindication of the divine proceeding considered only as it regards this world. If we are not judges of the moral attributes of God, if we cannot say that justice and goodness are the same in the divine nature as they are with men, it might seem a hard task to vindicate the providence of God as regards this world; but Bolingbroke urges against the "Epicurean atheists" and the "Christian philosophers," that God is just in His dispensations here, that His goodness is abundantly manifest, and that, consequently, there is no need of the supposition of a future life to enable us to justify the ways of God. His arguments are, that we have abundant cause for thankfulness, because of the blessings we have in this world. We are, indeed, subject to many evils, physical and moral. Yet the good greatly surpasses the evil. The general state of mankind in the present scheme of Providence is not merely tolerable, but happy. There is no room for the current exaggerated description of human misery. As the good has often some alloy, so the evil is softened by many circumstances. If pain is violent, it spends itself, or it puts an end to the sufferer. If it is moderate, it is tolerable, and may be compensated, or the sense of it may wear out. The greatest evils men have are from themselves, not from God. The general tendency of virtue is to happiness, and of vice to misery. The sure mark of a base spirit is to censure the order of Providence, and, instead of mending our own conduct, to set up for correcting that of God. The softest pillow on which we can lay our heads is resignation—

"To reason right is to submit."

Perfect happiness or perfect virtue is not, indeed, to be found in this world, and we may be overtaken by physical calamities, but all is for the best; and, "therefore, whatever is, is right." Not that whatever is, is good and right, because present evils will be rectified in a future state. This was evidently Pope's meaning in the "Essay on Man," but Bolingbroke means that all is for the best as to the general good of the universe. Even though in this world the evil were greater than the good, that would be no objection against the divine attributes, for the world is but a part, and must be made subservient to the well-being of the all.

We have said that Bolingbroke was a Christian; that is, he pro-

fessed to be one, but in a way peculiar to himself. He believed the simple Christianity of Jesus, as taught by Jesus Himself. The Gospel of Christ, he says, is one continued lesson of the strictest morality, of justice, benevolence, and universal charity. It is in every point conformable to the law of nature; if it were not, no authority could oblige us to receive it. As contained in the Gospels, Christianity is the Word of God, and had it been propagated with the same simplicity as it was taught by Jesus, Christianity would have been the Word of God still. But what the metaphysical philosophers did for natural religion, the divines have done for Christianity. It was left immediately after its first publication in the midst of a frantic world, and in an age of most licentious reasonings. A metaphysical and artificial theology took the place of the Gospel. A baptized Platonism was substituted for Christianity. Bolingbroke seems clearly to affirm that he believed the Gospel to be an immediate revelation from God, but its purity was not guarded by a continuance of the Divine interposition. It was a divine republication of the Law of Nature, but theologians soon made it a republication of the doctrines of Plato. The Greek Fathers were as full of the metaphysical reveries and Platonic "whimsies" as the mystified pagans. St. Augustine, by his own confession, was converted to Christianity through the influence of Pagan philosophy. He thanks God, with many pious ejaculations, that God had procured for him some books of the Platonic philosophy, whence he found the divinity of the Word established by many arguments. This departure from true Christianity began with the Apostles themselves. They did not know what spirit they were of. Bolingbroke cannot conceal from himself, that the fourth Gospel is full of this despised Platonic theology. The conformity between Platonism and genuine Christianity was too palpable so long as John's Gospel represented the Christianity of Jesus. The two systems, it was confessed, had a very near resemblance, *qualis decet esse sorores*. But the wrath of Bolingbroke fell on St. Paul, the great corrupter of simple Christianity. He preached "another Gospel," and not that of Jesus. He was of the school of Gamaliel, and not of Christ. He was a *Cabalistic rabbi*, a loose declaimer, a vain-glorious boaster, who practised *hypocrisy* and *dissimulation*, an *absurd*, *profane*, *obscure*, trifling writer. He had no apostolical commission. He pretends to one, indeed, in the Acts of the Apostles, which were written by St. Luke, and probably dictated by himself, but he entered a "volunteer into the apostleship." The most extraordinary inconsistency of modern times, in Bolingbroke's judgment, was that John Locke should write upon the Reasonableness of Christianity, and yet publish commentaries on the Epistles

of St. Paul. Locke, he thinks, has succeeded better than any other expositor in making these epistles intelligible. "By happy conjectures and a great license of paraphrase, he has given them an air of coherence, consistency, and rationality. St. Paul, by his prolixity and obscurity, doubles mystery, and adds everywhere a mystery of words to a mystery of things. He might very well talk of *his gospel*, even in contra-distinction to that of Christ." One is a plain and clear system of religion, with here and there a doubtful phrase, that casts no obscurity on what is plain. The other is an intricate and dark system, with here and there an intelligible phrase that casts no light on the rest, but is rather lost in the gloom of the whole.

Bolingbroke did not adopt many of the objections to Christianity which were made by other deists. He believed an external revelation to be quite possible. It might be proved by miracles and prophecies; it might depend on facts of history; and it might contain positive precepts making obligatory certain duties that were not enjoined by the laws of nature. The Christian revelation depends on facts. He affects to ridicule the metaphysical divines who establish "revelation on philosophy." This is intended to take the defence of Christianity out of the hands of all Platonic Christians, who look rather to the internal than the external evidence. A religion, he says, which appeals to facts must be proved by the facts, and these he seems to consider valid for the establishing of Christianity so far as they relate to the life, teaching and miracles of Jesus. The certainty, however, of the laws of nature is greater than any historical certainty. These do not depend on authority, but on their own truth, which is manifest. Christianity was intended only for the Jews. Jesus told His disciples to do what was taught by those who sit in Moses' seat. He commanded His Apostles to teach and baptize all nations; that is, the Jews dispersed throughout all nations. The reception of the Gentiles into the Christian Church without circumcision was inconsistent with the declaration and practice of Jews. He admits the genuineness of the four Gospels: but he adds that there were forty Gospels besides which may not have agreed with those in our canon. The central power of Bolingbroke's objections to Christianity fell, as might have been expected, on what are considered the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. The Trinity he not only rejected, but maintained that it was not in the Scriptures. The three hypostases constituting one god-head was an importation from Paganism or Platonism. It came first from Egypt and thence into Greece. He finds, however, inconsistencies and contradictions in St. Paul and St. Peter sometimes calling Jesus a man, at other times speaking of Him as God. He ascribes the origin of Mahometanism to the reassertion of the unity of God

amid the prevalence of Trinitarian corruptions in that age of the Church. The absurd doctrine of a mediator between God and man was another importation from the dark superstitions of Paganism. It suited the poor heathen who, filled with a religious horror, durst not approach the Divine Monarch except through the mediation of His ministers. It was altogether unbecoming the Christian, who believes he may always have access to the throne of grace. The doctrine of redemption is not to be reconciled with the wisdom, justice, and goodness, to say nothing of the dignity, of the Supreme Being. It is grounded on the incredible story of the fall of Adam. Repentance alone is surely sufficient to expiate a merciful God. If He requires another to appease Him, He is not merciful in Himself. It is absurd, says Bolingbroke, to suppose Him sending His Son to expiate for the sins of men and to satisfy His own anger. Dr. Clarke says man by the use of his faculties could never have discovered this method of reconciliation between God and man, from which Bolingbroke infers that it is not therefore agreeable to sound, unprejudiced reason.

If the facts of the New Testament and the doctrines founded upon them met with so little favour from Lord Bolingbroke, it was not likely that he was to be more tolerant of the Old. As to Judaism he has scarcely patience to inquire what it means. Its history is fable; its morality is impure; and its laws opposed to sense and reason. Jewish history, he says, never obtained any credit in the world till after Christianity was established. The Jewish books come to us on the faith of a superstitious people among whom the custom of pious lying remarkably prevailed. The New Testament gives authority only to particular parts of the Old. Christ came to fulfil the law and the prophets, but not to consecrate all the written, any more than all the oral, traditions of the Jews. Abbadie and some other theologians have maintained the necessity of a perpetual miracle to preserve the Scriptures from accident. And this, says Bolingbroke, is just what God would have given had the Scriptures been dictated by the Holy Ghost; but it is just what He has not given. The Scriptures have come to us full of additions, interpolations, and transformations, made we know neither when nor by whom. The law and the history were not originally blended together as they now are in the Pentateuch. There is no evidence that the books ascribed to Moses were written by him, unless we can believe with Philo and Josephus that Moses wrote the account of his own death. Where, he asks, could Moses get the record of creation? Adam knew nothing of what passed before the sixth day, so that it could not have come by tradition from him. We have no testimony but that of the writer of Genesis for the fact of Noah's flood. If we receive the Old Testa-

ment on the faith of the Jewish scribes, we cannot consistently reject the accounts which were compiled and preserved by the Egyptian priests. As to the Israelites in Egypt, it is impossible that in the course of a few generations the whole race should have become confirmed idolators, and have forgot the traditions of their fathers, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

If the miracles said to have been wrought for the people of Israel had really been wrought, nothing but the greatest of all miracles could have made them ineffectual. It is incredible that the Israelites should have endured the oppression of the Egyptians when they were so numerous that they could bring into the field 600,000 fighting men. The whole of the Mosaic history is, in Bolingbroke's judgment, repugnant to the experience of mankind. In Livy and other historians there are incredible anecdotes; but the Jewish history consists of little else, and is founded on the miraculous. Everything is done by magic and enchantment. The system of nature which there prevails is altogether different from ours. The books contain legible marks of a human original, and to speak of them as divinely inspired is no less than blasphemy. They represent the Supreme Being as partial, cruel, and unjust—as commanding by one law what He forbids by another. The laws in the 13th chapter of Deuteronomy Bolingbroke pronounces to be in opposition to the laws of nature. It is impossible, he says, to read the Books of Moses without feeling contempt for the author "as a philosopher and as a divine." It is impious to ascribe the Mosaic laws to God. If Moses knew anything of the doctrine of a future life, he ought to have told the people. By not doing so, he left them in darkness, both as to what they had to expect and what they had to fear. If he knew nothing of it, and yet God made such a covenant as He is represented to have made, it follows that the Divine Being must have deceived both Moses and the people of Israel.

From what has been said of Bolingbroke's Christianity, such as it is, it will not appear inconsistent that he was disposed to admit, not only the possibility, but even the probability, of an extraordinary revelation. This, however, is inconsistent with the character of many of the objections he made to the Christian revelation. He often abuses the Christian idea of inspiration; yet he says that such an action of God on the human mind as the word inspiration denotes is not more inconceivable than the ordinary action of mind upon body, or body upon mind. And he maintains that though we cannot be convinced against reason, yet when a revelation has all the authority of human testimony, appears consistent in all its parts, and contains nothing inconsistent with what we know of the Supreme Being and natural religion, such a revelation is to be thankfully

received. There is nothing, he says, in Christianity that was not already in the law of nature. Every one of its precepts may be found in the Pagan philosophers, but not on that account is Christianity unnecessary. It gives a new sanction to good laws, and enforces their practice by authority. The objection is often made that if the heathen knew so much, how did they come to make so little progress in goodness? The objection is answered by another question, since Christianity was such a clear revelation of duty, how is it Christianity has as yet made progress so little? The philosophers may have had many disputes about the great principles of natural religion, so likewise have Christians had about the chief doctrines of revealed. It cannot be denied that when the Gospel was given it was necessary, nor can it be denied that a still clearer revelation is necessary now.

The greater part of Dr. Leland's "View of the Deistical Writers" is taken up with a reply to Bolingbroke. This is also the best part of Leland's book, though Bolingbroke, of all the deists, deserved the least notice. He complains justly in the beginning of Bolingbroke's want of method, his repetitions and digressions, which are so many as to make his books tedious and irksome. To refute Bolingbroke, it was enough to collect the passages in which he contradicts himself. He sometimes forgets in one chapter what he had said in the previous one. Though he had denied that we could ascribe to God any moral attributes, Leland finds him saying in one place, "I know that there is a God, a first intelligent cause of all things, whose infinite wisdom and power appear evidently in all His works, and to whom, therefore, I ascribe most rationally every perfection, whether conceivable or inconceivable." Every perfection must include goodness and justice. Bolingbroke had described the God of Moses and Paul as cruel and arbitrary, yet what else can the God of nature be if destitute of moral attributes? If, from the knowledge of ourselves and God's works, we rise to a knowledge of the divine wisdom and power, why, asks Leland, may we not also rise to a knowledge of the divine justice and goodness? We cannot, by the very constitution of our minds, help regarding these as perfections, and we are led naturally to ascribe them to the Supreme Being. There are, indeed, phenomena in the world not conformable to our ideas of divine goodness, but there are also phenomena not conformable to our ideas of divine wisdom. The objections made by atheists are drawn from the natural as well as the moral world. All that the theist can maintain is, that wisdom and goodness predominate. The objection to the moral attributes is equally valid against the physical. Leland urges that though we cannot see the whole extent of the divine proceedings, it does not follow that we are not judges of the

divine goodness and justice. God may do things the reasons of which are unknown to us, but if we did know them we should see that they were done wisely and justly, and that according to our ideas of wisdom and justice. The Scriptures often speak of God's ways as above human comprehension, and yet they sometimes represent God as appealing to men concerning the equity of His proceedings.

We are surely capable of deciding that if God were to suffer an innocent being to be eternally miserable, He would, so far, be neither good nor great. Though Bolingbroke does not admit that we are judges of the moral attributes of God, yet, when he discourses of all *for the best*, he undertakes to prove against atheists and divines that the evil which is in the present constitution of things in this world is reconcilable with the justice and goodness of God, even according to the ideas we form of them. Let the Christian set up an argument for a future retribution, drawn from the moral attributes, and immediately Bolingbroke will deny we know anything of such attributes, affirming that the phenomena of the world are repugnant to them. And when this is done, he will immediately after undertake to show that there is no necessity for a future state of retribution; for the whole order of things in this world is conformable to our ideas of the Divine justice and goodness. Leland judiciously points out many similar contradictions in Bolingbroke, arising of necessity from his superficial treatment of subjects which cannot be treated superficially. After all his denunciation of Clarke and Cudworth for their discourse of *eternal ideas, intelligible essences, and eternal fitness of things*, he is yet found gliding into the use of the same or similar language, at one time even calling God *eternal Reason*.

If God is to be considered simply as a forming mind, and the world as a machine which He has made, but from which He is far removed, the first idea of the divine government will be that of a general, not a particular, providence. Here Bolingbroke, like his prototype philosopher, Anaxagoras, was consistent; who, as Socrates said, made no further use of this mind after the world was fashioned. But the deeper religious consciousness, whether that of Plato, Socrates, Paul, Clarke, Cudworth, or of the ordinary Christian, has always felt the necessity of a present God, working, not by laws which He made in ages past, but working immediately by His own presence. Yet, if the Divine Being is limited by possibilities, and must sacrifice individuals for the general good, Bolingbroke was consistent again in denying a particular providence. God, he says, regards human creatures collectively, not individually. Leland answers that the motives which led the Divine Being to create the world, would also lead Him to care for it. The whole of nature bears witness to the constant superintendence of a wise mind; and if there is such care over nature, much more may we conclude over reasonable

beings, which are the noblest and most excellent part of nature. A general providence, Leland says, is no providence. When we have once conceived God as an infinite Being, it is not difficult to think of Him as forming such a comprehensive system of things in His mind as should extend to all particular cases. He explains that particular providence does not mean, as Lord Bolingbroke intimated, a divine interposition on behalf of every individual, but such a care of every individual, as that he will be rewarded or punished according to his deeds, either here or hereafter. It does not suppose men under a theocracy extending only to this life, but under a divine government relating both to time and eternity.

Leland enlarges on the necessity of revelation and its usefulness—points which, as we have seen, were not denied by Bolingbroke. The ignorance of the heathen is discoursed of—especially as to what concerns the Divine Being and the nature of divine worship. To divine revelation the Jews owed the knowledge of the true God, while the Pagans were worshipping idols. Plato did not prescribe any divine worship, because he said God was incomprehensible. Dr. Clarke said that bare reason could not discover how any external service should be acceptable to God. The Pagan rites were cruel and ridiculous, and it was therefore necessary that God should appoint some external worship. Revelation was needful, also, to explain moral duties in their full extent. The philosophers discoursed of these things as speculations, but they did not teach them to the people; or if they did, it was only as speculations, and the people never regarded them as obligatory. Locke, according to Leland, has fully shown the insufficiency of human reason, unassisted by revelation, in its great and proper business of morality. The heathen, too, Leland continues, were in great ignorance of the chief good. Varro said there were no less than two hundred and eighty different opinions about what was the final happiness of man. It was undecided whether the voice of passion or reason was to be followed. But the great point between Leland and Bolingbroke—that which, indeed, was the main hinge of the whole controversy with the Deists—was the means of reconciliation between God and man. The mode of restoration to God's favour was reckoned by divines the one supreme characteristic of external revelation. God alone, says Leland, could determine on what terms He was to be propitiated, and how far His forgiveness was to extend. The Gospel may also be said truly to have brought life and immortality to light. The heathen guessed of the future world; but revelation assures us that there is a life to come in which all men shall be judged according to their deeds.

After a long vindication of the Old Testament history, Leland

proceeds to defend Christianity. The Christian religion, he says, comprehends the law of nature, but it is something more than that. It interferes with no rational argument in favour of that law, but rather confirms it by express divine testimony. Christianity supposes the law of nature, clears it where it is obscure, and enforces it by the strongest sanctions. It adds things which that law did not reveal—things important for mankind to know. It is a divine republication of the law of nature, but not a republication of the doctrines of Plato. It is to be received indeed on external as well as internal evidence, but the former is not of so little value as Lord Bolingbroke maintains. Traditional and historical are by no means equivalent to doubtful or uncertain.

Bishop Warburton wrote "A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, in Four Letters to a Friend." He begins with the *first philosophy*, which he says, Bolingbroke, after the manner of other inquirers, erects on a general desolation. "His meditations," says the bishop, "on divine matters are so extensive, that scarce any one who has written in defence of virtue and religion but will find himself either insulted in his person, or misrepresented in his opinions, and that merely for being in his lordship's way." "This conservator of States, this legislator of philosophy and religion," is described as being unable to raise his head above the rank contagion of the schools.

" 'Tis mighty odd,
A fit of vapours clouds this demi-god."

He has "the roughness of South without his force, the malignity of Marvel without his wit." The irregular distribution of moral good and evil has appeared to all men so obvious that it seemed strange for Bolingbroke to deny it. The verses of the Latin poet express a fearful fact, which has baffled all our efforts at solution:—

"Cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adspicerem, lætasque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios labefacta cadebat
Religio."

The inference might be objected to. Divines have objected to it, but the phenomenon is unquestionable. The premises from which the Atheist reasoned against the existence of an intelligent Ruler, and from which the theologians inferred the necessity of a future life, were not to be denied; yet it was just these that Bolingbroke did deny. Divines, says Warburton, demonstrated—*strictly demonstrated*—the existence of God and His moral attributes. This being done, they proceeded to show that if man's whole existence were included in this life, the present distribution of moral good and evil would contradict that demonstration. Hence followed the natural conclusion

that there would be a future reckoning. Against Atheists, Divines had to prove the existence of God, and against Deists that of a future life. Bolingbroke, says Warburton, jumbled the two controversies together. He always represents the Divines as making a future state the proof of God's moral attributes, while the argument really is that the moral attributes prove a future state. The only confederacy between Divines and Atheists is that they hold a principle in common with the rest of mankind. Warburton vindicates Pope's "Essay on Man" from the charge of teaching the doctrines of Bolingbroke. He calls it a vindication of Providence against Libertines and Atheists who quarrel with the present constitution of things, and deny a future state. To both of these he answers that *whatever is, is right*—and the reason he gives, is that we see only a part of the moral system, that the present state of the moral world is necessary for the greater perfection of the whole. Bolingbroke's doctrine is that our moral world is an entire system of itself, and therefore *whatever is, is right*. His argument is directed against an imaginary confederacy between Atheists and Divines, who for different ends and purposes use a common principle, namely, the *inequality of God's moral government here*, and this very inequality is what Bolingbroke denies. In this he stood alone, even among the Deists. Toland, Collins, and Tindal, admitted the moral attributes of the Deity, and on them based their objections to revelation. They had some pretence for saying that natural religion was perfect; but Bolingbroke, denying both the future life, and our capacity to know anything of God as a moral agent, could not pretend that natural religion is perfect.

The "View of Bolingbroke's Philosophy" is the most original, powerful, and characteristic of all Warburton's writings. He treated Bolingbroke with even less mercy than he had ever shown to any opponent. As Bolingbroke was dead, it was thought the bishop should have tempered his severity. The author might not be a dead lion, but Warburton was accounted little better than a living dog. The sentiment may be unreasonable, but it is universal, that the silence of death should calm resentment, as well as stop the tongue of envy.

"Pascitur in vivis Livor, post fata quiescit
Cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos."

Yet as Bolingbroke had left his works to be published after his death, it was only right that after his death they should be subjected to criticism. To Warburton's naturally vehement temper there was an additional cause for severity. Bolingbroke had calumniated the memory of their mutual friend Pope. The quarrel arose thus—

The manuscript of a political pamphlet, called the "Patriot King,"

was entrusted to Pope by Bolingbroke, with the request that a few copies should be printed for circulation among private friends. Pope, probably out of intense admiration for Bolingbroke, had an impression of 1,500 copies. Bolingbroke, in his wrath, denounced the poet as a mercenary betrayer of his confidence. Roscoe gives, as the real cause of Bolingbroke's rage, that Pope left him only his MSS., while his property went to Warburton. This accounts for the bishop's ardour in Pope's defence as well as for Bolingbroke's anger. Besides vigorous arguments, and still more vigorous abuse, Warburton condescended to vulgarity—yea, to something worse. The conclusion of the second letter was nearly as vile as the "*minxerit in potrios cineres*," with which Horace ended the "*Ars Poetica*." Warburton had already addressed a letter to Bolingbroke, complaining of his treatment of Pope; and reversing the praises which Pope had bestowed on Bolingbroke, told him that in spite of his unmanly endeavours, Pope's name would yet revive and blossom from his own merits; while, but for Pope's generous friendship and idolatrous veneration, after the course of a few years the name of Bolingbroke would be dead and forgotten. In answer to this letter, David Mallet, "the beggarly Scotchman" whom Bolingbroke kept under his protection, wrote "*A Familiar Epistle to the most impudent man living!*"

All Bolingbroke's critics have pronounced him deficient in learning, depth, comprehensiveness, and consistency. He was a great talker, and, like many great talkers, his mind wanted a substratum. His fame rests on the tradition of his oratory. "His external qualities," says Lord Brougham, "were perfect." His countenance is described as symmetrical, beautiful, and animated; his person as noble and dignified; his voice as sonorous and flexible; his action graceful and correct, though unstudied. These qualities are said to have given an inexpressible charm to those who witnessed his extraordinary displays as spectators or as critics. They "armed," says Brougham, "his eloquence with resistless effect over those whom it was intended to sway, persuade, or control."

Brougham places him at the head of modern orators. "There may," he says, "have been more measured and matured power in Pitt; more fire in the occasional bursts of Chatham; more unbridled vehemence, more intense reasoning in Fox; more deep-toned declamation in passages in Sheridan; more learning and imagery in Burke; more wit and humour in Canning; but, on the whole, and taking in all rhetorical gifts and all the orator's accomplishments, no one—perhaps hardly the union of several of them—can match what we are taught by tradition to admire in Bolingbroke's spirited eloquence."

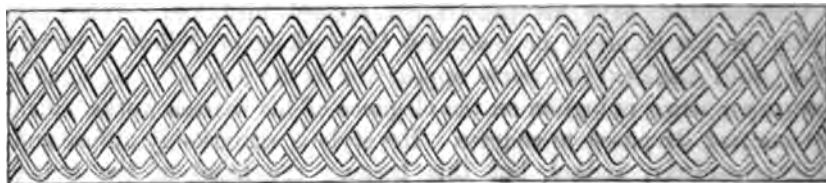
Chesterfield says his penetration seemed intuition. When he spoke in Parliament, he reminded Chesterfield of Milton's Belial, who could make "the worse appear the better cause." Brougham bestows a high eulogium on the elegance of his written works which we are not disposed to endorse. His style is remarkably diffuse and tedious—clear, indeed, but this because the mind of the writer was superficial. Considering the small amount of material that is malleated to cover the many leaves of the many volumes of his works, we think that no one would read them except under conditions which made reading them a duty. It is a pity for Bolingbroke's fame that he wrote books, and a greater pity that the subject of them should have been theology. It was once said by Pope, "If ever my lord Bolingbroke trifles, it will be when he writes on divinity." Never was a prophecy more truly fulfilled. But the whole life of Bolingbroke was one of contradiction, inconsistency, and want of principle. His friends saw in him qualities which he never possessed, and was never anxious to possess. Besides the extravagant eulogies of Pope, he is described by Gay as "Sweet St. John, for every social virtue prized." And again the same poet says:—

"There saw I St. John, sweet of mien,
Full steadfast both to Church and Queen,
With whose fair fame I'll deck my strain;
St. John right courteous to the swain."

His youth and early manhood were spent in profligacy. He even boasted of his excessive debaucheries. In public life he was by turns Whig, Tory, supporter of the Pretender, and Whig or Tory again. Brougham speaks of him as without principle, either in his public or his private life; "a dishonest, sordid, and treacherous politician," the spring of whose actions was self, and of whom it was impossible to make a virtuous man. The only good thing we know of him is his attachment to his second wife, who was the widow of the Marquis of Villette and niece to Madame de Maintenon. To her influence it is due that he was not a worse man than he is said to have been. The only consistent thing that we know of him is that he did not trouble the world with a death-bed confession nor a recantation of opinions, which were as little worth recanting as they were worth maintaining. He had a long illness, but allowed none of the clergy to approach him. As he lived, so he died; if this is any praise, he has it.

"Conveniens vitæ mors fuit ista suæ."

JOHN HUNT.



THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE CATECHISM.

*The Sequel of the Kiss of Peace: being an Answer to Arguments
against the Original Essay. By GERARD FRANCIS COBB, M.A.
London: Hayes. [1868.]*

IN two former papers I have examined the language of the Communion Office and Articles respectively on the doctrine of the Eucharist, testing it, to the best of my ability, by those rules of interpretation which I have been in the habit of applying to other works. The language of the Catechism has yet to be considered; and the appearance of Mr. Cobb's "Sequel," in which the subject is fully treated, furnishes me with a good opportunity of thus completing my inquiry. I hope also to subjoin a few remarks on various points raised by Mr. Cobb with regard to other parts of the controversy, especially in reference to observations of my own which he has called in question.

Mr. Cobb's views on the Catechism are contained in the Third Section of his present work, "The Relative Position of Articles, Liturgy, and Catechism as Tests of Doctrine, and their real Teaching on the Holy Eucharist."

I begin with the question which Mr. Cobb places first, the relation of the Catechism to the other formularies. I have already stated my opinion of the relation which the Liturgy and Articles bear to each other; and it is equally proper to ascertain the relation in which the Catechism stands to both.

Mr. Cobb's position is that the teaching of the Catechism is more important with a view to discovering the mind of the English Church than that of either of the others; 1st. because, with the exception of the few changes introduced in 1662 into the Communion Office, it is the Church's latest utterance on the subject; 2nd. because it is addressed not to adults, still less to divines, but to those who above all things require to be taught clearly and dogmatically, giving, in truth, the light by which the child is expected to read the facts and doctrinal statements which come before him in a later stage of Church membership.

The first, or chronological argument, had been already put forward in the "Kiss of Peace;" and Mr. Cobb calls attention to the fact that, though it is the strongest part of his case, no one has attempted to meet it. Is it, however, really so strong? and does it not depend for its force on assumptions borrowed, in part at least, from the second argument, which Mr. Cobb thinks the less important? A later utterance on a subject is more important than an earlier, only on the assumption that the one is of the same nature with the other. If it should so happen that the earlier body of teaching is more technical and elaborate, the later more elementary and (so to say) superficial, there will in that case be no reason for supposing that the latter expresses more of the mind of the teacher. Of course, it may be the case that the mind of the teacher may have developed in the mean time, and so that a difference between an earlier and later statement may really represent a difference in view; but putting this out of the question, the probability will be that the statement intended for the more advanced reader, though published earlier, will contain more of the truth than the statement intended for the less advanced, though published later. Mr. Cobb apparently supposes that the later utterance of the Church is intended to preclude doubts which may have arisen about the interpretation of her earlier utterances; but this again is an assumption which requires to be substantiated. It does not seem natural that a teacher, wishing to remove supposed ambiguities in a document addressed to grown men, should do so tacitly in a different document addressed to children. I may add that there is a yet further assumption, depending on Mr. Cobb's whole view of the Church. If it be the case that expressions in the Articles apparently bear one sense, expressions in the Catechism another, it by no means follows that the earlier must be made to give way to the later. While I believed that the passage in the Prayer of Humble Access, "*so to eat the flesh of Thy Son, and drink His blood,*" was transplanted without change from the office of 1549 into that of 1552, I contended for giving it the sense which it bore in the original document, even though that document had been distinctly

abrogated in favour of the later. Much more is it necessary to respect the natural meaning (supposing that to be ascertained) of documents, which, though earlier than the Catechism, are equally with it in *viridi observantia*, and are tendered to us on the same authority. As I have said elsewhere, every Churchman is interested in satisfying himself what on the whole is the teaching of the Church on a given point; but that satisfaction, I submit, is to be attained by first giving each conflicting passage fair play, and then adjusting their apparent differences. This proceeds, no doubt, on a view of the Church which Mr. Cobb does not accept; but, as I understand him to be arguing with his opponents on their own ground, I wish to point out what that ground is.

We come, then, to the second argument, that the nature of the Catechism, as compared with other formularies, gives it a primary claim to be heard on doctrinal questions. I have already indicated the grounds on which I should differ from Mr. Cobb about this. We are speaking, I apprehend, of exact technical theology; and it certainly appears to me that we are likely to find more of that in the Articles than in the Catechism. It is by no means true that the Articles are wholly or principally negative: even where they are so, the negative, to a trained student, will often throw light on its opposite. It is certain, as Mr. Cobb admits, that they are addressed *ad clerum*; and an adult professional reader is naturally expected to take in more of the intellectual bearings of a subject than a child. Mr. Cobb puts the case of a child who, having been "taught by the simple language of the Catechism to take a certain view of the Eucharist, . . . the first time he is brought to seal that faith by practical participation in the ordinance itself, . . . should be told that he has all along been under a mistake, and that the Liturgy which he is now to use teaches him something different." Surely this is not likely to be the case with any child who has been naturally and sensibly brought up. He is taught to hope that he may receive the body and blood of Christ to the strengthening and refreshing of his soul; words which are generally considered to be compatible with more than one intellectual view of the doctrine, and which do not compel him to speculate intellectually at all. To take the words most in dispute, "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful:" will it be said that a child who has been wisely taught will have been drawn away to the question whether the faithful include all baptized persons or not, and what it is which is received by the unworthy, instead of having his mind fixed on the one point, that he is bound to be faithful in deed as well as in name? * This

* Here I may quote Dr. Pusey (Real Presence, the Doctrine of the Church of England, p. 166) with the more satisfaction because he, like Mr. Cobb, is arguing from the impression a child derives from the Catechism, to what he and Mr. Cobb believes to be

latter is surely the natural child-like attitude for a catechumen; and one who has realised it is not likely to be shocked if he is confronted later with the question, whether the "*Res Sacramenti*" depends on the faith of the receiver, and is led to believe that the Church answers it in the affirmative. It seems to me, then, that we should naturally expect the Catechism, as compared with the Articles, to give the simpler and (I have no wish to shrink from the word) more superficial exposition, just as a grammar written for the lower forms of schools will avoid many intellectual problems which its writer would necessarily introduce into a work addressed to more advanced students. It is not that the elementary work is untrue as far as it goes, but that it needs to be supplemented and developed for the riper intellect. Compared with the Liturgy, the Catechism, from its form, may have some advantage in point of precision, though the advantage is counterbalanced by its elementary character. Compared with the Articles, I cannot see why, apart from the exigencies of controversy, any one should contend that it has, as a statement of doctrine, any advantage whatever.

So much for the place which, as it appears to me, the Catechism holds in reference to the other formularies. I now proceed to the teaching of the document itself.

Mr. Cobb had already treated the subject in his former work, and what he now says is intended as a supplemental defence of the positions then advanced. In the "*Kiss of Peace*" he lays stress on the fact, already urged at length by Dr. Pusey, that the Church recognises the threefold distinction between the "*Signum Sacramenti*," "*Res Sacramenti*," and "*Virtus Sacramenti*," in the case of the Eucharist, whereas in Baptism we hear of only two, the "*Signum*" and the "*Virtus*." I have no wish to dispute the reference to the older theological language, which is indeed no more than an obvious deduction from the expressions of Scripture on the matter. In the case of Baptism we hear only of water and the effect of water; in the case of the Lord's Supper we hear of the bread and wine, of the body and blood, and of the benefit of the reception. This, however, affords no presumption as to the sense in which the Church of England determines the question whether the "*Res*" is practically separable from the "*Virtus*." I think also that Mr. Cobb goes too far when he says that the Church is careful not to call the "*Signum*" a thing. "*Observe*," he says, "*whereas in her second question she asks what is the inward part or thing signified; in her first question she asks*

the meaning of the other formularies. "*Indeed, and in truth, really and truly, are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord's Supper by the faithful, and so by each one of us if we are faithful . . . And at present we are concerned with what it is to the faithful, not what it becomes to the unfaithful.*"]

what is the outward part or *sign*, not, or *thing* signifying." I should have thought that "thing signified" was only an English equivalent for "*significatum*," the natural correlative of "*signum*," an equivalent adopted for want of a single English word, and I should have been surprised if any one, having the word "*sign*," had chosen to employ instead the cumbrous circumlocution "*thing signifying*."

I now come to the words which constitute the real nodus of the controversy, so far as the Catechism is concerned, "*which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper*." Mr. Cobb appeals to these with great confidence as decisive of the question whether the Church of England holds the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence. He says he could understand Protestant controversialists saying in self-defence that they believed that the body and blood of Christ were verily and indeed taken in the Sacrament, but he cannot understand the words being chosen, as it were, without provocation to express a Protestant meaning; and in a speech which he puts into the mouth of the Church (a scarcely graceful mode of argument which he is too fond of adopting), he assumes that the natural sense of the words denotes a definite and determinate existence, wholly independent of thoughts or fancies. Surely all this is merely begging the question. Protestant controversialists use the words because they believe they have a right to use them. They say that the sense to be attributed to the words depends on the nature of the subject matter. Their position is, that the objective miracle which their opponents believe to take place is contrary to the nature of an ordinance which is meant to act on the human spirit; and they consider that theirs is the one appropriate mode of conceiving of a spiritual presence. If they altered the term "*verily and indeed*," they would not only surrender an advantage to their opponents, but, as they believe, let go a truth. Such words as "*fancies or thoughts*," "*pious imagination*," "*figurative and metaphorical way*," do not represent their view (it is of moderate Protestant theories that I am speaking), but their opponents' version of it.

The same thing is to be said about the words "*taken and received*." They are chosen, doubtless, with an allusion to our Lord's "*Take, eat*;" and the utmost they prove, as I said in speaking of the Twenty-eighth Article, is, that the reception is connected with the taking of the elements, instead of being left in an indeterminate relation to the whole Eucharistic service. But to argue from this that the taking of the elements constitutes reception in the case of the good and bad alike, is simply to assume that a particular answer to a vexed question is necessarily the true one. Mr. Cobb is himself quite aware of this distinction, as may be seen from a note of his in another place, where he speaks of the

receptionist theory of Bucer and also of that of Hooker, either of which would be consistent with the belief that the Body and Blood are what is taken and received. It is vain to urge that the Catechism is intended for children who know nothing of controversy, and so ought to be interpreted in the sense in which a child would naturally understand it. The Catechism (at least the Sacramental part of it) is a series of utterances on certain points, every one of which has been repeatedly battled over. Even if it was the work of a single writer, we know that it must have been written with a view to the approval of many not necessarily of one school of thought. Consequently its object would be not to express a single view with clearness and precision, but to state guardedly such propositions as would command the assent of moderate men of different sections. It is not supposed that the child will be left to find out the meaning of the Catechism for itself; the Catechism is rather the text on which an instructor is expected to comment. Such an instructor, if competent to his task, will be acquainted more or less with the history of Church of England doctrine, and will not treat the Catechism as if it had no relation to other dogmatic statements. He will not perplex the child with controversy; but he will not ignore controversy in cases where to ignore is to mislead and misinterpret.*

What, then, is meant by "the faithful?" Mr. Cobb, in the "Kiss of Peace," had explained it of all the baptized, characterizing the other and more restricted interpretation as a modern loose sense. Mr. Taylor, in his "Letter to the Author of the Kiss of Peace," of which I spoke in my paper on Bishop Forbes,† adduced various passages from the writings of the Reformers, where it is used in the narrower sense with regard to this very controversy, the reception by the unworthy. Mr. Cobb now insists that it should be interpreted according to its use in public and formal documents, not according to that which may be current in private treatises. Here, it seems to

* Those who, with Mr. Cobb, contend that the true appeal is to the natural apprehension of a child, should consider to what conclusion their view may lead them. If a child is to reason from the analogies with which he is familiar, can it be doubted that he would understand the words "eating and drinking," in what is technically called a Capernaite sense? The words must be explained to him; and the only question is how they are to be explained. If it be maintained that of the various explanations that has a paramount claim which would produce in his mind the least sense of incongruity, the question must be asked whether, as a matter of fact, a Protestant explanation does produce any such sense in such a case. But the whole view, as I have said in the text, seems to proceed on a total misconception of the circumstances under which the Church Catechism is taught, and, presumably, was intended to be taught, to children.

† I am anxious to acknowledge that Mr. Taylor has anticipated me in my explanation of the words in Article XXIX., "in no wise are they partakers of Christ." I had read his pamphlet before writing my article (indeed, I refer to it there); but I had forgotten that particular remark. In writing on a subject like this such coincidences are sure to occur. Mr. Cobb's book is full of them.

me, he is attempting to draw a line where none can be drawn. The word has undoubtedly two senses, a wider and a narrower one; but even if it were proved that in the public documents of the Church it bore one sense (a point about which I shall have more to say further on), it would not follow that one was a public, the other a private sense. Both, so far as I can see, are equally theological terms, the wider and the narrower: and which of the two is intended in a particular case is to be decided, not by any compendious external rule, but by intrinsic considerations. Mr. Cobb finds a parallel in the two senses of the word "student," and says that in an academical document the wider sense would in all cases be presumed to be the true one. I am not certain that the parallel is complete; but I will accept it, and put a particular case. Let us suppose that a University statute were to be framed confirming certain privileges to students. To make the parallel hold, we must imagine that a dispute had arisen previously about these very privileges, one party contending that they belonged to all junior members of the University, the other that they were to be confined to those who were really studious (I am assuming, of course, for the sake of argument, that a distinction between the two could be drawn in practice), and that the word "student" had been repeatedly employed during the progress of the dispute in the restricted sense, not merely in *ad hominem* reasoning, but in ordinary statements of opinion. I must make a further supposition, that in other enactments of the University passed shortly before, language had been used which to many, if not to most understandings, seemed to connect these privileges with earnest *bonâ fide* study. Would not the University have itself to blame if persons interpreted the new enactment as intended to restrict the privileges to students used in the narrow sense? And would it be a sufficient answer to appeal to enactments not bearing on these privileges, where the word was understood in a wider acceptation? I do not know how a lawyer would answer the question; but I think I know how it would appear to an average non-legal intellect.

But Mr. Cobb has another objection to Mr. Taylor's instances of the restricted use of the word at the Reformation period. They are not independent instances, because they are drawn from passages which treat of the same subject as the answer in the Catechism, not of a different subject; and they are instances of the use of the word in a context which explains the meaning. Most reasoners will, I believe, consider that a parallel is likely to be closer where the subject-matter is the same than where it is different. It is true, of course, that the Reformers whom Mr. Taylor quotes agree with him as against Mr. Cobb about the doctrine at issue; but that is no reason for suspecting them as witnesses on the point of language.

Even if we suppose them to have used words perversely, the fact remains that they did so use them; and it is a legitimate inference, that if the Church had thought their doctrine erroneous, she would not have expressed the opposing truth in words which they had, however wrongly, made their own. It is not a case like that of the words "verily and indeed," where both parties were anxious to assert their right to the use of a certain mode of expression. Nothing would have been lost by the Catholic school by leaving out the words "by the faithful" in the answer in the Catechism; indeed, Mr. Cobb himself treats them as unemphatic, and argues that, from the nature of the case, they must have the appearance of surplusage. As to the other charge against Mr. Taylor's parallels, it surely is not necessary to say that, in order to be of any use at all, parallels must contain something which is not contained in that which they are brought to illustrate. I do not say that the addition may not sometimes injure the parallel, by throwing the word in question into too strong relief. Mr. Cobb complains that Mr. Taylor's instance from Nowell's Catechism is no parallel at all, because while the Church Catechism speaks of "the faithful," Nowell speaks of "the only faithful." If this were all that Nowell says, I should admit that the words of the Church Catechism were not equally express with Nowell's words, though, looking to all the circumstances, I should still believe the general sense to be the same. In point of fact, however, Nowell, as we shall see below, first makes his respondent say that the body and blood of Christ are given to the faithful, and then, in answer to a further question, declare that it is the faithful only who are fed by Christ's body and blood. All Mr. Taylor's instances may not be so completely parallel as this; but all, I think, have their value in the controversy.

I will venture then, to strengthen, as I hope, Mr. Taylor's case by adding two or three passages to those already adduced by him, as showing that the word was used with reference to the Eucharist in the restricted sense by writers of the sixteenth century.

Becon, Catechism, p. 291 (ed. Parker Society):—

"The Papists teach that not only the faithful and godly, but the unfaithful and wicked eat and drink in the sacrament the body and blood of Christ."

The words "faithful" and "unfaithful" are repeatedly used in this sense through the whole passage, which extends from p. 291 to p. 296.

Becon, "Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Mass" (p. 378 of "Prayers and other Pieces," ed. Parker Society):—

"He" (the mass-monger) "saith, moreover, that not only the godly and

faithful eat the body of Christ in the Supper, but also the ungodly and misbelieving."

Ridley, "Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper" (Works, p. 9, ed. Parker Society):—

"Now the partaking of Christ's body and of His blood, unto the faithful and godly, is the partaking or fellowship of life and immortality. And, again, of the bad and ungodly receivers St. Paul as plainly saith thus: 'He that eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.'"

Peter Martyr's Disputation at Oxford, in Foxe, vol. vi. p. 305 (ed. Cattley):—

"All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful."

Letter attributed to Geste (Perry's "Declaration on Kneeling," p. 200):—

"It is not saied, if thou be a good or a faithfull man, take eate this is my bodye, but simply without any suche condition, take eate this is my bodye. So that to all men wiehe be of y^e churche & of the profession of Christ, whether they be good or bad, faithfull or unfaythfull (for to them onely Christ spoke thees wordes take eate this is my body and not to y^e jewes turke, miscreant beast or birde) Christis body is gyven and they do receave it."

I do not know whether I ought to add the following, as it is, of course, a translation, and I cannot say when or by whom it was made; but I take it as I find it quoted in Dr. Pusey's "Real Presence the Doctrine of English Church":—

"Nor do they deny that our Lord Jesus Christ (when the holy Supper is in the assembly of the Church rightly celebrated and distributed) is really apprehended, partaken of, and perceived only by the faithful" ("Answer of Swiss Cities," Pusey, p. 95).*

Of these passages it is to be observed that while all are from writings treating of the Eucharist, that from Ridley does not pronounce on the particular question (though his opinion about it may be collected from other sources), while that from Geste's letter occurs in an argument in support of the view which Mr. Cobb believes to be the right one. I cannot perceive how it is possible to deny that the restricted sense was sufficiently common at the period in question in theological disputations to afford a reasonable presumption (in the

* It should be borne in mind that Dr. Pusey himself, in this work, uses the word in the narrower sense; see the passage quoted in a preceding note, and also pages 163, 164, "To the faithful recipient the thing signified and the grace of the Sacrament come in one. In receiving the outward part we receive the inward, the Body and Blood; in receiving the inward part, we, if faithful, receive the grace; only that grace may be indefinitely fuller, and larger, and deeper, according to the faithfulness or preparation of the communicant."

absence of stronger presumptions on the other side), that when the word is found in a theological document on the subject, whether public or private, that is the sense intended.

I will now hazard a step further. Mr. Cobb appeals to the language of the Prayer-Book to show that the *usus loquendi* of the Church of England is in favour of the wider sense. I believe, on the contrary, that even if there were no evidence that the narrower meaning had been used in the controversy, the language of the Prayer-Book would be, on the whole, in favour of understanding the answer of the Catechism with reference to the faithful only.

To say that the word "faithful" in the Prayer-Book simply means the baptized is, I think, a little misleading. It seems to me rather to be used like "believers," of Christians regarded (so to say) ideally as being in reality what they profess. In the four passages in the Collects which speak of God's faithful people, the word is evidently intended to make them out as appropriate recipients (I deprecate misconstruction on a matter where it is difficult to avoid erroneous language) of the grace prayed for. When the Articles talk of the Church as a congregation of faithful men, and say that excommunicated persons ought to be avoided by the faithful, they are in like manner speaking ideally. It is only because what is assumed to be true of all is really true of many that the Church is a Church at all: the faithful are bidden to avoid excommunicated persons, as it were, on their allegiance; if they are faithful, they will naturally separate themselves from those who are separated from the Church. In the Black Rubric, idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians means to be abhorred by all Christians, so far as they are faithful. Mr. Cobb's objection that this would imply that unfaithful Christians are permitted not to abhor idolatry, may be met by asking whether, if he were told that a practice deserved the reprobation of all good men, he would conclude that bad men were licensed to approve of it. That unfaithful Christians will, as a matter of fact, think lightly of idolatry is of course credible enough. The passage in the Communion and Baptismal Offices are, if anything, stronger. Will Mr. Cobb maintain that we give thanks for being members incorporate in Christ's mystical body in the sense in which the wicked may be called members of that body? Or that, when we pray that a child after baptism may ever remain in the number of God's faithful and elect children, we merely mean that it may never be separated from the Communion of the Church? Strongest of all are the words in the Burial Service, quoted by Mr. Taylor with a confidence which I fear he will now see to be premature. I will not enter into the question, which involves a solemn and painful mystery. I will only remark that Mr. Cobb appears to confound the judgment

of charity in the case of an individual with an assertion about the intermediate state of all the baptized,* and that the language of the prayer goes beyond that of the petitions which he quotes from the earlier ritual. "The souls of the faithful" is obviously equivalent to "the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord," and the meaning of the latter words is as obviously identical with that which they bear in the passage of the Apocalypse.

The conclusion which I draw from these various passages is, that even if "the faithful" were not known to have been used in a narrower sense by contemporary writers on the Eucharistic controversy, we should be acting in conformity with the usage of the Prayer-Book, in interpreting the words of the Catechism so as not to favour the doctrine of the reception of the wicked. The word, I contend, is used in the Prayer-Book on a sort of understanding that those who are called faithful are so in reality; they are spoken of as recipients of grace, abhorers of idolatry, not as evil men or unbelievers. When, therefore, we hear that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, we naturally suppose that they have that privilege because they are faithful; and it would surprise us to be told that the reception is quite independent of their being in reality what they profess. No doubt various ways might be devised to turn the edge of this argument: it might be said, for instance, that the sacrament is what it is to baptized persons as such, being taken by the wicked to their condemnation precisely because they have been baptized; but I think, on the whole, that the balance of probability would be in favour of my interpretation, if we had nothing but the use of the word "faithful" in the Prayer-Book to guide us, and if the other formularies were quite silent on the question of unworthy reception. The most moderate conclusion which we should draw would be that the Catechism simply contemplated the case of the worthy receiver, leaving that of the unworthy out of sight.

Do I then say that those who take Mr. Cobb's view have no *locus standi*, as regards the Catechism? I do not go so far as this. I believe theirs to be the less probable view, on the several grounds which I have named, but I do not call it an impossible one; and when I consider that Bishop Overall was presumably the author of this part of the Catechism, I think it likely enough that the word "faithful" may have been chosen on account of its ambiguity.

* The same explanation, and, as I venture to think it, the same confusion, are to be found in Mr. Perry's work on the "Declaration on Kneeling," pp. 297, foll., a book which I am glad to mention as honourably distinguished by its general candour as well as by its carefulness and research. Many of Mr. Perry's extracts seem to me far from proving his point; but he is in general laudably anxious not to over-state his case.

Here, as elsewhere, the question of course is not about the private or ulterior meaning of the framers, but about that meaning which they have expressed in the formularies, as ascertained by the best exegetical lights: still, where the words are not absolutely unequivocal, it would be wrong to exclude the sense which is in conformity with the framers' known opinions. In this, indeed, as in all similar cases, we must beware of attaching more weight to the argument from authorship than it will fairly bear. When we hear that a public document, drawn up by an official person, was adopted by others, we of course cannot conclude that it was adopted without any change; and yet when we are arguing about words, the question of possible change becomes important. Nor is there anything in the circumstances of this particular case to diminish the element of uncertainty. The fact of Bishop Overall's authorship does not, I believe, rest on his own assertion, but is a matter of testimony. The third set of notes on the Prayer-Book, attributed to Bishop Cosin, contains the following passage: * "The addition (to the Catechism) was first penned by Bishop Overall (then Dean of St. Paul's), and allowed by the bishops." This third set of notes has not quite the same authority with the other two, from the fact that the MS. from which it was copied has disappeared, so that the Oxford editor of Bishop Cosin's work had to take them on trust from Nicholls, of whom he speaks as not absolutely to be relied on as a transcriber of the other two sets.† But assuming that there is no doubt, as there probably is none, that we have here Bishop Cosin's words, we may still remark how little support is given by so general a statement to those who wish to credit Bishop Overall with this or that phrase in the Catechism. I do not, however, pretend to have investigated the matter, so that there may be some other evidence of which I am unaware. While I am on the subject, I will just remove a mistake into which Mr. Cobb has fallen. He quotes certain extracts from "Notes on the Catechism" by Bishop Overall, recommending them "to the attention of those who consider that the Church is a human institution, and that the formularies are necessarily to be taken in the same sense as that put upon them by their framers." When Dr. Pusey, twenty-five years ago, preached the sermon from the appendix to which Mr. Cobb drew these extracts, the notes in question were generally supposed to be Overall's, owing to some false inferences and misconceptions, the history of which is given in the preface to the concluding volume of the Oxford edition of Cosin. But the notes are now known to have been Cosin's own, though they contain from time to time references to his patron Overall. One of these references

* Cosin, vol. v. (Oxf. ed.), p. 491.

† *Ib.*, Pref. p. xvi.

does occur in one of the notes in question;* but it merely asserts that Cosin had heard Overall preach a hundred times the doctrine of the presence in the Eucharist in a form answering to the words of Maldonatus, "Corpus Christi sumitur a nobis sacramentaliter et realiter, sed non corporaliter." This is worth what it may be worth; but it is obviously a different thing from the existence of any notes on the Catechism of which Overall was the author. I may add that Mr. Cobb has not copied Dr. Pusey accurately; and that one of his two extracts† is not from any notes of the Catechism, by whomever written, but from a note by Cosin on a rubric in the Communion Office. But enough of these matters, which, after all, are somewhat minute.

The fact is, that this final utterance of the Church on the doctrine of the Eucharist, as Mr. Cobb supposes it to be, contains but little which had not already appeared in the "Short Catechism" of 1553, or in Nowell's Catechism, neither of them works belonging to the Catholic school. I may as well show this at once, by exhibiting the parallel passages in a tabular form.

Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?

For the continual remembrance of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.

What is the outward part, or sign, of the Lord's Supper?

Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

They (the Sacraments) are customary reverent doings ordained by Christ, that by them He might put us in remembrance of His benefits. (Short Catechism, p. 516 of "Liturgies of K. Edw. VI." Parker Society.)

This was the manner and order of the Lord's Supper, which we ought to hold and keep, that the remembrance of so great a benefit, the passion and death of Christ, be always kept in mind. (Ibid., p. 517.)

This is the form and order of the Lord's Supper, which we ought to hold and holily to keep till He come.

For what use?

To celebrate and retain continually a thankful remembrance of the Lord's death, and of that most singular benefit which we have received thereby. (Nowell, Eng. Tr., Parker Society, p. 212.)

Dost thou say that there are two parts in this Sacrament also, as in Baptism?

Yea. The one part, the bread and wine, the outward signs, which are seen with our eyes, handled with our hands, and felt with our taste: the other part, Christ Himself, with

* Ib., p. 155.

† Ib., pp. 131, 132

What is the inward part, or thing signified?

The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

whom our souls, as with their proper food, are inwardly nourished.

And dost thou say that all ought alike to receive both parts of the Sacrament?

Yea, verily, master. For sith the Lord hath expressly so commanded, it were a most high offence in any part to abridge His commandment. (Nowell, pp. 212, 213.)

Is there then not an only figure, but the truth itself of the benefits that thou hast rehearsed, delivered in the Supper?

What else? For sith Christ is the truth itself, it is no doubt but that the thing which He testifieth in words and representeth in signs, He performeth also in deed, and delivereth it unto us; and that He as surely maketh them that believe in Him partakers of His body and blood as they surely know that they have received the bread and wine with their mouth and stomach. (Nowell, p. 214.)

By bread and wine, the signs, is assured unto us, that as the body of Christ was once offered a sacrifice for us to reconcile us to favour with God, and His blood once shed to wash away the spots of our sins, so now also in His holy Supper both are given to the faithful, that we surely know that the reconciliation of favour pertaineth to us, and may take and receive the fruit of redemption purchased by His death.

Are then the only faithful fed with Christ's body and blood?

They only. For to whom He communicateth His body, to them, as I said, He communicateth also everlasting life. (Ibid., pp. 215, 216.)

And even as by bread and wine our natural bodies are sustained and nourished, so by the Body, that is the flesh, and Blood of Christ the soul is fed through faith, and quickened to the heavenly and godly life. (Short Catechism, p. 517.)

As the bread for nourishment of our bodies, so His Body hath most singular force and efficacy spiritually to feed our souls; and as with wine

What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?

To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life, have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death, and be in charity with all men.

men's hearts are cheered and their strength confirmed, so with His Blood our souls are relieved and refreshed. (Nowell, p. 218.)

Declare then what is our duty, that we may come rightly to the Lord's Supper.

Even the same that we are taught in the Holy Scriptures, namely, to examine ourselves whether we be true members of Christ.

By what marks and tokens shall we manifestly find it?

First, if we heartily repent us of our sins, which drove Christ to death, whose mysteries are now delivered us; next, if we stay ourselves and rest upon a sure hope of God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of our redemption purchased by His death. Moreover, if we conceive an earnest mind and determined purpose to lead our life godly hereafter. Finally, if, seeing in the Lord's Supper is contained also a tokening of friendship and love among men, we bear brotherly love to our neighbours, that is, to all men, without any evil will or hatred. (Nowell, p. 216.)

The only noteworthy differences between the Church Catechism and the two other documents seem to me to be the threefold division of the Eucharist and the substitution of "remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ" for "remembrance of the death of Christ." I have already argued that the first has not necessarily any doctrinal significance; but I have no objection to admit that it does not, like the words of the other Catechisms, pointedly favour the Protestant view. I doubt whether even so much can be said of the introduction of the word "sacrifice." To say that the Eucharist is the commemoration of Christ's death as a sacrifice, is what no moderate Protestant would object to. To say that the Eucharist is itself a commemorative sacrifice, is a very different proposition, and one which no torture can extract from the words of the Catechism. As for the notion that "remembrance" means a memorial before God, there is absolutely nothing in the Catechism to lend it any colour. Nor need I argue with Mr. Cobb about the difference between "a remembrance" and "the remembrance," as the Short Catechism uses the definite article. On the whole, the result of the comparison seems to be that the Church Catechism differs from the other two chiefly in being briefer,

and less polemical and hortatory in manner; so that in fact it carries out King James's intention of "having a Catechism in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be."

In justice to Mr. Cobb, I am bound to say that a considerable portion of his argument is addressed to those who are supposed to admit certain rules of interpretation laid down in an earlier part of his work. I give the rules, which are as follows:—

"1. That where the meaning of a formula is itself quite obvious, no amount of supposed irreconcilability with the opinions of *individual* human agents employed in its composition can invalidate that meaning. 2. That where the meaning of a formula is not obvious, its ambiguities are to be removed by reference, not to the writings of the individual agents alluded to, but to other authoritative documents of the Church. 3. That where, in such a change of office-books as that made during the Reformation, sentences conveying doctrinal truth have been retained, they must be considered still to express the same doctrinal truth as the Church previously implied by them, notwithstanding the repudiation of such doctrine by individual reformers. 4. That if, after comparing one passage in the Prayer-Book with another, there still be a doubt as to its teaching on a particular point, that view of it is to be taken which is most in accordance with the teaching of the rest of episcopal Christendom. 5. That with regard to mere individual *words*, where the use of them in the Prayer-Book is not made sufficiently plain by a comparison of passages in which they occur, reference is then to be made to parallel and contemporary usage for their explanation."

These rules again depend on certain ulterior principles about Church authority which are set forth still earlier in Mr. Cobb's "Sequel." To discuss those principles adequately would require, not an article, but a volume, and would besides lead me away from my present narrow purpose. I will only say of them that I believe that so far from being generally accepted within the Church of England, they would be repudiated by many who, unlike myself, agree with Mr. Cobb on points of detail. The rules, as being nearer to my immediate subject, warrant a little more discussion. The first might be accepted if it were not unhappily likely to be almost wholly useless in practice. A meaning which is quite obvious to one party in a controversy will scarcely ever appear quite obvious to the other; and thus the demand for collateral evidence will constantly arise. The words which we have just been considering, "verily and indeed," are a case in point. Mr. Cobb has no doubt that they mean an objective Presence. I believe that they are equally susceptible of another meaning, which, on other grounds, is a more probable one. The second rule appears to me like the proceeding of a man who, wanting to search for something in a room, insists on darkening one of the windows. Even those who believe the utterances of the Church to be inspired may consider that as she speaks through the instrumentality

of human agents, the known opinions of those agents are likely to have a subsidiary value in ascertaining her meaning. The third and fourth rules really assume the whole question at issue, viz., whether the Church of England underwent any doctrinal change at the Reformation. It is quite possible, of course, that a Church might retain earlier doctrinal expressions, and yet make it evident from the connection in which she uses them, and from the whole spirit of her formularies, that she employed them in an altered sense. This is what, as a matter of fact, Mr. Cobb's opponents assert to have taken place; and the way to ascertain whether he or they are right is to examine the language of the Church without any prejudication. The fourth rule, if anything, involves a more violent assumption than the third. To assume that the English Church maintained the same doctrinal position before and after the Reformation is, whether true or false, compatible with an assertion that she separated herself from certain corruptions of the faith, which had grown up in other Churches with which she had hitherto been in communion; to assume that her expressions, where doubtful (and who is to say what is doubtful and what is not?), are to be interpreted in accordance with the decrees of those other Churches, is to assume that the Reformation had really no doctrinal significance at all. The fifth rule is a concession, studiously minimized in theory, and likely to prove even less valuable in practice, if one may judge by the scope allowed to it by Mr. Cobb in the one instance to which he applies it, the meaning of the word "faithful" at the Reformation period. On the whole, I fear it must be said of these rules, that if their intention had been to reduce all independent investigation into the true nature of Anglican doctrine to a nullity, they could scarcely have been more skilfully framed. Where they are harmless, they are indeterminate; where they are determinate, they either impede the natural course of inquiry or destroy it altogether. It would be possible to investigate the meaning of the Prayer-Book by the help of the Prayer-Book alone, though such a proceeding would be somewhat like the Trades' Union rule, which obliges a man in certain building operations only to use one hand: it would be quite impossible to do so under conditions which should bar the investigator from concluding that the Church of England differed either from her former self or from the Church of Rome. Nor do the considerations which Mr. Cobb urges in support of his rules really recommend them. It cannot be admitted that because Catholic doctrine generally includes Protestant doctrine and something more, the two or three expressions in the formularies bearing the fuller sense are to govern the meaning of the greater number where the sense is less full. Those who are versed in interpretation know that it is equally possible that the less guarded

and less polemical and hortatory in manner ; so that in fact it carries out King James's intention of "having a Catechism in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be."

In justice to Mr. Cobb, I am bound to say that a considerable portion of his argument is addressed to those who are supposed to admit certain rules of interpretation laid down in an earlier part of his work. I give the rules, which are as follows :—

"1. That where the meaning of a formula is itself quite obvious, no amount of supposed irreconcilability with the opinions of *individual* human agents employed in its composition can invalidate that meaning. 2. That where the meaning of a formula is not obvious, its ambiguities are to be removed by reference, not to the writings of the individual agents alluded to, but to other authoritative documents of the Church. 3. That where, in such a change of office-books as that made during the Reformation, sentences conveying doctrinal truth have been retained, they must be considered still to express the same doctrinal truth as the Church previously implied by them, notwithstanding the repudiation of such doctrine by individual reformers. 4. That if, after comparing one passage in the Prayer-Book with another, there still be a doubt as to its teaching on a particular point, that view of it is to be taken which is most in accordance with the teaching of the rest of episcopal Christendom. 5. That with regard to mere individual *words*, where the use of them in the Prayer-Book is not made sufficiently plain by a comparison of passages in which they occur, reference is then to be made to parallel and contemporary usage for their explanation."

These rules again depend on certain ulterior principles about Church authority which are set forth still earlier in Mr. Cobb's "Sequel." To discuss those principles adequately would require, not an article, but a volume, and would besides lead me away from my present narrow purpose. I will only say of them that I believe that so far from being generally accepted within the Church of England, they would be repudiated by many who, unlike myself, agree with Mr. Cobb on points of detail. The rules, as being nearer to my immediate subject, warrant a little more discussion. The first might be accepted if it were not unhappily likely to be almost wholly useless in practice. A meaning which is quite obvious to one party in a controversy will scarcely ever appear quite obvious to the other ; and thus the demand for collateral evidence will constantly arise. The words which we have just been considering, "verily and indeed," are a case in point. Mr. Cobb has no doubt that they mean an objective Presence. I believe that they are equally susceptible of another meaning, which, on other grounds, is a more probable one. The second rule appears to me like the proceeding of a man who, wanting to search for something in a room, insists on darkening one of the windows. Even those who believe the utterances of the Church to be inspired may consider that as she speaks through the instrumentality

reference; and persons who might otherwise have agreed with him in part, if not altogether, may be startled when they find what he requires them to assume. At the same time, there can be no doubt that his rules throw light on the mode of exegesis adopted, not only in his own work, but in other works of the class, those, for instance, noticed in my two previous articles. Nor can it be wondered at that the supporters of "Catholic interpretation" should find it necessary to make certain postulates, when we consider the *prima facie* difficulties with which they have to deal. They have to deal with a Liturgy which, originally more or less Catholic, underwent a most searching and thorough revision in a Protestant sense in 1552, and in spite of slight modifications under Elizabeth, and more extensive ones under Charles the Second, still remains in the bulk as Edward's revisers left it: they have to deal with articles which were originally framed by the first revisers of the Liturgy, and though changed in various respects, do not on the whole greatly differ from the forms in which they first appeared; while the third authoritative document, the Catechism, whatever its controversial significance, is too short and simple to be pleaded in decision of the more complicated matters of dispute. Surely, too, it may be said that Mr. Cobb's theory labours under serious drawbacks, even as tendered to those who may be willing to adopt it. A Church speaking definitely and articulately by inspiration is an intelligible conception; but what are we to say of the inspiration of a Church whose meaning is to be sought, not in the ordinary tenor of her utterances, but in incidental and, to all appearance, comparatively unimportant expressions, "verbal providences," as Mr. Cobb calls them, which, unnoticed at the time, reveal their significancy afterwards to minds prepared to receive it? The Church of Rome needs no such allowance; her utterances are clear and explicit; and those who consider it the office of the Church to make that clear which Scripture leaves ambiguous will have little doubt which of the two teachers better fulfils the functions of an inspired interpreter.

And now I will notice, as I promised, two or three other points in Mr. Cobb's work, including some remarks which he has made on passages in my former articles. I shall treat them somewhat discursively, taking them in the order in which they stand in his book. At the same time, as my object is not so much to engage in controversy with Mr. Cobb, as to avail myself of the present opportunity to supplement my previous observations on the Eucharistic formularies of the Church, I shall not advert to every place in which he has done me the honour to refer to those observations. Discussion on small matters has something of a personal air, and where the argument is substantially unaffected, I am well content

that any reader who may have read my original remarks and Mr. Cobb's strictures on them should judge between us, without further litigation. I will only add, that I have reason to thank Mr. Cobb for the uniform courtesy and kindness of his tone whenever he has occasion to speak of me.

Mr. Cobb protests ("Sequel," pp. 147, 148) against "appealing to the volumes of the Parker Society" in order to ascertain the meaning of the Prayer-Book as inadmissible even on his opponents' own grounds; the fact being that we receive our Prayer-Book, not from the Reformers of 1552, but from the revisers of 1662. Here I must remind him of his own words a few pages back (p. 126), that what we are concerned to know is not what the formularies were *meant* to mean, but what, as a matter of fact, they *do* mean. It is not because the revisers of 1552 were strongly Protestant that I read the Liturgy in a Protestant sense, but because they made, as I said just now, a most thorough and searching revision, weeding out expressions indicative of the older belief, and retaining only such as could be naturally construed in the newer sense, altering the meaning of a prayer sometimes by verbal changes, at other times by placing the prayer itself at a different part of the service, and altogether employing the old materials so as to produce a new result. So far as the revision of 1662 left its mark on the Liturgy, so far I am quite ready to take its results at their proper exegetical value, and, in estimating that value, to bear in mind the opinions of the revisers. But I cannot admit Mr. Cobb's *ad hominem* argument, that, "of course, when they" (the Caroline revisers) "had the full power of revising put into their hands, they would not have left any portion unrevised which militated against their own particular views." In the first place, the "of course" does not follow even as a matter of probability. The Caroline revisers were not like those of King Edward's time, anxious before all things to perfect a change which they had themselves begun. The party to which they belonged had for years supported the Liturgy against innovators as a satisfactory standard of doctrine, and they were in consequence, even in their own interest, likely to content themselves with the very minimum of alteration. But in the second place, the question is, as I have said, not what they were likely to have done, but what they actually did. I am far from saying that they did nothing; but I say that what they did, appraised at its utmost, is mere dust in the balance as compared with what was done in 1552. The fact that being, as they were, not strictly in sympathy with the Edwardian revisers, they allowed the greater part of their predecessors' work to remain unaltered, is of importance with regard to the question of the diversities of opinion which are to be admitted

among those who receive the formularies: it is of no importance with regard to the question of the natural meaning of the formularies themselves.

I pass on to one or two points in the Communion Office, dwelt on by Mr. Cobb, and not noticed in my previous papers. He relies, in the first instance, on certain acts in the service as proving an Objective Presence: but I shall not follow him there, not because I think his view conclusive, but because it would lead me away from my purpose in these papers, which is simply to estimate the significance of language according to the principles of interpretation with which years of practice have made me familiar.

No argument, it seems to me, can be based on the words of the first exhortation. The antecedent to "which," at the beginning of the third, in sense, is doubtless "that holy sacrament," as it certainly is in the form of 1549, where the noun is repeated with the relative, and probably in that of 1552, though there the sentence is a little embarrassed. But this proves nothing about the doctrine of reception. The "holy sacrament" is regarded as a whole: * what parts of it are received by the worthy and unworthy receivers respectively is a further question. The words do not rule the doctrine, but are ruled by it. The same applies to all the other expressions in the exhortation which Mr. Cobb tries to force into his service. They do not contemplate the distinction between "signum," "vis," and "virtus:" they simply regard the reception of the consecrated elements as having a good or evil effect according to the disposition of the receiver. To say that the framers of 1549, or the revisers of 1552, or the revisers of 1662 used the words in this or that sense because they took this or that view of an ulterior question which the words may be said implicitly to involve, is to employ misleading language. The expressions in the third exhortation are precisely in the same category, as are the words to which Mr. Cobb appeals in the first post-communion prayer.†

* Not as a whole including its parts, which would be Mr. Cobb's view, but as a whole irrespective of its parts.

† Mr. Cobb hopes that those who agree with me that the removal of the words "in these holy mysteries," in the Prayer of Humble Access, by the revisers of 1552, removed the doctrine of the Objective Presence, will consistently attribute the same meaning to the words "holy mystery" in the first exhortation, as it now stands. I am quite ready to give the words the same sense in both places. But I do not think Mr. Cobb follows my argument. The Prayer of 1549 says, "Grant us so to eat, &c., in these holy mysteries." Interpreting these words by the belief of the framers in 1549, I had no doubt that "so" was meant to be emphatic. Had the revisers of 1552 left the words untouched, I should have contended (as, under a misapprehension, I did in my first article) that the words would be most naturally understood in their original sense. But they altered them, and I seemed to see a reason for the alteration, viz., to leave the question of reception more open. By the removal of the words "in these holy mysteries," the word "so," as

As to the word "duly," in the second post-communion prayer, I have remarked in my note in the number of this *Review* for last April, that its sense is fixed by a comparison of the present form with that of 1549. It is strange that Mr. Cobb, in arguing about this word, should assert that the two forms are "almost verbatim the same." The difference extends only to a few words; but those words happen to involve this precise point.

Mr. Cobb, after mentioning my review of Bishop Forbes on the Articles in terms which call for my best acknowledgments, takes exception to my endorsement of one or two of Mr. Sedley Taylor's arguments against himself. I had said that Mr. Taylor "shows that Bishop Geste himself" (the supposed author of Article XXVII in its present form), "while recognising the distinction between substance and accidents, brings the very same objection against transubstantiation as is brought in the Article, that it 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament'" (*Contemporary Review*, vol. viii. p. 363). Mr. Cobb is "afraid that neither Mr. Taylor nor the Professor can have read the quotation from Geste with very great attention, otherwise they would have seen that he raises this objection in the precise form and sense in which it has presented itself, both to Bishop Forbes and to" Mr. Cobb himself ("Sequel," pp. 385, foll.). He refers to his former work as showing that he understood the objection to mean that by transubstantiation the bread and wine would be deprived of their nutritive qualities; and quotes Mr. Taylor's own extract from Geste to prove that this was Geste's identical objection. He then argues that such an objection does not apply to transubstantiation in its true Roman sense, and finally urges as conclusive the fact that the Catechism of the Council of Trent expressly declares that the nutritive properties remain after the change of substance.

At the risk of being tedious, I will transcribe Mr. Taylor's extract from Geste, especially as Mr. Cobb has not given it quite *in extenso*. I entirely agree with him that it requires to be read carefully, but I am not so certain that the careless reading has been all on one side:—

"The bread and wine are sacraments of Christ's body and blood, ordained of Him purposely to instruct our senses outwardly what is

it appeared to me, became unemphatic. But the words "in these holy mysteries" did not in themselves imply the doctrine of an Objective Presence, though in connection with "so to eat," &c., they did so. It was in the connection of all the words, as interpreted by the belief of 1549, that the meaning resided. In themselves, "these holy mysteries" mean the same thing as "this holy Sacrament," as I have explained it in the text. The argument is somewhat complex, depending partly on the connection of the words in question, partly on the circumstances of 1549 and 1552, but I believe that any one who will give his attention to it will see that the conclusion arrived at is a reasonable one.

wrought inwardly by the said body and blood in the soul: for their use is to declare to our outward senses assuredly, that as the received bread and wine nourish, strengthen, and glad our bodies, so Christ's body eaten and his body drunken accordingly do our souls. How could the bread and wine serve to his purpose, if they were utterly devoided of their accustomed nature? Verily no manner wise. For why? It is the alone substance of bread and wine, and not the colour, taste, fashion of the same that fostereth and cherisheth the body. Sacraments (saith Augustine), unless they have certain likelihood with the things whereof they be signs, they be no sacraments at all. What semblance, I beseech you, is there betwixt the natureless bread and wine and Christ's body and blood? Questionless, none at all. For the said body and blood, and that after the Popish doctrine, be not presented and exhibited at the Communion accidentally, but substantially only. In respect whereof needs must we grant, either the consecrate bread and wine be not the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, which we ought not to do, either else the said bread and wine retain still their own natures, which is grantable" (Dugdale's "Geste," pp. 80, 81, quoted by Taylor, pp. 48, foll.).

The first four sentences of this extract open a question which is really *the* question of Mr. Cobb's two works, whether the Reformers did reject the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. Mr. Cobb formerly thought that, so far from rejecting the doctrine, they maintained it: he now thinks that though they did not hold it, they did not reject it, the fact being that they misunderstood it, and condemned in its place something which was not it. The question turns on the meaning to be attributed to the term "substance" and "accidents," as used by the two sets of controversialists respectively. Mr. Taylor had contended that, as the Reformers could be shown to have recognised the distinction between the two terms, they rejected the Roman doctrine, knowing what it was; and I, in a sort of *obiter dictum* in my former article, endorsed his view. Mr. Cobb has shown me that I was rash in meddling with a matter not strictly lying within the province which I had selected for myself; and I feel that I had better leave it to Mr. Taylor, or to any one whose acquirements and opportunities lead him to the investigation. I had written a few sentences, expressing what appeared to me the state of the case after considering the passages brought forward by Mr. Cobb in support of his altered view. But I am now satisfied (and any one who will look at Father Harper's "Essay on Transubstantiation," in reply to Dr. Pusey,* will have little difficulty in coming to the same conclusion), that the question is one where guesses, surmises, or any other form of superficial treatment would be worse than useless. The scholastic doctrine of transubstantiation is not one to be disposed of by a few words about substance and accident: it is the outgrowth of habits of thought with which ordinary writers and readers are quite unfamiliar; and to determine how far it was dis-

* "Peace through the Truth," (London, 1866,) pp. 129, foll.

tinctly apprehended by the Reformers who professed to reject it, is a work, not for a popular treatise, but for a profound philosophical and historical inquiry. Pending this, we must be content to discuss whether, apart from the question what the Roman doctrine is in itself, the consequences deduced from it are not inconsistent with the Anglican formularies, and, notably, Article XXIX.; and on that point I see no reason to alter my former opinion. Meantime, I beg the reader's attention to the remainder of the extract from Geste, to which Mr. Cobb only casually adverts.

St. Augustine, says Geste, lays it down that to constitute a sacrament there must be a resemblance between the sign and the thing signified. But this is not the case with the Eucharist, if the Roman doctrine is true. The body and blood, according to that doctrine, take the place of the substance of the elements; the body and blood lose their accidents, the bread and wine their substance: thus the sign and the thing signified have no common point, but are mutually exclusive. I say nothing of the value of this as a criticism of the doctrine, but it is obvious that its force does not depend on the sense given to substance and accidents respectively. All that has to be granted is that what is not substance is accident, and what is not accident is substance. Geste's accident may be the Roman substance, and Geste's substance the Roman accident; but the argument, such as it is, remains unimpaired. And this, be it remembered, is precisely the most important part of the extract for our present purpose. In the former part Geste may intend to argue that transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a sacrament, but he does not say so in so many words: here it is the proposition which he attempts formally to prove.

I now conclude this somewhat desultory paper. It is not really a review of Mr. Cobb's book; it is simply the third chapter of a discussion, the first two of which have been already given to the public, together with a few *addenda et corrigenda*.

JOHN CONINGTON.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

Lives of the Tudor Princesses, including Lady Jane Gray and her Sisters. By AGNES STRICKLAND, Author of "Lives of the Queens of England." London: Longmans. 1868.

WE gladly welcome another contribution of Miss Strickland's studies in her special line of royal biography. Her heroines now are Mary, the youngest sister of Henry VIII. and the only Tudor of them all, strictly speaking; her descendants—Frances and Eleanor Brandon, Jane, Katherine, and Mary Grey, and Margaret Clifford, who are Brandons, Greys, and Clifford, but not Tudors; and Arabella Stuart, who is a Stuart most certainly. Be their family names however what they will, they may be conveniently grouped under the conventional designation of "Tudor Princesses,"—except the Lady Arabella, who we think has no right to be among them. The interest of such a series of biographies must ever lie less in the personal characters of their subjects than in the position which they occupied. With the exception of Lady Jane Grey, who is the gem of the set, we should not care to know much of any of them had they been only damsels of middle rank; at least we should not care to know the things that alone we do know of these Princesses, how they were courted and married, how they dressed and bore children, how they died and were buried. But their position makes all the difference: we like to get those little revelations of court life in the various generations of our sovereigns and see how young ladies so near to the royal stock fared in their life's fortune. The very peculiar nature of the crown lineage after the reign of Henry VII. and until the accession of the Stuart House, with all the suffering recollections of the White and Red Roses, adds considerable interest to the Princesses of this period. As we glance over the various matrimonial unions of this protracted and anxious crisis in the succession, nothing is more striking than the long abeyance of foreign alliances, which had once been so numerous and were to be so again. And then how jealously the reigning sovereigns eyed the heart affairs of the tribe of young girls that stood round the steps of their throne: how eagerly the sons of the nobility sought the timid creatures, who saw nothing but the Tower before them the moment it was revealed that they had dared to wed for love! No less than four of these royal buds in the present volume appear before us in the agitated scenes of the secret-chamber, the strange priest, the hurried nuptials, the stolen interviews, the life-long persecutions, the slur fastening on offspring, which are the foundations of half the romance of real or fiction life.

Miss Strickland's numerous admirers will gladly accompany her through the chapters of her *Tudor Princesses*, where they will recognise the well-known characteristics of her style and sentiment: they will not find her grown in sympathy with the Puritans and the "Genevan Sect"—though her drawing of sweet Jane Grey, whose heart and pen were all for the Reformation, is an evident labour of love; nor must they expect her to be any more dazzled with glorious Queen Bess than it has ever been her wont to be. As for ourselves, we must proceed to discharge our duties as critics; and as we have abundantly testified our sense of the general merits of the work, assuring the able authoress of our thanks for the collection of so many valuable historical materials of permanent interest, we are sure we shall not hurt her if we endeavour to point out a few details, observed only on close examination and not at all affecting the popular and general perusal of the work, wherein we think she might improve its value in subsequent editions.

The authoress is not particular enough with her dates and calculations. The Princess Mary Tudor, who was born 1498, could not have been "eight years younger" (p. 1) than her brother Henry VIII. (born, according to Speed, June 22, 1491). Further: when the Flemish proxies visited Henry VII. for the affiancing of the Princess, which occurred, says the authoress, six months before Dec. 17, 1508, the young bride "had not seen her twelfth birthday" (p. 4). She was just about ten. Once more: Prince Charles of Castile was not "Emperor" (p. 10) when the Princess Mary was "espoused to Louis XII.;" for this espousal took place in 1514, and Louis died Jan. 1, 1515, Charles not being elected Emperor till June 28, 1519, when Mary had been four years married to the Duke of Suffolk. In the same paragraph we read that Mary had been betrothed to Charles "since 1509," whereas the previous narrative had placed it with full details in 1508. The death of Katherine Grey is given Jan. 27 twice in the text (pp. 252, 253), but in the monumental inscription it is "January xxii" (p. 259). At p. 260 Mary Grey is stated to have been born in 1545, while at p. 125 in the narrative of an occurrence on Nov. 21, 1551 we read "Lady Mary was an infant of four years old." We are constrained to say that this historical arithmetic is somewhat of a loose order in so practised a writer as Miss Strickland.

Again, in the life of Lady Jane Grey there are inaccuracies of another kind, mostly within the compass of two pages (116, 117). The letters quoted as from the "*Zurich Letters*" published by the Parker Society are not from the two volumes so entitled, but from others referring to an earlier period bearing the title "*Original Letters*." Miss Strickland gives now and then short sentences within inverted commas purporting to be extracts from these, which are in fact not extracts verbatim but only the general tenor, there being on such occasions no necessity for long quotations. This is objectionable always, and especially so when the tenor has been mistaken and misrepresented, for it makes the documentary authority responsible for one's own error. Thus at p. 117 Lady Jane Grey is represented as intending to write to the Swiss Reformer Bullinger "in Greek," and as fulfilling the intention accordingly. But she did not say she would write in Greek, and she wrote in Latin. There was a young Swiss scholar maintained at the University of Oxford for the prosecution of his studies by Lady Jane Grey's father the Marquis of Dorset. Our authoress calls him "John Ulmer," "known by his Latinised name of Ulmis." The student in fact always signed himself "John ab Ulmis" and not Ulmer at all. It was not he but his son and his descendants that took the name of Ulmer, and when this name was Latinised, "Ulmis" was not the word used, but "Ulmerus" and "Ulmus." The letters of young Ab Ulmis to his friends abroad are of exceeding value in the biography of Lady Jane Grey, for as he was constantly at the house on a visit to her father his patron his references to her are very copious and highly interesting, for which Miss Strickland ought to be, and doubtless is, very much obliged. She should not therefore have taken away his character by saying, without a particle of evidence, that he was "anxious to repay solid benefits by the cheap remuneration of complimentary dedications" (p. 116). This must have been an accidental blot from the pen, and we beg leave to recommend the pen-knife. The youth next gets a rap on the knuckles—we beg pardon, a playful tap from a fan. Wishing to impress the great Swiss Doctor whom he was writing to with

an adequate idea of the exalted rank of Lady Jane and her father the Marquis, he stated that he was "descended from the royal family," at which words our historian stops the quotation to throw in from her own pen—"a great mistake." Well at any rate this Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset was the great-grandson of Elizabeth Woodville by her first marriage and before she married Edward IV. and became queen. This might perhaps justify such a general expression as "descended from the royal family." But this is not all: this Queen Elizabeth's son, Sir Thomas Grey the first Marquis of Dorset and the founder of the line married the daughter of Edward IV.'s sister Ann and heiress of the Duke of Exeter: which union it is presumed carried the blood of the York Plantagenets into the veins of the Dorsets.

Notwithstanding these remarks we beg once more to assure the talented authoress that we have a high opinion of her labours and have perused her volume with much pleasure and can safely recommend it to our readers. Our criticisms only show that the close historical inquirer must not rely absolutely on her authority, but test everything before adopting it. C. H.

Ireland in 1868, the Battle-field for English Party Strife; its Grievances, Real and Fictitious; Remedies, Abortive or Mischievous. By GERALD FITZGIBBON, Esq., one of the Masters in Chancery in Ireland. Second Edition, Revised, with Notes, Explanatory and Corroborative, and an Additional Chapter. London: Longmans. Dublin: M'Glashan. 1868.

THE motto of this work, *Semper ego auditor tantum?* sufficiently declares the quiet official man dragged forth into print by an unusual occasion; showing that there is the keenest interest alive, and the most vigorous ability to give it expression, in many an one whom nothing but a portentous crisis will move to write. Master Fitzgibbon declares that it is his single purpose—

"To delineate faithfully the case of Ireland, as seen from a point of view which few have ever stood on who had the will and the faculty of depicting what lay before them free from motives to add to or to curtail. . . . He who has not lived as an equal in several grades of life can but imperfectly know the virtues and the vices, the temper and the motives, of the many classes of which a civilized community is composed." (p. vi.)

The Land-tenure, Education, and the Church, are his chief topics. His Chancery duties, besides his own position as a landlord near Dublin, have given him an intimate acquaintance with tenures, tenants, and labourers. He has looked very closely into the working of the National Board, of which he takes the lay view and not the clerical. The Church question he argues not so much in its theological as in its social bearing; which makes us feel how important it is to have the lay pen as supplementary to the clerical. His tones are bold and clear, but while he flatters none, he worries none, on this exciting subject, the one that kindled the fire at length which transmuted him from an *auditor tantum* to a *scriptor*. He looks upon Protestant ascendancy not in the light of the hoary tyrant of other days and now a decrepit and withered ogre, but as the champion of an old life-and-death struggle who after many mistakes and deplorable severities did at any rate prove herself at last to be the one to establish toleration for all, and make every sect in the land able to live in peace. Of this Ascendancy, which is in effect the supremacy of liberty for all, the Church of the Crown as at present administered and established is the grand pledge and security: while the hierarchy that demands its subversion is a standing menace to human liberty. The author does not write like one who views this aspect of the question as theoretical, remote, and visionary, long gone out of date before the spirit of the age. Far otherwise: here in the very centre of Irish life he feels that this is a matter of intense and immediate practical concernment, for which the men of Ireland—and not of Ireland alone—ought to wake up as at a trumpet-call.

This line of argument evidently places the controversy in a light not often taken; and if Master Fitzgibbon can succeed in establishing a conviction of its justice in the minds of those reflecting men who are alone likely to read such a work, it may be expected to have considerable influence during the present year. The volume must have attracted no small attention to have reached a second edition so soon after its first issue, but as yet it has made chief progress in Ireland itself. We conclude with the following specimen of his style and views:—

"Alien Church has been adopted as an abusive name for expressing a contrast with what is assumed to be the Church of the people and the native Church of Ireland; and this invented name is used to cry down the State Church. This so-called alien Church consists, exclusively, of British and Irish clergy, and nearly all native Irish. Its acknowledged head is the English sovereign of the United Kingdom: its ritual is entirely regulated by the legislature of the same United Kingdom. It acknowledges no subjection to any foreign power, civil or ecclesiastical; its worship and prayers and all its ceremonies are conducted in the vernacular language of its congregations. To these congregations, or to the Irish people, there is nothing whatever of an alien character with this Church.

"The so-called Church of the people, on the contrary, repudiates the jurisdiction of the national sovereign, and acknowledges an alien potentate as its head; its Church service is in Latin; its discipline and ceremonies are regulated by its alien head; and its clergy are appointed by him, and from him derive their authority. Their disputes are all subject to his decision; and they travel to Rome to have these disputes heard and decided there. The regulation of penance for sins, of indulgences, of holy days, of fasts, and of ecclesiastical government, is all in the hands of this alien potentate; and it is with difficulty and reluctance that this so-called Church of the people submits even to the municipal laws and authorities of the country in which it exists; thus exhibiting every essential attribute of an alien Church. Again, by inverting the rule of justice, the name of alien, odious as it is meant to be, is transferred from the Institution to which it properly belongs to the native establishment, which is in all respects national, and has nothing alien in its constitution or practice" (p. 204).

C. H.

The Romance of Duelling in all Times and Countries. By ANDREW STEINMETZ, Author of "The History of the Jesuits," &c. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall. 1868.

It being now a quarter of a century since the Horse Guards promulgated the new Code of Honour for gentlemen in the army and the last duel by Englishmen in England was fought, this famous institution may be pretty safely exhibited in its pictorial garb and romantic airs; and truly Mr. Steinmetz has produced thereby a book for our young gentlemen as sensational as the old stories of the road have proved for other youth who are not gentlemen, but a book much more innocent and less provocative in its special line let us hope. The author having candidly disavowed all maxims of the pistol and exposed the sophistries of its defence, proceeds nevertheless to draw out a complete duelling guide, which only needs actual handling of the tool itself to reproduce the adept of the good old Georgian times. And truly we cannot wonder that the possessor of such extensive knowledge of an obsolete mystery should be unable to resist the temptation of amusing us with his curious lore. The piece is uncharged and has done all its work, so we may safely handle it and peer into its recesses.

Mr. Steinmetz's volumes will be read by all as a store of exciting anecdotes, and remembered by the thoughtful for their illustrations of life and times: all sorts of eras and customs pass before us; when the pretty fellows drew weapon suddenly on one another in the street, or retired *instantly* from the ball and the club and settled their differences before going home, or reached the lonely field next morning at early dawn after all the established preliminaries of cartel and "friends," and with the exactest etiquette of such proceedings.

And what is it that brings the opponents into these angry situations? The quarrels are all known and may be classified as accurately as the causes of metropolitan fires; and so we have gambling duels, dog duels, jealousy, mistress, and seduction duels, mess-room duels, bully duels, literary duels, and political duels. Those were rough and unfeeling days when the family could not quite count on where the father or brother of last night's party might be at breakfast-time; and when the shooting galleries were all day echoing the cracks of the men of fashion and politicians keeping their hands in. It is perfectly astounding that a man of the Duke of Wellington's stamp, while holding the seals of office and conducting the most important constitutional measure through the Imperial Legislature as the Prime Minister of his King, should have allowed himself to figure in a pistol affair on Wimbledon Common. We think Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning's duello was not so bad as this. Mr. Steinmetz indeed writes (vol. ii. p. 217):—"in the latter end of September, when Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of War, sent a challenge to Canning,

who had the seals of the Foreign Office." And what is more aggravated, he informs us (p. 218) that the noble lord was occupied until late in the night preceding the duel in drawing out a friend's commission to a judgeship and seeing it passed the Great Seal—performing one of the highest and most responsible duties of State while under the engagement of a hostile encounter with his brother minister, in distinct breach of the law too. When men are so punctilious for their own "honour," should they not have some consideration for their sovereign, instead of offering him a far more unpardonable insult than ever had been offered themselves? We wonder this did not strike Mr. Steinmetz and lead him to a strict verification of his facts, for which however he adduces no authority. The truth is however that Canning resigned office early in September, an event which disclosed to his colleague his conduct towards him and led to the breach; and we believe likewise that Mr. Steinmetz will find on further inquiry that Castlereagh had good taste enough and respect both for the king and his colleagues in the Cabinet to resign office before sending the challenge.

But besides the light they throw upon the passing generations, these duelling records furnish a most striking gallery of illustration for the student of that romance—the nature and soul of man. There in unnumbered ways we may view his heart laid bare for us to read. Do we really doubt what it is that brings men up to those mortal encounters? Is it the insult itself? Or is it that the world has, or will have, knowledge of the insult? What is it that deters a man from retracting a cruel reproach which he knows well has been undeserved? We behold him occasionally in confidence acknowledging his error to his second, yet to his antagonist holding out no olive branch; and rather than do so he will first stand the bullet, shoot the air himself, and then, but not till then, make the amplest apology. And then it is not always the devil we see in these poor victims. How affecting to witness occasionally the relenting and the tenderness towards an opponent when the last few moments are come:—"Sir, I see your head above the horizon, I have an unfair advantage in this position!" Or the man who has done the wrong, the irreparable wrong that no apology will atone for, withholding his fire after receiving his adversary's, confessing to his friend that no inducement should move him to inflict a second injury after the first! And then, what a study to watch the demeanour of the combatants in those anxious movements when they step towards each other at the end of their "paces" and await the signal; or in those more awful moments after the explosion, when all artificial restraints are over, when the dying man breathes his generous forgiveness and the as generous survivor passionately wishes himself in the place of the fallen! Or when both survive, what lasting friendships will sometimes result from that strange acquaintance! Such are some of the "romances." Let any one call up the memory of his school-days and recollect the complexion and atmosphere of the child-nature that surrounded him then; the way, the why, the wherefore, offences were given and taken and resented and got over, the fear of the world—the school-world—that tyrannized in every heart; verily the romance of duelling was all there: and duellists and the rest of us are still children all.

C. H.

The Indian Tribes of Guiana. With Researches into their Past History, Antiquities, Languages, &c. By the Rev. W. H. BRETT, Missionary S.P.G. and Rector of Trinity, Essequibo. Pp. 500, 8vo. London: Bell and Daldy. 1868.

To Humboldt, and especially to Sir R. Schomburgk, we have hitherto been indebted for all the little knowledge we possessed of the characteristics of the Indian populations on the northern coasts of South America. Mr. Brett has brought rare qualifications to the task of ethnological research; and his handsome and richly illustrated volume is filled with information, much of which is entirely new to the student of American ethnology. For eight-and-twenty years Mr. Brett has devoted his life and unwearied energy to the evangelisation and reclamation of the scattered tribes of British Guiana, and with what success these pages, as well as his previous work on Missions in Guiana, will testify. But let it not be supposed that the volume is merely, or in any but a very slight degree, the journal of a missionary. It presents rather the carefully-weighed

and well-arranged results of a life-study of the Indian races, and details the facts on which the conclusions are based. Such a work as this has a value far beyond the mere observations of travellers or the speculations of closet students.

After a rapid review of the political and ecclesiastical history of the country since its discovery by the Spaniards in the fifteenth century, we have a general sketch of the region in its geographical and physical aspects; then of each of the native Indian tribes; after which a great portion of the work is occupied with a history of the author's various journeys, missions formed, and labours in the solitudes which fringe the mighty rivers of Guiana. Incidents of Indian life are interspersed, and towards the end of the volume we have some most valuable disquisitions on the history, origin, languages, and primeval antiquities of these decaying races.

The aborigines here have attracted little attention: not only decaying, but, unlike their northern brethren, inoffensive, they are only a feeble remnant thinly scattered through the forests and savannahs of the interior; while other races, in far greater numbers, occupy and cultivate the coast. The Caribs, formerly the dominant race, and the most warlike of all, called by Sir W. Raleigh "a naked people, but valiant as any under the sky," have diminished the most rapidly of all, although they were courted and caressed by the Dutch colonists. A peculiar interest attaches to these people, of whom only this remnant and a few families in the Island of St. Vincent now remain, but who at the time of the Spanish discovery were the dominant people of the Antilles, the terror of the softer tribes of the Bahamas, yet have been long since exterminated by the hideous cruelty of the early settlers. With the English the Caribs were friendly, and preserved for two hundred years, as a sacred relic, the English colours which Raleigh, at parting, left with them, that they might recognise the ships of his nation.

Of sculptured relics there are only some rude figures on rocks in the interior; and some of these, representing galleons, must be subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. No traveller has come upon the carved ruins of temples and palaces, remains of ancient Indian greatness, such as are found near the western shore of the southern continent, or in the regions of Central America and Yucatan. The Indians here were content with a few timbers and a thatch, all traces of which were soon lost by the ever-springing vegetation. Among their traditions, however, is one of a race of cannibals, called Meyanow, with whom their fathers had to fight desperately for existence. Mr. Brett has been enabled to corroborate this tradition, by his careful exploration of the shell mounds, the detailed account of which is one of the most important chapters in his book. Upon one of these kitchen middens near the river he had built his church, and lived for twenty years before he discovered the secret of its construction. The diameter of its base is 130 feet, and its height from 20 to 25 feet. After various partial examinations, so important did he feel the discovery, that, at his request, the Governor, the bishop, and officers of Engineers came together to visit it, bringing with them labourers to make a complete section. The mass of the mound consisted chiefly of shells, identical with those now living in the sea a few miles distant, deposited in layers, with crabs'-claws, bones of vertebrated fishes, and mammals, interspersed. There were also many half-burnt baking-plates, such as are still used by the wilder tribes. Many stone implements, exactly like those of the later stone age of Denmark, were also interspersed. But what startled our explorers most was the vast quantity of human bones, especially in the lower layers, of adults of both sexes and of children, all broken and mingled in the common receptacle for refuse. The skulls were all shattered, and had evidently been smashed in by a weapon. One of a man of large stature, of which a careful drawing is given, was broken into twenty-seven pieces, showing how the victim had been felled by an axe. On discussing with the Indians why all the bones had been broken, an old man replied, "That is the way in which the nations who used to eat men always broke open the bones to get out the marrow. So our fathers have told us." Several other mounds were afterwards examined in the same scientific manner. It is remarkable that nearer the top pottery occurred, such as is now used; and in one, the *unbroken* bones of a female, with *silver* earrings, in one of which a *cotton* loop remained, thus proving the date to be subsequent to the Spanish discovery.

The report on these shell mounds, so carefully drawn up, is most important in its bearing on prehistoric chronology, and may lead ethnologists to pause in their drafts upon time, when we find such mounds, with the same implements, habits, and bone-breaking, as those of Europe, to have been in course of accumulation not three hundred years ago.

Some of the old legends, too, are strangely like those of the other hemisphere. Thus we have a romantic myth of the flood, in the time of Sign, son of the Great Spirit, who ruled over men, caused by the disobedient monkey, when Sign saved the animals and birds in the top of a great tree till the waters subsided (pp. 377-386). There is another legend, marvellously like the Thesalian tradition. Another superstition on the jaguar is all but identical with the *were-wolf* of Northern Europe (p. 368), while the rivers are peopled with mermaids and sprites as capricious as Undine herself (p. 368).

Our space will not permit us to do more than direct attention to the analysis of the Indian languages, which, unlike those of Polynesia, show little traces of a common origin, and the divergences of which are as strongly marked in Guiana as in any other part of the Western World.

The tools and implements, especially their cassava grater and their cane-press, are very ingenious and original, while their national weapons have been almost entirely superseded by European arms and cutlery, but are still manufactured as curiosities for sale. The customs of the Indians are less demoralising than those of many other heathens; and though polygamy exists, the institution is not popular among the women, who, strictly chaste, have considerable liberty, though the mere slaves of their husbands. When a birth is expected, it is the father, not the mother, who has to diet himself, and afterwards he must lie in, while the wife goes about her household work. So family names and relationships are reckoned on the female, not on the male, side. The deceased are honoured by grand funeral dances, and while some tribes immerse or bury the bodies of their friends till the flesh has decayed, and then clean the bones and preserve them in their houses, others bury their dead in a standing posture, saying, "Although my brother is in appearance dead, his soul is still alive." The worst feature in the Indian character seems to be the *kanaima*, or blood revenge, by which a succession of retaliatory murders may be kept up for a long time. Their observation of the stars, and their having names for various constellations, as "the snake" or "the tapir's path," i.e., the milky way, seem to indicate that their ancestors had experience of voyages in past ages. The presence of slavery, and the sale of captives in war, much encouraged by the early Dutch and Spaniards, has probably been the chief cause of the wasting away of the native races.

Yet there is one ray of hope amidst the dark history of these waning peoples, that while the causes mentioned and drunkenness have diminished their numbers everywhere, even down to the present year, still in some districts, and especially in those where Christianity has been received, the Indian population has increased. And here we must bear testimony to the evident reality and practical tone of Mr. Brett's labours. He is, in our idea, a model missionary, enthusiastic, large-minded, undaunted by difficulties, undismayed by disappointment, and thoroughly practical, yet with holy devotedness. He has no cut and dried scheme, to which all must yield. As he says, with the green forest before his eyes, the Indian is the Indian still. But allow him to range his native woods, fish, hunt, and plant cassava, as his fathers did before him, he will, in the intervals of his own work, render valuable service to the community, and more industrious and civilised habits will result from that religion of our Lord which, in the seventh and eighth centuries, gave its impulse to the fiercer and harder inhabitants of the forests of Northern Europe. His touching account of his people's collection for the Irish famine (p. 197), of their reception of the bishop, of their zeal in church building, of their earnest thirst after the knowledge of God, together with the incidental glimpses unintentionally revealed of his own practical work, his taking care that the Christian boys of his school should be as good marksmen with their arrows as their heathen neighbours, his using the boards of his church for coffins during the awful visitation of cholera,—all attest the genuineness of the man and his work; as in the strength of faith he replies, when asked whether these poor scattered fragments can be gathered into the Church of Christ, and raised from their

low estate,—“Son of man, can these bones live?” “O Lord God, thou knowest!”

We have left unnoticed many interesting observations on natural history, as well as on practical matters. But we must notice Mr. Brett's testimony to the truth of an observation we have heard before, viz., that a belt of bush between a swamp and human dwellings in the tropics acts as a barrier to the passage of malaria. Acting on this, he was able with safety to reoccupy a mission station with impunity, which had been abandoned from deadly fever, after the bush had been injudiciously cleared.

Mr. Brett's description of an Indian forest is enough to make a naturalist uneasy in his chair:—

“Magnificent timber trees rear their heads above the smaller kinds, which fill the spaces between them, all struggling to find room for their foliage; while from a moist carpet of fallen leaves, moss, and fungi, springs humbler vegetation in rank luxuriance. . . . Creepers and bush-ropes, as they are called, ascend and descend, binding and interlacing trunks and branches in every direction. . . . Beautiful parasites abound. The surface of the ground is strewn with dead leaves, fallen branches, and trees in every stage of decay, some of which will crumble into dust beneath the foot which may be placed upon them. He who would see the beasts and birds of these forests must rise from his hammock and ramble with the Indian at early dawn through the bush dripping with dews. The Jaguar, having completed his nightly prowling, is retiring to his lair; the red howling monkey is uttering less terrible cries, beginning to tire of his own noise, which must be heard to be appreciated; the birds and smaller animals are coming forth to feed, and everything teems with life. High overhead green parrots of various species, numerous and noisy as rooks or jackdaws, are flying to their feeding places. Macaws, blue and yellow, or blue and crimson, occasionally show themselves. . . . The toucan, or ‘bill-bird,’ is displaying his gorgeous red and yellow bosom, and tossing his enormous beak with fantastic jerks on the top of the highest tree. . . . Least in size, but not in beauty, are the various species of humming-bird, flitting hither and thither like bees, and flashing like jewels of many colours in the rays of the morning sun. Insects, creeping or flying, meet the eye in every direction. The huge black nests of the wood-ants are fixed on decaying trunks or branches. The couchi ants are stripping a favourite tree; some nipping off the leaves above, while others below cut them into small pieces, which thousands bear away to their nests deep in the earth.”

Or take the description of a savannah:—

“A line of trees, seen among the undulations, marked the course of the distant Etooni. The air was temperate, and the breeze refreshing. Coveys of ‘besurio’ sprang up before us with a whirring noise, so like partridges, that one might at the moment almost have expected to see the sportsman in quest of them with dog and gun. The illusion (recalling scenes I had not revisited for many long years) was broken by glimpses of the leaves and golden fruit of the Awarra palm, peeping from beneath the taller trees; by swarms of dust-like flies entering eyes, ears, and nostrils; by the care necessary to avoid the rattlesnakes on those dry and elevated lands. ‘One, one, not many,’ said my quiet Arawak guide. Still, notwithstanding snakes, flies, and other points of difference, it was impossible to look upon the scene without thinking of that which the wandering Briton and the Anglo-American equally call ‘the old country.’ It recalled the touching lines, written in the far-distant East, in which the good Bishop Heber expressed the feelings of those who, amidst the glowing luxuriance of ‘Indian bowers,’ still think on and long for the temperate bracing clime and ‘good greenwood’ of their mother-land:—

“And bless, beneath the palmy shade,
Her hazel and her hawthorn glade;
And breathe a prayer (how oft in vain)
To gaze upon her oaks again.”

H. B. T.

The Old Times and the New. London: Chapman and Hall.

UNDER the above title, a country gentleman “of the North of Scotland, who was born in the second half of the eighteenth century,” offers to the reading world a queer, quaint genial volume of personal and general reminiscences, which are partly amusing and partly sad, with the peculiar pathos which attaches to the recently, but utterly past. They are manifestly genuine recollections, and they afford some insight into the character of the writer, as well as odd and pleasing glimpses of social life and manners strange to us, though so little before our day, and sly peeps at eminent personages *en robe de chambre*. The old gentleman from the North of Scotland was evidently a shrewd,

humorous, kindly, observant, "canny" individual, with a keen appreciation of character, and a wonderful memory for a good story or a telling joke. These recollections are capitally arranged, and their attractiveness is secured by the opening paragraph. A person writing in the present, who begins as follows, is sure of an audience, if only through curiosity:—

"When I was born, Clive was consolidating our Indian Empire, and our cousins on the great American continent were still faithful to the sovereignty of the British Crown. The circumstances of our own rebellion had not been effaced from the recollection of my family and its retainers; and, although in public such things might not be confessed, I suspect there were not a few of our people who gave more allegiance to the memory of the Prince than to the throne of the Georges: some of them, I daresay, still squeezed the orange with significant gesture, and could intimate a dangerous toast so dexterously as to escape the ban of penal statutes."

This is a state of things quite pleasantly difficult to realize, as "dead as Methuselah's schooldays," and yet as near to us as a contemporary life. It is very amusing to read the writer's gravely instituted comparisons between now and then, and to observe his mild, mellow experience, good-humour, and charitable construction of human affairs. Here is a really humorous sketch of the writer's father, some of whose qualities he seems to have inherited:—

"My father was one of the easiest going men I can remember. Nothing put him out of humour or disturbed his serenity. He invariably took the bright view of things. If prices were low, he was sure they would soon rise. If the harvest was a bad one, it was, at all events, better than the preceding; and when his valued friend and neighbour, the Laird of Corrachree, blew his brains out, he found consolation in the reflection that he had not terminated his existence by the less gentlemanlike process of hanging. He ate well, got drunk 'like a gentleman,' and was remarkable for his somnolent propensities. He swore great oaths, but these were intended only as a 'set-off' to conversation, which, without them, would have been insipid. A 'grieve' mismanaged the home farm, and the parish schoolmaster received our rents. My father was no sportsman, had no turn for reading, and generally was without any occupation whatever. This seemed to increase the estimation in which he was held by the neighbours, and one of our tenants was known to have remarked:—'Some lairds shoot, some lairds hunt, and others fish; but our laird is a real gentleman, for he does nothing.'"

This amusing volume gives a close, and no doubt faithful, portraiture of society in Edinburgh, whither the author used to journey in the family-coach, consuming as much time in the process as it now takes to go from Liverpool to New York. All the celebrities in law and literature figure familiarly in these pages; the churches and the universities, the parsons and the professors, with many a good story about the latter. Among friends, neighbours, and celebrities, many great names figure. We find anecdotes of the Duke of Gordon, "the Cock of the North;" of the late Earl of Fife, the late Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, of Skene of Skene, the Sinclairs and Moncrieffs; of Buchan, Forbes, and Ferguson, and a host of others who owed their celebrity to themselves rather than to their ancestors. Here is a very entertaining brief memoir of the famous pedestrian, "Captain Barclay," and some capital stories of John Clerk, afterwards Lord Eldin, who said that the difference between him and the great Chancellor was "all in his i." Several chapters, on old social customs and the changes they have undergone, on national and political progress, on the press, and on a few of the great men lately passed away, are both merry and wise in an unusual degree. We have to thank the editor of "The Old Times and the New" for a remarkably entertaining and suggestive volume, in which there is but one regrettable omission. He has not affixed a date to the conclusion of the reminiscences. This may, perhaps, be remedied in a second edition.

F. C. H.

Le R. P. H. D. Lacordaire, de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Sa Vie Intime et Religieuse. Par Le R. P. B. CHOCARNE, du même Ordre. Paris: Poussielgue Frères. 1867.

FORTY years ago Coleridge wrote, in words which it is excusable to regard as little less than prophetic:—

"My fixed principle is, that a Christianity without a Church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and dissolution. And my belief is that when Popery is rushing in on us like an inundation, the nation will find it to be so. I say Popery, for this, too, I

hold for a delusion, that Romanism or Roman Catholicism is separable from Popery. Almost as readily could I suppose a circle without a centre."—*Aids to Reflexion*, p. 224.)

How it has come to pass that the Church of England can no longer exercise spiritual authority to any good purpose, it is on the present occasion needless to inquire. But as it is tolerably clear that large numbers of thoughtful persons, finding they must needs choose between vanity and dissolution on the one side, and Popery on the other, are likely to prefer the latter, it is well that they should know precisely the character of the system to which they are about to unite themselves. With this in view, the publication of the work which stands at the head of this article is far from inopportune. It shows that Rome is the same as she ever was, ever ready to use the noblest minds as the servile instruments of her own pride and ambition, ever ready to betray them, under the pretence of the service of Christ, into the support of her own domineering tyranny over the bodies and souls of men.

The turning-point of Lacordaire's life was his connexion with the journal *L'Avenir*, in 1830. Dissatisfied with affairs in France, he was about to go to America, when he received a letter from M. l'Abbé Gerbet:—

"Qui lui annonçait le projet de fondation du journal *L'Avenir*, et lui demandait, au nom de son maître, sa collaboration à une œuvre tout à la fois catholique et nationale, d'où l'on pouvait attendre l'affranchissement de la religion, la réconciliation des esprits, et par conséquent une rénovation de la société."

It is enough to write down these words to show how little the views which at once arrested the imagination of the sanguine and earnest Frenchman were likely to find favour at Rome. But the subtle priests who guide Roman policy dealt tenderly with him. No doubt they could have easily found means to crush him, but they knew his value, and thought it worth while to try to make him their own. *L'Avenir* went quietly on for some months. But towards the end of 1831 clouds began to gather. The Episcopate began to look darkly on the radical Christian journal.

"La jeune école de M. de la Mennais s'effrayait peu de la guerre; mais sa foi et sa loyauté s'arrangeaient mal de ces vagues soupçons qui planaient sur son orthodoxie. Elle désirait une explication nette, franche, à ciel ouvert. On irait la demander au juge des controverses dans l'Eglise, au successeur de Pierre."

Lacordaire went to Rome with his two colleagues in the conduct of *L'Avenir*. De la Mennais and M. de Montalembert. From that hour his fate was sealed. Our limits do not permit us to show how, even by the friendly and guarded account of M. Chocarne, it is seen that he was played with at Rome until he was made secure, and sent home the devoted slave of the Holy See. Nor can we enter into an account of his labours, or of his second visit to Rome in 1836. Of the temper of his biographer, the following outburst gives a faint notion:—

"Si Dieu veut établir le règne de la vérité sur la terre, dès l'origine il choisit une ville qui en sera la citadelle, et cette ville, ce n'est pas Jérusalem, c'est Rome. S'il veut, après la rédemption de l'humanité par le sang de son Fils, ouvrir sur le monde les quatre grands fleuves de ce sang réparateur, ce n'est plus du rocher du Calvaire, c'est de la pierre du Vatican qu'il fera jaillir cette source divine."

He left Rome for the second time in the autumn of 1837, with what thoughts in his mind may be understood by these words of his own:—

"Je me persuadais donc, en me promenant dans Rome et en priant Dieu dans ses basiliques, que le plus grand service à rendre à la chrétienté, au temps où nous vivons, était de faire quelque chose pour la résurrection des ordres religieux."

It is not likely that this project was the mere offspring of his own brain. No doubt it had been at least encouraged, if not suggested, at the papal court. Rome had, as usual, chosen her instrument well. Lacordaire was perhaps the only man in France who could have succeeded in calling back into full power and activity the tremendous engine of priestly domination furnished by the religious orders. None but he would have dared, with any hope of repressing ridicule on the one hand, and overcoming the opposition of government on the other, to appear in Notre Dame with the shaven crown and white frock of the Dominican,

"Et couvrir son nouvel habit de la popularité de son nom et de l'éclat de son irré-

sistible éloquence, . . . et, invoquant hardiment et franchement la liberté de conscience proclamée en 1789, mettre de son côté cette masse flottante qui, dans tous les pays et dans tous les temps, a toujours décidé toutes les questions."

At the same time she would not have ventured to make use of his bold and restless energy without a strong curb ready at hand. The volumes before us are an awful record of the merciless severity with which it was used. Henceforth his life alternated between brilliant successes as a preacher and the sternest austerities of the cloister. Of these we will lay before the reader one or two examples, taken almost at random from the stores heaped up by his admiring biographer, who exclaims:—

"Il choisit un ordre où les pénitences corporelles fussent en usage pour s'animer par l'exemple de ses frères, et obtenir d'eux un service qu'il ne pouvait demander à des étrangers, et Dieu seul sait jusqu'à quel excès il a poussé, pendant toute sa vie, l'héroïque imitation de la Passion du Sauveur."—Vol. ii. p. 67.

Thus, then, we find:—

"Un jour, le Père Lacordaire se promenait avec le Père Besson dans la Campagne romaine. Ils s'entretenaient de l'amour de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ pour nous; c'était le thème favori du Père Lacordaire. Arrivés dans le bois de la nymphe Egérie, le Père Lacordaire s'arrête devant un buisson tout hérissé d'épines, et le montrant à son compagnon: 'Voulez-vous,' lui dit-il, 'souffrir quelque chose pour celui qui a tant souffert pour nous?' Et avant la réponse, tous deux s'étaient jetés dans le fourré épineux et relevés tout sanglants, renouvelant ainsi pour apaiser leur soif d'immolation ce que d'autres saints avaient fait pour calmer les ardeurs de la chair."—Vol. i. p. 372.

"On le voyait entrer, le visage encore rayonnant des saintes joies de l'autel, se mettre à genoux devant le religieux, lui baiser humblement les pieds; et lui demander de vouloir bien lui rendre le service de le châtier pour Dieu. Il se découvrait les épaules, et il fallait bon gré mal gré lui donner une forte discipline. Il se relevait tout meurtri, restait longtemps les lèvres collées sur les pieds de celui qui l'avait frappé. . . . D'autres fois, après la discipline, il priait le religieux de se remettre à sa table de travail, et, s'étendant par terre sous ses pieds, demeurait là pendant un quart d'heure ou une demi-heure, achevant sa prière en silence et se délectant en Dieu de sentir sa tête sous le pied qui l'humiliait."—Vol. ii. p. 68.

"Il descendit de son siège, se mit les épaules à nu, et, se prosternant devant les frères, il reçut de chacun d'eux vingt-cinq coups de discipline. La communauté était nombreuse, et le supplice dura longtemps; tous, frères convers, novices, et pères, profondément émus et attendris, assistaient à ce spectacle. Lorsque le père se releva, il était pâle et brisé."—P. 70.

"Il supplia son directeur spirituel de le traîner sur le plancher de sa chambre, comme un être qu'on n'ose pas toucher, de l'accabler des noms les plus humiliants, de lui cracher au visage, de le traiter enfin comme un animal immonde."—Vol. ii. p. 8.

"'Eh bien! veux-tu me rendre le service de me faire souffrir comme autrefois pour Jésus Christ?' Et comme cet ami s'y refusait absolument" [this was on his death-bed, in 1861]: "'Au moins,' lui dit-il, 'donne moi tes pieds à baiser; ce sera toujours une pratique de pénitence agréable à Dieu!'"—Vol. ii. p. 85.

It is needless to multiply examples of this brutal superstition. Once, in 1848, Lacordaire seemed on the point of freeing himself. But Rome held him tight, and he soon returned to his cell. We only desire to add our conviction of his perfect sincerity when he exclaimed, "Je suis citoyen des temps à venir." We conclude by earnestly calling on our readers to weigh well Coleridge's prophecy, and to mark how one of the noblest spirits that ever lived was brought down from being liberal and catholic to be papist and friar. T. M.

Life of the Rev. John Milne, of Perth. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co.

ONLY a small number of our readers have ever heard of the Rev. John Milne, of Perth; and but for the circumstance that he was for some years the successor of Dr. Duff at Calcutta, that number would have been smaller still. Yet Mr. Milne in his own way was a rare man. About thirty years ago there was in some towns in Scotland what is called a "great revival" of religion. It began with a young preacher named William Burns, and it was carried on with the assistance of Mr. Milne, of Perth; Mr. M'Cheyne, of Dundee; and some other ministers of less note. M'Cheyne died in his youth. He had often prayed that he might depart and be with Christ, for that, he said, was far better. His prayer was early answered. William Burns, with a strange heroism, left

the work he was doing in Scotland and became a laborious missionary among the Chinese. He died in the early part of last year, not much over fifty years of age. Two months later died Mr. Milne, who had been minister of St. Leonard's, Perth, from 1839 up to 1853, Dr. Duff's successor in Calcutta from that time till 1858, and for the last ten years minister again of his old congregation in Perth.

The "revival" took place about three years before the disruption in the Church of Scotland, when the ministers were sharply divided into Evangelicals and Moderates; Mr. Milne and his friends belonged to the former. They were not only excluded from the pulpits, and by the parochial law of "use and wont" from the parishes of the Moderates, but their "revival" doings subjected them to strict presbyterial examinations, and to the usual measure of public criticism and censure. The writer of this can remember William Burns preaching in St. Leonard's, Perth, and the strange influence he had over the people. There was no noise, and, saving the soft accents of the preacher's voice, with here and there a subdued sobbing, the silence was breathless and death-like. Crowds flocked to the church every evening, and when the preacher had finished and retired to the vestry, the people remained. He had to return and continue the service sometimes till past the hour of midnight. The whole town was excited, and all the neighbourhood for miles round. There were prayer meetings in every street. Tracts were distributed at every corner, servant girls were discoursing seriously to each other about being "saved," and little boys were singing psalms and holding prayer meetings by the road-sides, under hedge-rows and in sand-pits. There was much evil mingled with all this. People were using language which expressed what they did not feel, and were making professions beyond their actual experience. But it was here as in all other "revivals"—the good is known chiefly to those who have experienced it, while the evil is manifest to all men. The excitement passed away. There had been stony ground hearers, and some of the seed fell among thorns; but some also fell on good ground and brought forth good fruit.

The story of Mr. Milne's life is soon told. He was a gentle, amiable boy, whose highest ambition was to be a "minister." In his school days he found his pleasure in his lessons rather than in play. He was sent to the University of Aberdeen, where his industry gained him the highest prizes in classics and mathematics. Before beginning his ministry he came to Richmond as tutor to the family of a Mr. Snow, a clergyman of the Church of England. Under Mr. Snow's preaching his religious feelings deepened. It was here, he says, that he passed from "darkness to light." He thought of taking orders in the Church of England; but on further study of the question of Church polity, he decided for Presbyterianism. Returning to Aberdeen in 1835, he was appointed to a Sunday evening lectureship, which he held till 1839, when he came to Perth.

St. Leonard's Church is what is called in Scotland a *quoad sacra*—that is, a district church without parsonage or endowment. William Burns was with Mr. Milne at the very beginning of his Perth ministry. The church soon filled. The pews were all taken, and a long list was kept in the vestry of the names of persons waiting for vacancies. Mr. Milne's heart was in his work in right earnest. He gave himself wholly to it, and the people clung to him with a devotion which no earthly power could change. It was a time of trouble in the Church of Scotland. The question of patronage, or the right of the patron to intrude his *presentee* on a parish against the will of the people—that withering evil of all State Churches—was rending the Church asunder. How it ended in 1842 is a matter of history; but only those who witnessed the strife can have any conception of the wrath, the malice, and bitterness which accompanied it. Ministers, parishes, families, were divided; and for a time the Gospel was not peace, but a sword. Perth has often been closely connected with great religious questions. It was here that John Knox began the Reformation. It was here that Ebenezer Erskine began the Secession in the early part of the last century, and on this same question of the abuse of patronage. In 1842 Perth was one of the strongholds of the Non-Intrusionists. Mr. Milne was a decided Free Churchman, but never mingled in the strife. He was firm when the hour came, and went forth bravely to do as conscience dictated, followed by almost his entire congregation; but he never reproached the ministers that

remained in the Establishment, and they never reproached him. Each party ascribed to the other the most unworthy motives; but no one ever questioned the integrity, the sincerity, and the disinterestedness of John Milne. This was a rare triumph of the spirit of Christ in the man.

In 1847, in the fortieth year of his age, Mr. Milne married. It was scarcely expected that a soul so sublimated would ever have so far conformed to that vile world, which eats and drinks, marries and is given in marriage. But the holiness of celibacy was not an article of his creed. After five years of great domestic happiness and great prosperity in his work, one of his children died, then his wife died, and, soon after, his other child died, and his house was left desolate. The entry in his family Bible of his marriage and the deaths of his wife and children is very affecting. "The Lord," he said, "setteth the solitary in families, and He makes them solitary again." He found many words of Scripture to express his grief and to describe his feelings; for all Scripture, if rightly taken, is truly human; but his humanity shines out in the words of Tennyson, with which he concludes:—

"Better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all."

The immediate result of this bereavement is a conviction that he is called to India. But how is he to know that the call is really divine? He consults his brethren, who mostly try to persuade him that he is not called. "The simple fact is," said Andrew Gray, one of his oldest and most trusted friends, "*you took it into your head, and so the thing began.*" The congregation were opposed to it, every man and every woman of them. All entreated him not to leave them, not to break a bond so close, not to leave work in which he had so eminently prospered, and to which he was so evidently called. But Mr. Milne was resolved for India, and he could only answer them, "What mean ye to weep and to break my heart?" And to India he went. Here he married again. His wife's health failed, and after nearly five years of Indian work he returned to Scotland, and was again called to be the minister of Free St. Leonard's. Since that time he had been a leader of "great revivals of religion;" but whether or not these "revivals" were genuine, we have not the means of forming an impartial judgment.

Mr. Milne was not an "intellectual" preacher. He did not understand "doubts" or "difficulties of belief." He felt none of these in himself, and could only regard them in others as the "fruits of sin." He was so far out of sympathy with what we call the wants of the age, that but for the single fact that his ministry was successful, we should not have thought his biography deserving more than the briefest notice. He was eminent, Dr. Bonar says, as a pastor, a minister, and an evangelist. He knew all his congregation familiarly—every member of every family. He had conversed and prayed privately with almost every one, introducing them to that spiritual region in which his own life was passed. He was always and everywhere "the minister;" never for a moment forgetting his calling, and never forgetting that every moment he was exercising influence. His sermons were simple, earnest, and always studied with the circumstances and wants of his congregation before his mind. He never used a manuscript or notes; and an ordinary hearer might have thought that he was speaking without preparation; but he made too much conscience of his work to do any of it negligently. All the week was spent in preparing for the Sunday. He prayed, he read, he wrote, he meditated, he gathered spiritual strength every day, and what he gathered he gave to his people when Sunday came. The work of ministering to a large congregation was enough in itself for any ordinary man, but Mr. Milne's zeal knew no limits. He never refused invitations to preach for his neighbours. He went out on missionary tours, holding "revival" meetings, preaching in barns, or in the open air, or to the workpeople in factories. He never missed an opportunity of trying to do good. If travelling in a railway carriage, he would engage the passengers in religious conversation. If he hired a cab, he would speak to the cabman about being "saved." If he saw a poor woman carrying a basket, he would offer to help her, saying, that we ought to bear one another's burdens. If a man begged from him, he would give a coin, and tell him to "beg for his soul." To fishermen mending their nets he would say that he too was a fisherman, and

he wished to catch men. To stone-breakers he would say that he was a stone-breaker, trying to break stony hearts. He would often accompany the policemen in their night rounds, and with the help of the lantern read to them verses out of the New Testament. He has been known to travel amid the smoke and soot of a railway engine, that he might "convert" the stoker. He would tell boys selling newspapers that he had a newspaper that never grew old, meaning his Bible. When he saw any one in mourning, he would go up to them, speak of their bereavement, say that he sympathised with them, and so did Christ. When the Queen came to Perth to uncover a statue of Prince Albert, Mr. Milne was anxious that she should receive some spiritual benefit at his hands. He wished to present her with a copy of a favourite hymn. He found no opportunity of doing it personally, but Lord Mansfield introduced him to General Grey, who assured Mr. Milne that the hymn would be presented to the Queen. When Mr. Milne went to India, he began his work as soon as he was on board ship. He conversed with the passengers, held meetings with them, and preached to them. He watched for opportunities of speaking to the seamen. He gave the boys sixpences to learn verses of the Scriptures, and he even succeeded in getting the captain to join with him in private prayer. In Calcutta he visited through the lanes and gullies of the old town—a place unknown to most of the European population. He made his way into several families, in spite of what he called "worldly etiquette," when he knew they were in trouble, or on the occasion of sickness or death. Many a time, now more than twenty years ago, did Mr. Milne stop the writer of this on Perth Bridge, on the North Inch, or by the river side, look at his bundle of books, and ask how he was getting on with Ovid, or Virgil, or Homer. Then would follow an invitation to his Bible class. His manner was so simple, his character so transparent, that as soon as he spoke it was evident he had but one object.

We have said that Mr. Milne's ministry was successful. He had no great gifts of intellect; he had no eloquence; his learning was not extensive; in fact, his reading seems to have been unusually limited. What, then, was the secret of his power? We might say at once it was that he preached religion, and not theology; and he lived what he preached. If he did not know the difficulties that beset men who think, he yet knew the wants of men in general. He knew the power of sympathy, and he knew that the story of the life and the death of Jesus will reach men's hearts to the end of time. And then he had mastered the evil that was in himself. No one ever knew him to be angry. Even his wife could only once remember any approach to hastiness, and it was when the servant had omitted to tell him of a case of sickness to be visited. He could bear opposition; he could suffer to see himself despised or thrust aside if any good came by it. He used to buy things at a shop in Perth where the shopkeeper was not civil to him. He was asked why he continued to go where his custom was not wanted; and he answered that he was trying to soften that man by kindness. He could not enter into the thoughts of men who are perplexed with the ways of Providence, or have doubts about revelation, or who do not understand revelation in the same way as he understood it; but he did not rail against them as atheists, infidels, neologians, or sceptics. He knew that men were not to be won by hard names. Nor did he speak evil of Christians who did not belong to his own party. Writing to a servant in England who had been a member of his congregation, he said, "You must not despise the Church of England. If I know the Lord at all, it was in her that He was first revealed to me." In India he sometimes preached in the chapels belonging to the Church of England, getting a civilian or an officer to read the liturgy. His religion was not made up of certain opinions; it was a *life*.

It appears that in his youth Mr. Milne had a fall which affected his head. How far this served as a thorn in the flesh to crucify him to the world we do not know. His zeal often seemed to surpass the bounds of reason. He refused to go into society where he could not make religion the sole subject of conversation. He was out of sympathy with what is secular or "worldly." In some company, when a favourite Scotch song was sung, beginning "There's nae luck aboot the house," Mr. Milne said it was only true of King Jesus, to whom also all the Jacobite songs were applicable. To little boys in the street he would speak of a little boy in Germany who wrote a letter to the "dear Lord Jesus." Walking in a friend's garden, he found the gardener lamenting

that the frost was destroying the strawberries; he took the gardener into the summer-house and prayed for a good season. He lived in daily expectation of the second advent. Mr. Milne was one of those happy souls over whose head heaven is still open, and the angels of God ascending and descending. The Bible was to him a book of which every letter is divine, and all its figures realities. His faith was that of a child—as simple, as sincere, as living, as earnest. While reading Mr. Milne's Life we have been thinking of no other man very unlike him, and yet in some respects very like. This is no other than Jacob Böhme, the shoemaking philosopher of Gorlitz. When Böhme's hour of departure was at hand, he called his son Tobias, and asked him whether he heard that sweet harmonious music? He replied, "No." "Open the door," said he, "that you may the better hear it." And asking what o'clock it was, he told him it was two. "My time," he said, "is not yet; three hours hence is my time." Then he spoke these words,—“O Thou strong God of Sabaoth, deliver me according to Thy will! Thou crucified Lord Jesus, have mercy on me and take me into Thy kingdom!” When six in the morning came, he took leave of his wife and son, blessed them, and said, “Now I go hence into Paradise;” and bidding his son turn him, he fetched a sigh and departed. We say of John Milne, in the words of Professor Maurice, “We may be glad, like Böhme's son Tobias, to open the door and see whether any of the music which soothed him on his deathbed can reach us. Without adopting any of his speculations, we may be thankful if our pilgrimage is as honest and toilsome as his was, our faith of the way which has been opened into Paradise as well-grounded and as child-like.” J. H.

II.—PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.

The Power of the Soul over the Body. By GEORGE MOORE, M.D. Sixth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Longmans. 1868.

THAT a work dealing so largely with metaphysical subjects, and that not in a popular or superficial, but in a thoroughly philosophical and thoughtful tone, should have in a very few years reached a sixth edition, is a fact perhaps without parallel in bibliography, and a sufficient testimony of public appreciation of Dr. Moore. Written in a thoroughly Christian spirit, the main object of the work is to illustrate—first, the relation of the soul to matter, to the organs of the senses, and to the nervous system; secondly, the manifestation of the soul's action in the phenomena of memory and imagination; while the third part of the volume draws, in twelve most interesting chapters, the practical conclusions from this mental influence over the body as to education, mental and physical training, the effects of the passions, of solitude, and of sympathy. Throughout the whole the chief aim of the author is to endeavour to make us understand, as well as feel, our dependence on Divine Providence. The style is vigorous but reverent, the illustrations are forcibly put, and the definitions clear and sharp. The language is evidently chosen so as to accommodate unscientific readers, and at the same time to indicate the bearings of the subject alike on physiology and mental science. It is well to observe that Dr. Moore uses the term “soul” popularly to comprehend the whole *immaterial* part of man, including spirit, designating “that which is conscious of acting, thinking, and willing, *i.e.*, a spiritual agent, evincing the distinct personal mode of its existence by all that is recognised under the term *mind*.”

Admitting that the connection of soul and body is a mystery, our author thus comments on Professor Tyndall's remarks in his Norwich address to the British Association (August, 1868), that this mystery “may certainly be made a power in the human soul . . . but it is a power which has *feeling*, not knowledge, for its base” :—

“The professor did not mean, as some suppose, that we know nothing of the subject worth thinking about. He himself pointedly showed that ‘the molecular forces,’ chemical and mechanical, have no conceivable relation to our consciousness of thought,

will, and affection. That is pretty positive knowledge on which to reason concerning the nature of our souls, with our faith, hope, and love. Feeling without knowledge has no basis; and not to feel what we know is to know without purpose. Unfeeling science, if there be such a thing, is but a corpse. Whatever truth a man believes in, is precisely what the soul apprehends when feeling after the mind and meaning which facts express; and to know why we believe in God and our own souls is not only to feel, but to be assured of, something quite as important as anything taught in physical science."

In the body of the work, especially in the second part, Dr. Moore has collected an extraordinary number of curious and interesting anecdotes on the manifestation of the soul in attention, memory, and imagination. In the fourth chapter of Part II., on "attention as modifying perception," we have some amusing *exposés* of mesmeric deceptions and self-deceptions. So also in chap. x., on the connection of memory with the strange phenomenon of double consciousness, marvellous authentic instances are cited of continuity of ideas from one state of trance, or fit, or delirium, to another, while nothing was known in the lucid interval, as when a tune or a sentence has been resumed at the very note or syllable where it was interrupted. This perplexing phenomenon is thus explained:—

"The human spirit uses the brain as long as this organ is fit for its purposes, and therefore memory in connection with the use of the senses is the result of mental action on the brain; and whenever the thinking principle is remembering, and directed to the body and its senses, there is probably a reproduction of that very state of nerve or of brain which accompanied the first impression of each remembered idea; and the brain being put in the same condition, or nearly so, by any cause, as, for instance, by a stimulus, would facilitate the act of the mind in making any impression which had occurred in a similar state of brain; because a return of this state is necessary for the purpose, while mind is acting with the senses. Thus a drunken man took a parcel to the wrong house, and when sober had no recollection where he left it, but on again becoming intoxicated, he remembered and recovered it."—p. 260.

The third part of the work, on the influence of mental action on the body, is full of most valuable warnings on the evil results to health and intellect of misguided mental action or indulgence. Thus, on the results of too great or too monotonous mental strain on the nervous system:—

"The age is too fast for souls to grow strong in truth. Wherever man's energies are brought to market without sufficient rest and mental breathing-time being afforded, the absorbed and embodied soul succumbs to its slavery, and then a new race is born with the physical style and temper of an overwrought and irritable humanity, not to be governed but by fear, nor soothed but with the 'bottle,' or some influence equally deadening to the heart and brain. The state of our wills and affections, as expressed in bodily habits, always extends itself to the souls and bodies of our offspring. Our characters are written in us, and transferred to the invisible germ of each new being proceeding from us, to be developed into fulness, and read hereafter, as part of our eternal and inherent portion and possession. As Job says, 'God layeth up a man's iniquity for his children. He rewardeth him, and he shall know it.'"—p. 310.

Again, on the evils of sensational reading:—

"Those who are accustomed to this intellectual dram-drinking are liable to a moral *delirium tremens*, and are incapable of taking a practical view of life and its demands; becoming as fretful and restless as a confirmed smoker without his pipe, or the habitually fuddled without access to stimulants; they perish as to all good use of this life, and can be recovered only by the spirit that puts selfish indulgence to death, and thus prepares for a life to come."—p. 342.

The chapter on injudicious education is well worthy of attentive perusal, though we cannot admit the wholesale generalization of our author on the results of intellectual competition in our Universities, when we recal the long catalogue of those who, eminent there, have sustained and advanced, in long and brilliant careers in senate, theology, or law, the distinction of their youth to a hale old age.

We will conclude by quoting the definition of a Christian education, which Dr. Moore sets forth in his commentary on Professor Huxley's ideal of a truly liberal education:—

"Christianity . . . does not profess to confer self-managing power by improving the present natural machinery of man in its structure and working, but at once pro-

ceeds on the principle that the natural inherited will of man cannot be mended by merely setting the logic engine at work in smooth order to evolve rules of life and conscience from a knowledge of the laws of nature's operations, which nobody quite understands. Christianity proceeds on a principle altogether different. Seeing a complete inability in man to be restored in body and spirit by being told about his scientific obligations, and how he should improve and preserve himself by training, when neither body nor soul are in a position to begin the process; Christianity takes man as he is, with a will that is not vigorous enough to bring the passions to heel, a heart not in love with all beauty, and a logic that is neither clear, cold, nor smooth, and a body that is not a ready servant to a right will; and proposes to make a new creature of him by bringing him to worship God in a human form, as so perfectly sympathizing with man's capacity for woe or bliss, and with his complete incapacity to help himself, as to become his entire salvation from all defect of body, soul, and spirit, if a man only feel the need of this renewal, and believe that God is able and willing to confer it on all who seek for it at His hands."

H. B. T.

Philosophie de l'Art dans les Pays-Bas. Par H. TAINÉ. Paris: Germer Baillière. 1869.

A FOURTH series of M. Taine's professorial lectures, delivered at the School of the Fine Arts, is a valuable addition to the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine*. We are now so familiar with M. Taine's spirit and method of criticism that we know, before opening such a book as this, at least, the general outline of its contents. We are sure of finding, first, an investigation into the character of the race or breed of men from which sprang the body of art or literature under consideration; then, a portion of the race will be viewed under the special conditions—physical geography, state of civilization, past history, relations to neighbouring races, and surroundings of various kinds—which constituted it a *nation*; and last, the art or literature will be examined, compared with the other manifestations of the national life, and found to agree with them. We can predict that throughout there will be an abstinence from moral judgments, and, indeed, from judgments not merely moral, but in a great degree from condemnation or commendation of any one style, school, or individual as higher or lower than any other. Styles, schools, and individuals will simply be examined and classified like specimens in a herbarium; an attempt will be made to understand the nature and growth of each, but preferences and aversions will be severely repressed as uncritical and unscientific. There will also be present throughout an underlying doctrine of the powerlessness of the individual artist, and the irresistible force of general influences descending upon each man from his race and the past of history, and pouring in upon him from the surroundings of the present.

A main characteristic, then, of the school of criticism, of which M. Taine is the most distinguished representative, is that it denies the critical faculty—the faculty, that is, of the *judge*, the power to pronounce sentence of condemnation or of acquittal. We must confess to the belief, notwithstanding M. Taine's brilliance and vigour of mind, that any such critical school has the curse of weakness upon it, and that with prolonged disuse of the moral and æsthetical *conscience*, and suppression of healthy loves and hatreds, will come loss of even those powers upon which it now prides itself—just observation, deep perception, and sound classification. There has, indeed, been much foolish talk about "high art" and "low art," about "the ideal" and "the real," about the moral and the immoral—enough in all reason to produce some recoil of mind; but this foolish talk has been no more than the babble of incompetent lips, which for ever rises around great truths. If art be not absolutely causeless, there surely must be higher and lower degrees of efficiency in the operation of its causes, and so a better and a worse in art; if it be not absolutely objectless there surely must be various degrees in the attainment of that object, and so various degrees in artistic excellence. Fortunately, indeed, M. Taine has not always succeeded in being self-consistent, and having proved that one artist is as good as another, he cannot avoid the Irishman's "Ay, and better too." One series of lectures—that on the Ideal in Art—was devoted to the exposition of certain canons by which the excellence of a work of art might be determined, and very admirable that series was. But why are those canons not applied? The truth, we believe, is, M. Taine, with the national passion for regularity of

form in matters intellectual, longs for a beautifully ordered science of criticism, and feels the presence of the moral faculty, and of loves and hatreds, antagonistic to that regularity and simplicity of system which he desires. Yet the likings and dislikings of a healthy nature are in no way capricious, and contain far richer masses of truth than the thin assertions of the intellect can carry; and the stronger wise loves and hatreds are the more precious are they. The denial of the rights of any real part of our nature is asceticism; and when M. Taine cuts off his right hand and plucks out his right eye, atrophies with severe ligatures the moral and æsthetical conscience, and suppresses the healthy impulses of the heart, we fear he is what he would not like to be thought—an ascetic, devoted to self-mortification, though, some might add, not for the kingdom of heaven's sake.

What we have said the reader might expect to find in these new lectures they actually contain. The race, the nation, and the art, the seed with its primitive characteristics and tendencies, the plant as it grew under the various influences of soil, climate, and weather, and the flower in its beauty; these are severally observed and studied. After this general survey follows a brief history (worked out with much energy and brilliancy of style) of art in the Netherlands, in its four periods—that of the Van Eycks, that of the Flemish-Italian school from Jan de Mabuse to Otto van Veen, that of Rubens, and, finally, that of Rembrandt, the scholars of Rembrandt, and the Dutch *genre* painters. M. Taine endeavours to show that the art of each of these periods resulted inevitably from a composition of two great forces—that of the character of the people, and that arising from their condition at a particular time.

In these and former lectures much good service has been done in illustrating the spirit of Renaissance life and art. The splendour and sensuality of the time flatter the senses and imagination of the critic and historian, and his own sentences seem to catch from the lost pomps and passions an animal exaltation, and colours of purple and gold. The present volume contains some especially interesting comparisons and contrasts between the Italian Renaissance and the Flemish. We commend to our readers in particular the characterization of art in the fifteenth century (pp. 86—95), and the history of the division of art in the Netherlands at a later period into two schools: that of Belgium, Catholic, gorgeously sensuous and aristocratic; and that of Holland, Protestant, mundane in a different direction, and republican.

On the whole, we may say of M. Taine, in this as in other works, that his energy and brilliance are too uniform and persistent. They oppress and weary us at last. His writings are very clever and instructive, but we do not feel the presence of a *soul*. He has looked at so many things, and felt bound to say something so clever of each, that he has had no time to learn what meditation is. He hurries us through gay streets and along crowded highways, and we are amused; but the time comes when we sigh for such elevated table-lands and Delectable mountains as we knew when Mr. Ruskin was our guide. We cannot forget Mount Marvel, Mount Innocence, and Mount Charity to which the shepherd led us, nor the rarities of the place.

E. D.

The Natural History of the Bible: being a Review of the Physical Geography, Geology, and Meteorology of the Holy Land: with a Description of every Animal and Plant mentioned in Holy Scripture. By H. B. TRISTRAM, LL.D., &c. Second Edition, revised and corrected. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1868.

It would be waste of praise for us to commend Dr. Tristram as an Oriental naturalist. His large book on the Holy Land, as well as his other works, has been laid under contribution in drawing up this revised and corrected edition of his most useful manual. It is a necessary work for all who would gain a more correct notion of the plants and animals of Scripture than is given by the disguises under which they excusably appear in our authorised version. For travellers in the East, the work before us forms a portable and invaluable companion.

H. A.

III.—TRAVEL.

From the Levant, the Black Sea, and the Danube. By R. ARTHUR ARNOLD, Author of "The History of the Cotton Famine," &c. London: Chapman and Hall.

THIS is an unusually interesting and attractive book of travels. The author does not, indeed, visit regions to be numbered among outlandish places, nor does he enrich the repertory of our knowledge of the places which he does visit with anything absolutely new, but he possesses in an eminent degree that "art of putting things" which is one of the secrets of successful authorship. His style is bright, easy, and concise, and every page of the book bears testimony to the genuineness and the spontaneous nature of the impressions under whose immediate influence it claims to have been written. The originality and freshness of the author's mind impart themselves to such well-trodden localities as Naples, Pompeii, and the Piræus, and lend to the old story of Greek civilization and art a new charm of association and suggestion. The chapters, in the form of letters, devoted to Athens, ancient and modern, are peculiarly interesting, but we do not consider the form felicitous. It seems improbable that a tourist should correspond with his friends in so completely the historical essay style. An imaginative sketch of the Areopagus addressed by St. Paul is enough to make the reader feel grateful to Mr. Arnold at once; and he follows up that fact by an equally clever and interesting fanciful reconstruction of the Parthenon. Mr. Arnold is not in accord with the main body of writers upon the recent history of Greece, who treat the character and career of the late King Otho with lofty contempt. He has a good deal to say in favour of the deposed, and since dead, prince, and places Queen Amelia in a light which convinces the reader that she was a woman whose energy, taste, ambition, and largeness of mind were sadly wasted upon the Greeks. He treats the present régime, and the Hellenic "Great Idea," with gentle ridicule, and gives several particulars of the *personnel* of the Government, which the present serious complication between Greece and Turkey renders additionally interesting. What is to become of a country in time of war with a powerful adversary, whose condition in time of peace can be summed up as follows, is a difficult and not very cheerful question. "George Basileus," as the "boy-king in an impossible situation" (as Mr. Arnold describes the puppet monarch) is called, of whom he records, with quiet irony, that he "courteously offered to change his religion," but his subjects, in their turn, courteously dispensed with the sacrifice (?), presides over the sixteenth cabinet formed since his arrival at Athens in 1863:—

"The Council of State, whose function it was to prepare and revise legislation, has disappeared, having been extinguished by the vote of the Boulé, or House of Representatives, on the 2nd December, 1865. The power of the State is not, therefore, divided solely between the King, who holds the pursestrings against the Boulé, and this body, without whose legislative authority the King is powerless in regard to the national resources and policy. . . . Religious toleration, universal suffrage for males, trial by jury, secrecy of letters, vote by ballot, free press, rights of address and of meeting, *habeas corpus*, protection of members of the Boulé,—all is granted. But nothing is to interpose between the King and the people; titles of nobility or distinction cannot be conferred or recognised, and the King, with a civil list of £50,000, reigns over a pure democracy, which does not fail to observe and comment upon the cost of royalty. And, indeed, in so poor a country, this £50,000 a year is a serious charge. The collected revenues of 1857 amounted to 27,000,000 drachmas, of which the King's civil list would absorb more than a twenty-second part. If Queen Victoria's civil list bore the same proportion to the revenue of the United Kingdom which that of King George does to the revenues of Greece, Her Majesty's income from the nation would considerably exceed £3,000,000 sterling. . . . The King must go in for the Great Idea, and this phantom is ruining Greece."

This "Great Idea," which has inspired the present action of the Hellenes, by which they are brought to the brink of war with Turkey, is that Greece is to effect the regeneration of the East; to redeem the populations suffering under the Ottoman yoke, not only the Hellenic people and the slaves, but also the Mussulman population scattered in Europe and in Asia Minor through the

ancient patrimony of the Hellenes; and so to become the centre of an Eastern Federation. In a word, to resume her ancient national policy. The reader will give more importance to those chapters of Mr. Arnold's work which treat of Greece than to the other portions, not because the latter are less interesting, but because it is in the direction of that once glorious and now contemptible country that the thunder-cloud of war is forming. Mr. Arnold does not believe in Greek brigandage on any large scale, and states one fact which goes a great way in mitigation of the faults of the degenerate people. "In the suburbs of Athens," he says (and it must be remembered that M. Coumoundouros said no one dared leave the town to breathe the pure air of the fields), "where there were thousands of half-starving Cretans, I never beheld anything in the shape of a soldier or a policeman on duty, and I am bound to say that in my many walks about and around Athens, I never saw a drunken man, or an assault, or any breach of the peace." Mr. Arnold's account of his tour through the famous "Isles" is most admirably written; full of incident and observation, without tedious detail; always picturesque, and often humorous. His sketches of character and chronicle of oddities encountered on this classic ground are very amusing. His second volume takes the reader to the East, and is a many-coloured, many-sided, charming narrative. Stamboul has seldom had so pleasant an interpreter of its customs, its beauties, its people, its politics, and its prospects, and never a more candid and unprejudiced observer in the midst of her. This book is remarkable for the vivid manner in which it brings before the reader the *men* who govern the Ottoman empire, as *individuals*, men who are in so many instances mere abstractions to us. It also contains a truly beautiful description of the Bosphorus. With equal pleasure we follow so accomplished a writer to the Crimea, and through the Danubian provinces to Pesth, Vienna, and Ratisbon, and thence through the Rhineland and Belgium—a country which he cordially, and with reason, admires—to England.

The Travels of a Hindoo to various parts of Bengal and Upper India. By BHOLANATH CHUNDER, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With an Introduction by J. TALBOYS WHEELER, Esq., Author of a "History of India." Two Vols. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

The Great Parliamentary Bore. By Major EVANS BELL, late of the Madras Staff Corps, Author of "Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy," "The Mysore Reversion," &c. London: Trübner. 1869.

THE first of the above two works is an exceedingly curious one. It relates the travels in his own country, between Calcutta and Delhi, of an intelligent (and, indeed, middle-aged) member of the so-called "Young Bengal" party—that portion of the native community which is so far permeated by European influences as openly to reject idolatry, and to welcome the dominion of England, as the only means of intellectual emancipation and social amalgamation for the races of India. "If it be the will of God to have a yoke upon the neck of our nation," he writes, "our nation should, in the ripened maturity of its judgment, discriminate and prefer the yoke of the English to be the least galling." Not that he anticipates the permanency of that dominion. Speaking of two of the native heroes of the Mutiny, Koer Sing and Ummer Sing, the latter of whom "held the neglected and ruinous fort of Rotas for several months against a strong British force," he says:—

"No doubt the future historian would hesitate to deny to Koer Sing and Ummer Sing the valour and enterprising spirit which belong to the lineal descendant of the ancient Khetrya and Rajpoot. They were men worthy to have lived in a better age, and to have died in a better cause. . . . But in their infatuation they entered upon a bubble scheme, the bursting of which no sane man could doubt. They raised the standard of national independence, and anticipated that event at least two centuries before its time. We have much to learn before we ought to hazard a leap. . . . India can no longer be expected to relapse into the days of a Brahmin ascendancy, or a Mahratta government, —a state in which rights are strong, and law weak. The advent of the Anglo-Saxon race was not merely fortuitous, but had been fore-ordained in the wisdom of Providence. First of all, our efforts should be to shake off the fetters which a past age has forged for us, to effect our freedom from moral disabilities."

By "moral," the writer must not in any degree be supposed to mean "spiritual." The movement of reformation represented by that portion of

Young Bengal to which Bholanauth Chunder claims to belong scarcely corresponds to that of Erasmus, still less to that of Luther, as the following passage may show:—

"A Young Bengal is loth to abide by any book-revelation. He thinks that he would be lagging behind the age by taking up the question of eternal concerns in preference to that of the concerns of this world—to the question of his mission upon earth. Ostensibly he has no religion—not even Brahminism, which is being hampered with rules and forms, giving it a sectarian air. But, nevertheless, he has his faith in *the life that is right*, and he rests his hopes in an Almighty Disposer of Events."

Elsewhere he says:—

"The world, like man, has its different phases of character in different epochs. It was religious in the time of the Hindoos, martial under the Romans, and shop-keeping in the present century. In all probability the ultimatum of human society is destined to be the intellectual."

In estimating the weight of such passages as those above quoted, the bearing of hereditary influences must not be overlooked. The writer belongs to an influential trading caste, that of the Bunniahs, a body of men who, in Bengal, may indeed be said to be in the caste system, and not part of it, since they have been refused the use of the special Hindoo caste mark, the sacrificial thread. And his family, moreover, are members of the purer of the two great Hindoo sects, that of the Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, and within that sect of the reformed community formed at the close of the fifteenth century by Choitunya (interesting details of whose life and labours will be found in the book), and based upon the negation of caste. It is only by realizing the existence of these anti-caste, and, above all, anti-Brahminic, elements in the very bosom of Hindooism, that we can appreciate the rapidity and strength with which the *negative* influences of English civilization have taken root in some portions of the native community. But we should not overrate these results. A vague Deism without outer worship,—no positive faith but in money and intellect,—such appears to be the all-in-all of that portion of Young Bengal to which Bholanauth Chunder belongs, and it would be folly to see in it anything like an adequate preparation for Christ's Gospel. Left free to develop themselves, such tendencies can only issue in the sway of an aristocracy of wealth and intellect—the two hardest task-masters in the world. We may trace such a spirit already in such a passage as the following:—

"High food and high wages, without corresponding intelligence, enterprise, and energy for acquisition, are evils that are telling severely on the middle classes of Bengal. The statesman may congratulate himself on the emancipation of the ryot from thralldom, but our gentry rues the hasty and premature introduction of these reforms, which are yet unsuited to the state of civilization in our country."

Which seems to mean, if it means anything, that the Bengal ryot should have been kept in "thralldom" until the "gentry" should have made more money, and completed their education.

There are, indeed, some curious indications that although superstitious observances may be dying out in Calcutta itself—so that, as Mr. Wheeler tells us in his introduction, scarcely a thousand images of Doorga were made there this year, to at least five thousand which used to be made annually ten or fifteen years ago for the Doorga festival,—yet in other respects such observances are spreading with our rule among the mass of the people. "Thanks to the rail," says Mr. Wheeler further on, "the number of pilgrims to sacred places and shrines has largely increased." "100,000 pilgrims have been known of late years," says Bholanauth Chunder, to flock to Parisnath, the holy mountain of the Jains, the very site of which was unknown, except to solitary pilgrims, "until the opening of the Grand Trunk Road." Again, wherever the Englishman goes, the Bengalee is sure to follow; and the Bengalees are, "of all people, the most idolatrous on the earth;" so that—

"The Bengalee Baboo carries idolatry wherever he goes It is English enterprise to set up schools and found hospitals. It is Bengalee enterprise to erect temples, and put up idols. The Englishman teaches the Bengalee to bridge rivers and open railroads. The Bengalee teaches hook-winging to the Santhal, and idol-making to the Hindustanee. The Baboo, who has set up the image of Doorga at Cawnpore, is said to have brought artisans from Calcutta, because in Hindustan they knew not how to make an idol, riding upon a lion, with ten arms."

Although Bholanauth Chunder's work is too much made up of mere sight-seeing and local history, too full of local terms and allusions, to be uniformly interesting to the English reader, it is invaluable as a record of the everyday life of contemporary polytheism. The round of visits to the shrines of Brindabun, one of the holy places of Krishna-worship, for instance, gives a view of Hindoo manners such as could never be obtained from a European. Not less valuable, though sparingly and warily introduced, are various indications as to the gap which still separates the Englishman from the most nearly Anglicized among the natives. For instance:—

"A native may read Bacon and Shakespeare, get over his religious prejudices, form political associations, and aspire to a seat in the Legislature—he may do all these, and many things more, but he cannot make up his mind to board at an English hotel, or take up a house at Chowringhi. By his nature, a Hindoo is disposed to be in slippers. He feels, therefore, upon stilts before aliens. Ethnologically, he is the same with an Englishman,—both being of the Aryan house. Morally and intellectually, he can easily Anglicize himself. Politically, he may, sooner or later, be raised to an equality. But socially, in thought, habits, actions, feelings, and views of life, he must long measure the distance that exists geographically between him and the Englishman."

Major Evans Bell's work is chiefly devoted to the case of his old clients, the Nawabs of the Carnatic. A strange fatality seems to keep open this old sore of our rule in Southern India. The case is one of those cruel ones in which all the legal right is on one side, and all the moral expediency on the other. No unprejudiced lawyer can fail to agree in the opinions successively given by Sir Travers Twiss, now Queen's Advocate; Mr. J. B. Norton, now Advocate-General of Madras; and the present Mr. Justice Lush, that a certain treaty of 1801, by which a shadow of sovereignty and a large endowment were guaranteed to the then Nawab, is binding so long as there is any member of his family capable of succeeding to the rank, and that such a claimant now exists in the person of Prince Azeem Jah. On the other hand, nothing can be more evident than that the existence of sham sovereignties like these is a mischief and a nuisance. Sooner or later they must be extinguished—the more painlessly the better. It had seemed in 1867 (thanks in great measure to Lord Cranborne), that this desirable end was about to be obtained in respect of the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Azeem Jah was to be created hereditary Prince of Arcot by the Queen's letters patent, on a stipend of £30,000 a year, of which one-half was to be settled in perpetuity on his lineal male descendants, and £150,000 were to be granted in payment of his debts. Incredible to relate, nearly the whole of this large sum, Major Bell tells us, has been muddled away in payment, not of those personal debts which actually pressed upon the Prince, but of certain old debts of the Carnatic government, which the Supreme Court of Madras had declared to be binding upon the English Government, but which, by a really infamous *ex post facto* law (of which the Chief Justice, when compelled to apply it, declared that it "violated the first principles of legislation and of justice"), were charged on the unfortunate Prince. And to make up for this mixture of blunder and robbery, it appears that £120,000 more are to be advanced to pay the Prince's own creditors, but to be recouped out of his increased allowance. Thus new causes of bitterness have sprung out of measures intended to remove those which existed already.

One chapter of Major Bell's book, forming in it, as it were, a huge parenthesis of nearly 32 pages, extends far beyond the scope of the Carnatic case. In it he canvasses various acts of Sir John Lawrence's, as likely to check again the current of good feeling towards us on the part of native rulers which Lord Canning's more generous policy had caused to flow, such as the compelling Scindia to break up his little army (expressly limited by treaty) of 5,000 drilled soldiers, or the limiting the issue of ammunition to the troops of native states to one year's consumption only. And he exposes the constant outpour of calumnious vituperation over native princes which is kept up by the *Friend of India* newspaper, and in the Indian correspondence of the *Times*, which is in the hands of the editor of the former journal. It is to be deplored that so much of Major Bell's volume should be filled with the *crambe rececta* of the Carnatic case, in the very midst of which few readers will be likely to search out, or even from its title ("Professional Rule and its Organ") to infer, the contents of the chapter above referred to, containing as it does matter of the weightiest import.

J. M. L.

Travels in the East Indian Archipelago. By ALBERT S. BICKMORE, M.A.,
Fellow of the R. G. S. of London, &c., &c., &c. London: John Murray.

WHEN Mr. Bickmore projected the voyage to the Eastern Archipelago, to which we are indebted for a deeply-interesting and unusually well, though rather coldly, written book of travel, his friends feared that he would not be permitted by the Dutch Government to proceed to the Spice Islands. The object of his journey was to make a collection of Eastern shells, similar to that which had been formed, one hundred and fifty years ago, by Dr. Rumpf, whose name was Latinized into Rumphius, and who lived at Amboyna, the capital of the Spice Islands. Rumphius's collection was described in his "*Barikeit Kamer*," published in 1705, but was dispersed in the "troubles" of the first French empire. Mr. Bickmore desired to reconstruct, and, if possible, to surpass, this collection for the benefit of his native country. Not only were the apprehensions of opposition unfounded, but the traveller received active and continuous help and unbounded kindness from every Government official to whom he was accredited. He had ample opportunities of studying the Dutch "system," and of supplying such information on the commerce and administration as should enable us to understand more clearly the great success of the Dutch settlements. But he tells us nothing about those things, and beyond dwelling briefly on the self-supporting system at Batavia, and the very scanty recourse which is had to foreign markets, he writes as if the only foreign elements with which he had to deal were the Malays and the savages of the interior. He carried out the spirited scientific project in which he had engaged with unflagging ardour, perseverance, and success; but it is not his fault or his intention that the public should be far more interested in the details of his journey, and in the strange and beautiful, the repulsive and terrible, objects which he saw, than in the shells which he found, or purchased, though some of them are marvellous to read of. The chapters devoted to the fauna and flora of the Archipelago are deeply interesting, and if it were not that the conclusion, that the brute creation is infinitely superior to the human in those regions, has something painful to the mind in it, there would be unmixed pleasure in such a paradisiacal picture. But the volcanoes and the cannibals detract from the charm of the noble mountain ranges clothed with tropical forests, in the mazes of whose wondrous vegetation the fancy loses itself, and the Malay beast-hunters and Batta cannibals, who feed on human flesh—preferring it yet alive, if possible, and flavouring it with pepper and salt—spoil the grandeur of the forests of the far East. At Amboina earthquakes occur once at least in every ten months, and in one of the smaller islands Mr. Bickmore felt four shocks in as many days. He records former earthquakes of awful severity, and fraught with deplorable results in producing diseases. The eruption of Mount Tenoboro was, one may suppose, one of the most awful with which the earth was ever afflicted. It occurred in 1815, and the noise was heard at a distance of 900 miles, while some troops encamped 480 miles away turned out, believing themselves attacked by an enemy. The ashes covered the surrounding country to an incredible extent and depth, and fell in such devastating showers on an island ninety miles distant, that a famine ensued, in which 44,000 persons died. The residents in most of the islands are quite used to earthquakes, indeed regularly expect them when the volcanoes are inactive, and the sulphur gatherers, who are Mahomedans, ascend the mountains in the pursuit of their avocation, having made all the prescribed religious preparation for death. Of the more degraded native tribes Mr. Bickmore writes with extreme horror, and comments complacently on the superiority of the North American Indians; and, indeed, they are preferable savages, notwithstanding their turn for scalping and the stake, to the Battas, who inhabit the interior of Sumatra, and are execrable monsters. Sumatra has altogether a lurid effect in this very interesting narrative. It is a beautiful country, and abounds with the dangerous and grand creations known to sportsmen as the "big game"—elephants, tigers, buffaloes, large deer, crocodiles, and snakes of enormous size. For some of these animals we feel a decided admiration, and though others are repulsive, we do not rebel against, we do not resent, their existence, while the murderous wretches who devour human flesh to gratify, not the passion of vengeance, but a horrible appetite, inflict disgrace by their mere existence on the human nature they share with us. After a

description, calmly and coldly written, with no trace of exaggeration about it, of dreadful murders and cruelties, Mr. Bickmore adds some information which one cannot read without misgiving and regret, mingling with admiration and reverence for such heroic faith and devotion:—

"In the Slingdong valley two missionaries are living, trying to educate and convert the Battas. I met one of them with his bride at the Governor's house at Padang. The lady had arrived a short time before from Holland, and they were just then starting on their wedding tour to their future residence among the cannibals. The other missionary is now at this village, and I have just been present at his wedding. His wife is a young lady of seventeen."

This missionary told Mr. Bickmore of an incident which occurred close by the village in which he and this young lady are to reside, so frightful that it haunts one's memory. At the northern end of the Slingdong valley three French priests were killed and eaten. These monsters are rather *friends* in their cannibalism. "The parts that are esteemed the greatest delicacies," says Mr. Bickmore, "are the palms of the hands, and after them the eyes. As soon as a piece is cut out it is dipped, still warm and steaming, in *sambat*, a condiment composed of Chili peppers and a few grains of coarse salt bruised between flat stones." The coast residents have come to regard these ferocious monsters with indifference, which is hard to understand in so limited a space. Could people living at Brighton, if even civilization could be put back a century or so, regard cannibalism in the midland counties as a mere matter of course, to be mildly combated by missionaries indeed, but mentioned with ordinary cheerfulness in general society?

Of the Malay tribes of the peninsula and the larger islands, Mr. Bickmore gives rather a pleasing account—delightful, indeed, when compared with the Battas and head-hunting natives of Ceram. To the geologist, ethnologist, and naturalist this book will be very welcome; it describes many phenomena in these branches of science, while it affords to the less scientific, more imaginative lover of nature a delightful glimpse of the wonders and beauties of the far East.

F. C. H.

IV.—POETRY, FICTION, AND ESSAY.

Twilight Hours: A Legacy of Verse. By SARAH WILLIAMS (SADIE). London: Strahan & Co.

THESE poems, which, on their own account, challenge special attention, come before us with a peculiar and tenderly melancholy interest. Their youthful author, when she was called away, had just reached the most critical point in the development of the poetic character. At that period, the least influence in one direction or another may be powerful to decide the question—great poet or minor singer? Had Sadie been spared we think she would have finally answered the question in the first alternative—an opinion which is shared and so far justified by Professor Plumptre in his touching, graceful, and exquisitely sympathetic memoir. One thing the Professor implicitly hints at, which will no doubt strike many careful readers. This is the intense lyrical clearness, sweetness, and completeness of conception which in Sadie is combined with an occasional rudeness and abruptness of movement, now and then distressing us by a sense of the lack of that discipline and self-restraint which we have come to regard as the mark of the finest poetic work. Now, to the perfection of the poetic gift, as of other gifts, discipline is essential. But here it affects more the manner than the matter, being merely a helpful element in regulating and directing the self-communicating impulse, which true poets share with little children and with all rude early races—those full-grown children of nature. Properly it is the means by which education in its last result restores the balance it had disturbed in the outset, giving back the first unconscious grace and freedom of speech and movement. Here, too, as in Sadie's words about love, "earliest liveth last." With the poet more than with others, therefore, this attainment of outward completeness must be a gradual and an unconscious growth. Nothing was more often on Sadie's tongue, and nothing more frequently dropped from her pen in writing to her friends, than the statement that she could

do no good by taking pains, that she must wait God's slow-developing purpose towards her, and meantime look well to it that she lived truly and nobly, cultivating charity and all kinds of human helpfulness:—

"It is a flaw—I am afraid a fatal flaw in me—that I cannot do any good by taking pains, any more than a tree can try to grow: only the Great Master is a perfect gardener. If He means to make me a 'goodly plant' He will do it; if not, the place I long for some one else will fill. There are no empty niches in creation, and there is room for unfinished souls in heaven."

Here we think Sadie hits the real ground of all true culture, so far as it can affect that mysterious something which, lifted up into a rarer atmosphere through exceptional individual moods, expresses humanity in its most permanent features; and, converting the most commonplace and prosaic things into signs and symbols by penetrating them with emotion, forms a real world above our hard, matter-of-fact, everyday experience, in which Art re-connects life with Religion. Hence, two characteristics most worthy of notice in Sadie—a complete spontaneity of poetic impulse, together with a profound dislike to the artistic view of life, on the one hand, and a tender, lingering love of and regard for phases of life and character having little in themselves to command sympathy, combined with great capacities for practical effort, on the other. "Bother Miss——" Sadie wrote on one occasion; "if she were blind, or deaf, or lame, I would go to her at once." This is probably as sincere a line as was ever penned; for what Sadie loved in man or woman was the "better self" that might lie behind the genius rather than the genius by itself. Or this, to the same result:—"I keep all her scoldings. She taught me singing once, and has taught me *living* ever since. You would like her. She is an embodied repose—*half a lifetime wiser* than I, but only six years older." Implicitly she confessed everywhere that other poets could not aid her; in her case, too, there was a "speedy limit to the use of great men." Even her study of Swinburne, whose cause she espoused warmly out of chivalrous impulse, she had to acknowledge at the last as being destitute of any real help to her in her higher aims. She constantly returned disappointed from such adventures to work on the rude matter of human life. She even seems to have found in the beautiful of nature and the picturesque much less than one would have expected from her keen sensibility. "The sea," she writes, "is very fine; but it soon comes to oppress one like a fate; one needs a little humanity too."

The discipline, therefore, in which she sought help lay in a generous and open contact with life in its lower and needier phases, and not in arbitrary tricks of polished elaboration and isolated self-conscious struggle and effort. Professor Plumptre has given from one of her letters a single sentence which shows how she consecrated the fruits of her genius to highest uses. These words, indeed, form the best reflection on her character, and the clearest illustration of it:—"The other half would in any case be God's money. Could you not use that for some kind deed?" And this discipline was just beginning its work in Sadie's case. Glancing over the poems, we see evidence of richly original faculties, long clouded and uncertain in their action through very stress of conflicting possibilities, gradually settling determinately upon certain lines of poetic work—more, however, by dint of what she had been brought into close contact with in real life, than from reading or from severe strain of imagination. Whenever she aimed at writing anything continuous, of an epic or narrative character, a tendency to melodrama soon disclosed itself, which led to diffuseness, and to a kind of unconscious, although frequently *naïve* extravagance. The "Doom of the Prynnes" very well illustrates this; the only real things in it being the songs, on which the interposed blank verse effects a sort of solution of continuity. Almost the whole dramatic significance of the work would remain were the bits of song simply lifted out and set alongside each other. Lengthened poems of a like nature she had written besides this; but, gradually enlightened by a sense of reality, she discovered that lyrics are dramas in solution, and that if she was to become a dramatic poet, it must be through the narrow way of the lyric. Drawing her songs out of the blank verse of a poem entitled "The Poet's Wooing," in which they were originally imbedded, she has in "Sospiri Volate" given us a lyrical drama, very sweet and tender, very deep and individual, full of power and pathos, and dominated from first to last by a serene sense of the mystery of God's ways in perfecting love through loss and suffering. In this poem, which deserves and claims to be the starting-point in

any proper and exhaustive estimate of her genius, Sadie has shown as lofty a conception of love in its higher function and aspect as any living poets—save, perhaps, the Brownings—to whom, as we shall see, she is affiliated more than to any other poet or school; though this was, on her part, quite unconscious. As we regard “*Sospiri Volate*” as her masterpiece, we mean to confine our quotations chiefly to it. The following we think, in their dramatic grasp, their sharpness of characteristic feature, and piercing, liquid, bird-like clearness of note, distinctly mark the lyrical poet—born and not made:—

PEASANT BARD TO NOBLE MISTRESS.

[GREGORY.]

Do you think it, gentle lady, that because my name is new,
I should bow before your lineage, should be humble, dear, with you?
But I love you: do you hear it? I have crowned you with my crown;
And in Love's fair state, my lady, is no looking up nor down.

Were you fifty times a princess, by your love I should be king;
And our love would be the only thing that each of us could bring.
Are you proud of ancient honours?—I am prouder of your grace.
Are you proud of famous kinsmen?—I am prouder of your face.

Do I shock your dainty hearing with these rugged rhymes of mine?—
'Tis the rugged tree, my lady, best supports the tender vine.
Were I shaft of polished granite,—you have met such men before;
Did they satisfy you, dearest? did you never crave for more?

With your regal state upon you, would you daunt me, O my queen?
But I stood you in the sunlight, and it made a brighter sheen.
Crimson robe might float about you; but I only had to speak,
And the crimson, at my bidding, rose and beautified your cheek.

O mine empress! O my dearest! do you think me harshly proud?
Would it please you, would not pain you, lead me out before the crowd;
As a dog I lie beside you, on my neck your foot shall rest.
Ah, mine empress! all indignant, doth she clasp me to her breast.

CITY MAID TO COUNTRY LOVER.

[MARGARET.]

Think you, dear, that I could love you,
Were you such a one as these—
Never looking up above you,
Never stirred by heavenly breeze;
With their calm and courtly graces,
Deadly weak and false at heart,
With the smile upon their faces
Ghastly weary of its part?

No, I will not wrong them, dearest,
Some are noble men and true;
And I need not dim the clearest,
That he may look dull by you.
Such he must be, my one planet,
Bright with myriads, or alone,
As your Greek, howe'er you scan it,
Is the finest language known.

Think you, dear, that I go laughing
All the busy day along,
Gaily wine of pleasure quaffing,
Deep in picture or in song?
Know you not there is no pleasure
But is holy on one side?
That I keep for you, my treasure,
Share with you at eventide.

Know you not the garish real
Never yet a maid enticed?
That a woman's one ideal
Must be something like the Christ;
With the God-like, through the human,
Shining crystalline and clear?
Would you really win a woman?
Be her sanctuary, dear.

And this, after the lovers had been parted through vulgar misrepresentation and consequent misunderstanding:—

A PLEA.

[MARGARET.]

Trust me, dearest. Could I ask it
 Did a shadow of untruth
 Rear its ghostly front before me,
 Even from my vanished youth?
 Were my life not crystal clear,
 I would turn and leave you, dear.
 Trust me, only for a little:
 I would trust you, dear, for aye,
 With no plighted troth upon you,
 With your thoughts all free to stray.
 Could your heart find fitter rest,
 Mine should still keep empty nest.
 Trust me, dearest, for your soul's sake:
 Could I be the thing you fear,
 Then were love indeed a vileness,
 Better that it came not near.
 Grapes from thistles men may glean,
 Never stain from thing so clean.

We shall only quote one other poem, which, as we take it, reaches with a certain resolved and dramatic emphasis to the very heart of Art's secret:—

FRUITION.

What is it you say, little Grace, that my picture is famous?
 Well, the thing was a true thing, and so I am glad 'tis acknowledged;
 And the truth was wrought in me, and therefore 'twas mine to declare it:
 For the rest, it may go, with the toy that we shattered last even.
 Is it well to be clever? you question, my daughter. I know not;
 I have never been clever myself, only patient and faithful,—
 Giving out, as a lamp might, the light that was kindled within me;
 Neither kindling nor radiance mine own, only mine was the burning.
 In my youth I was vainer, as though only I had a message,
 And the error men saw would be vanquished the moment they saw it.
 I was young and so happy, my child, that I revelled in sadness,
 And men said of this painter, "He gives us the blackness of darkness."
 But the shadows came on me; your mother, your grandmother, faded,
 And the angel shone through her more brightly, and burnt to my soul.
 And I painted her, feature by feature, my love in her dying!
 And I thought, was I human or demon, to study her so?
 And she died as the picture was finished; my darling, my darling!
 But from out of the distance came murmurings, mellowed by time:
 "God be thanked, for this vision He gives us of sweetness and glory."
 Then I knew that the work was not mine, that in truth 'twas well done.
 Then the sorrow of life made my righteousness softer, more tender;
 I grew careless of preaching, cared only for healing men's souls;
 And I painted the flowers by the wayside, and knelt as I painted,
 And men said, "He is growing, this painter,—is nearing the great."
 As the racer is cheered in his strife by a voice that he knows not,
 So a friend, who was only a voice to me, led me till now:
 But they say he is dead; and they praise me, you say, little Gracie?
 Do they praise him, I wonder, who made me—the last of my friends?
 Yes, the work is completed, I think, for the worker is worn.

Where a dramatic determination is so evident as in *Sadie*, a critic cannot hope to justify his own expressions by extract. A unity rises out of the very variety and distinctly marked individual conceptions which we detect in every page. Here there is no self-repetition, no involved self-contemplation. There are one or two weak pieces in the book; but they have a significance in their place, and seem essential to round off in the mind's eye of the reader, the circle of experience the singer had traversed and here rhythmically recorded. "Questionings" and "Responses" specially show this; yet on the whole the poems in

these two sections represent one greater poem. Each poem answers to another, and, however insignificant, contributes its own something to the balance. The book itself is in this respect complete and finished; one thing is set over against another, and there is nothing separate. Sadie's "Legacy," though simple, sweet, and full of feeling, thus appealing to all, is yet richest in its unconscious elements, which will only yield themselves to the minds so far prepared and established; and in this we have the best proof of her real poetic wealth.

The value of Sadie's verse lies in its individuality and its inimitable naturalness of form. It has been brought by herself from distant regions beyond the rocks, under whose shadow Love was of old fabled to rest; and it is the warm pulsing of a life seeking freer air and panting for nobler activity, indirectly intimating itself everywhere, that will, we should fain hope, keep these lyrics living in our literature. Sadie certainly is no imitator; she did not attach herself to either of the predominant poetic schools, and could not have defined their differencing characteristics. She is too intense and passionate for the slow garrulousness and smooth, laboured roundedness of the later Idyllists; she is too real and too intent on direct and self-coloured dramatic result for indulging in the intellectual side-lights and psychological by-play of the opposing school. With a quick sure glance she seizes the very type of the passing mood,—the passion, thought, aspiration, hope or despair—and with a few sharp hurried touches presents it to us as on a grey neutral ground of personal reserve. In one of her letters she herself seizes this characteristic—a determination to keep rid of self-regretfulness, and that morbid brooding analysis which in our day seems to have intimately associated itself with the lyrical temper. She writes: "It is an old habit of mine to wipe my sums off the slate directly they are finished." She is a lyrical poet with a dramatic or neutral ground, playing upon which her lyrical conceptions justify themselves in faithful relief and opposition. She is scarcely dramatic, in the higher sense of the word—the sense in which we apply it to Shakspeare or Scott—inasmuch as she does not grasp character as a whole, but conceives and successfully deals with separate elements or lyrical phases of life and feeling, keeping them faithfully before the eye in effective relief. The book is properly a series of dramatic lyrics, and has thus a slight surface resemblance to some of Mr. Browning's work. But that Sadie was not consciously or powerfully influenced by this master is proved by the entire absence of the quaint intellectual by-play—the very element an imitator would most readily make for and wreck upon. Sadie's book has on it the impress of a true gift, and those who can best estimate its value will the most deeply mourn the loss caused to literature by her too early death. For ourselves we have been led as by a sense of duty to tenderly record this our impression of one we knew and loved.

H. A. P.

Iona and other Sonnets, &c. By WADE ROBINSON. Dublin: Moffat & Co. London: Hamilton & Adams. 1868.

MR. ROBINSON has published a little volume of graceful and thoughtful poetry. One extract will be enough to give readers a fair sample of what they may expect to find.

LIFE'S CROWN.

Life's fadeless crown is twisted from the leaves
Of little flowers of love that show the lands
Around us, ready to all ready hands
To pluck and plait. And he who idly grieves
That life is crownless is a fool and blind.
He who would bless his fellows must not ask
Sublime occasions for that gentle task,
Or trumpets boasting to the deafened wind.
To fill with patience our allotted sphere,
To rule the self within us strong in faith,
To answer smile with smile, and tear with tear,
To perfect character and conquer death—
This is to win what angels call renown,
And bend round life's pale brows an amaranthine crown.

The work is dedicated, by permission, to the Archbishop of Dublin, and does no discredit, either in its form or matter, to the sanction which that permission implies.

E. H. P.

Poems. By MENELLA BUTE SMEDLEY, Author of "Queen Isabel," "A Mere Story," "Twice Lost," &c., &c. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

THIS volume contains some genuine and very touching poetry, but it also suggests an important lesson both to critics and reviewers. When poetry of the quality of some of that which lies before us is published in a magazine, its merits stand out in such sharp relief upon the ordinary level of magazine writing that it acquires for the moment a degree of individuality which it scarcely retains when you come to inspect it steadily by the side of other poetry similar in character. It is impossible for even a practised critic to be wholly on his guard against this illusion; and, if there can be degrees in impossibility, much more so, of course, for the *author* of a book of verse. The fact is, however, that although some of these poems are of great beauty; all of them the products of a choice and exalted nature, with a true vein of inspiration and music; and the book itself worth buying and cherishing (indeed, it is sure to be cherished wherever it is possessed),—the total effect of it is not just what one would gladly find it. There is a lack of individuality in these poems. They want a foil. Perhaps it was in the author's power to supply such a foil herself in verse of a different class; but she has not done it, and we must take the volume as it is. So taking it, we find it, perhaps through some fault of our own, slightly monotonous,—monotonous is the word,—too much of one tone. Yet, where there is so much beauty, tenderness, and music, it appears unkind to complain of sameness, along with modernness, even though it be pushed to such a length that we lose nearly all sense of individuality in the singer's voice.

The following, among other poems, strike us with peculiar power—"A Character," "A Contrast" (too long, and just a *little* strained), "A Remembrance," "Waiting for the Tide," "Our Welcome to Garibaldi" (which we think the most *forcible* of all), and "The Future." In some of the poems—*e.g.*, "What Hearest Thou?" one admires the thought, and, indeed, the execution, but—something appears wanting. Perhaps it is that so high and strong a conception needs a bolder, stronger setting; a firmer hand on the string, and less—*yes*, that is what is wanted,—less of meditative dalliance with the subjects. The "Song" (p. 85) is very beautiful. So is "Waiting for the Tide"—only it is defaced by the colloquialism "We'll," just as "The Future," suffers from the colloquialism "Well-a-day." As we think, on the whole, that this is the gem of the book, we will quote it:—

WAITING FOR THE TIDE.

Come down, those shadowed sands invite,
And that soft glory on the deep;
We breathe an atmosphere of light,
Subtle as dew, and calm as sleep.

See, here and there, beyond the foam,
A sail is shining like a gem;
I think the boats are coming home,—
We'll linger down and look at them.

Not yet; the tide is shy, and stays
By this grey limit of our pier;
It doubts, it trembles, it delays,
Yet, all the while, is drawing near.

The boats and we must wait its will,
O pleasant patience! They to make
(While we behold them and lie still)
A hundred pictures for our sake.

O happy patience! Not a hue
Can flutter through the changing air,
Or mould the cloud, or touch the blue,
That is not meant for them to wear.

And as they watch the glimmering sand,
That warms the film within the foam,
They know the welcome wave at hand,
The tender wave that lifts them home.

It comes; they pass; each turning sail
Is first a hope, and then a bliss.
Come home and dream a fairy tale
Whose end shall be as sweet as this!

If there is another poem in the volume as good as this, or better, it is "The Fisherman:"—

THE FISHERMAN.

Fisherman, speak to me; why so lonely
Sailing away when the boats come home?
"I have a little one, I must find him,
Out where the sunlight kindles the foam.
"Dying he talked to the wild green water,
Out of his window he watched the spray;
How should the daisies have power to keep him?
Somewhere the seagulls watch him at play.
"Empty and cold is the shore without him,
Empty and dry must it ever be;
Let me alone, for the sea consoles me,
Out in the waters he waits for me.
"Empty and cold is the house without him,
Empty and dark through the open door;
Will he not laugh when he hears me coming,
Coming to carry him home once more?"
Bars of wet sunshine the boat sprang over,
Shaking her sails into sheets of gold;
Back through the moonlight she drifted darkly,
Rocking at random, empty and cold.

As both these poems relate to the sea, it may be as well (in order to guard against the suggestion that there is any personal fancy in the case) to explain that we prefer them because they are more truly poems than most of the other compositions. That is, they are made up of emotion, with visible beauty as a symbol, and do not make any claim upon the critical or reflective faculty.

"In the Meantime" is a mistake; it is too rhetorical to be truly poetic. The Scandinavian stories have, with some of the author's merits, the fatal fault of being false in manner. Of the drama we can only say that if the author had studied dramatic writing, she might, in our opinion, have made her mark in that excessively arduous sphere. But this is only a conjecture.

The only fault worth pointing out is one which has been noticed before in the author's verse—its occasionally irregular and jolting scansion. One ought to be able to read a poem out loud at first sight, without a single doubt as to the accentuation. For a poet who can write really fine verse, Miss Smedley baffles us very often and very unaccountably. Not to speak vaguely, we will specify the poems entitled "Slain," pp. 87—89, and "What we may see," pp. 92—94. After some study, we can read both these poems accurately (the first being the most difficult), and even get at the poet's idea in permitting the irregularities, but the "study" ought not to be necessary.

B. W.

Realmah. By the Author of "Friends in Council." In Two Vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

MUCH criticism has been wasted upon "Realmah." The man who wrote "Oulita" must have known a good deal better than most of his reviewers could tell him that the art of the story-teller was in no supreme degree his. Yet the man who told the affecting story of Gretchen in "Companions of my Solitude" could not fail, on the other hand, to be aware that he had the power of throwing off a telling episode, sketching character with the force of reality, and compelling those to remember who once read a narrative of his. Nor is this all. A writer who has anything to say will certainly choose his own method of conveying his ideas, even though that method seem to reviewers no better than a whim (and his reason is frequently very much more than whim) having, when he is a man at once earnest and cautious, a conviction that the form he chooses, whatever may be said against it on the score of precedent, is just that particular form which will enable him to introduce, directly and indirectly, the greater amount of what he desires to say. It is nonsense to speak of freedom of opinion in this country, or in any other. Opinion is not free to utter itself beyond certain limits. Even within them the utmost caution has to be used. And so long as this is true we shall have books which look anomalous, like "Realmah;" which is, in truth, an episode set in a discussion.

To the story of "Realmah" itself—for though we have above called it an episode, we shall now call it a story—justice has not been done. All that relates, to the Ainah, Realmah's plebeian wife (he has three), is affecting, and so is the death of Realmah himself. The triumph may not seem worth the trouble, but in its way it will be admitted to be great. As for the Ainah, it is impossible not to connect her with Gretchen. The result of a comparison between chapter xviii. of "Realmah," and chapter vi. of "Companions of my Solitude," may be said to go for little, but the passages about love are evidently from the same pen. For the rest, take its comparison. As to Gretchen:—"She was what you would call a great, large girl. . . . Her large, beautiful hand—do not smile, Milverton, a hand may be most beautiful and yet large." Then Gretchen was a good talker, had the quiet ways of the Ainah, had "the common sense of a romantic person, and of one who had a great perception of the humorous;" and she was a pure plebeian. The description, so far as it is psychological, would require a good many extracts from the account in "Realmah" of the Ainah, in order to make clear the parallel; but take the following from vol. i. p. 170, where Ellesmere is poking fun at Milverton:—

"Madam! Ainah, avec ses petits yeux enfoncés dans sa tête, ses cheveux presque rouges, et ses mains et ses pieds très larges et prononcés, mais en même temps très expressifs—est aussi d'une beauté extrême, mais aussi pas si séduisante comme bien rare et bien remarquable."

To describe the book is impossible; the author has made it so; at all events, it would require much labour and many pages. National expenditure, colonial policy, the discouragement of the warlike principle, the prosperity of Christianity (in the newspaper sense of the word, not as a creed), the way to build houses, misunderstandings between friends, and a few thousand other matters, are taken up and laid down in the narrative or the conversations. Dunsford, of course, is dead long ago; but Ellesmere is in full feather. His "pleasant sour" improves by keeping. As to the author himself, he remains, as he ever was, a curious example of a highly cultivated man—of high faculties, free sympathies, much humour, and much of something which does duty for sagacity, in whom the best of the essentially modern tendencies are aggregated without fanaticism. If he were less versatile, his intelligence would appear to be (as it really is) much greater than it is now taken to be. If his manner had the peculiar warmth that comes with a keen sensibility to colour and music, it would help to give that appearance of intensity which is now missing. When King Realmah, in his great speech, was beginning to feel as if he must weep with his people, he caught the eye of a critical old courtier who usually played Diogenes, and saw that even he was affected and lit up. The moment Candore perceived that the eye of the king was upon him, he relapsed into his usual attitude of mind, and began shaking his head in deprecation, like the honest courtier that he was. As soon as the king saw this, his visible emotion vanished, as his sense of the absurd awoke, and the author of "Realmah" is, in his ever-wakeful self-consciousness, not unlike the king. M. B.

The Five Days' Entertainment at Wentworth Grange: a Story-book for Children.
By FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.
London: Macmillan & Co. 1868.

A PARTY of children assembled together for a few days during the holidays at a country house—the younger ones extraordinarily docile, the elder ones as remarkably clever and precocious, and the weather conveniently wet—such is the *mise-en-scène* of this graceful volume. Every day five stories are told, and it is difficult not to feel like a child as we read them. It is not easy to say wherein the charm consists. Each tale is short, and sometimes we have a definite, sometimes a vague, sense of having heard it before. We are conveyed with the rapidity of an "Arabian Night's Entertainment" from country to country, out of the world of fancy into the world of fact, from Bagdad to Florence, from English homes to Hades. We are on familiar terms with Orpheus and Eurydice, without losing our sympathy with Catherine and Richard, Robinson Crusoe, Papa and "Ponto;" and, as we read on and on, the fairies and talking animals seem quite as real and natural as the plum-cakes and the pussy-cats.

The following analysis of the first story will at once show the reader the extremely simple nature of the materials, and illustrate the impossibility, apart from perusal, of doing justice to a book whose manner is at least as important

as its matter. "Florio and Fiammetta:"—*Fiammetta*, a beautiful princess who believes in the power of the evil eye, to which malign influence she attributes the death of the prince, her brother; *Florio*, a beautiful prince who comes to court her with a coronet of "pure gold set with flame-like rubies." One day as Fiammetta is arranging her hair before a mirror, she is startled by seeing a face in the mirror looking over her shoulder—it is the prince; but she mistakes his fixed and loving gaze for the "evil eye," and rushes away screaming, "He has the evil eye; I saw it looking over my shoulder!" A few days afterwards she, at the desire of the king, her father, is led into a dark cellar, and seeing there two glaring eyes, screams out, "The evil eye!" When the doors are thrown open, a cat is shown to be the possessor of the evil eye, the princess is cured of her superstition, and the happy prince advances to claim his no longer reluctant bride.

That is all, and most of the other stories are equally simple. It is the perfection of the story-telling, the singularity of the style, the lively-grave spirit cast over the whole, which carries us through this child's book; grave without dullness, and lively without frivolity. A thin, fanciful unity belongs to each daily portion of five tales; and it is apparent, and only just apparent, that each series of entertainments clusters round one of the five senses. The first day is engaged with the *eye*, the second with the *ear*, the third with the *nose*, and so forth. Unlike many successful children's books, a singular moderation of style and thought is observed throughout. The fun is never uproarious, although the "man without a nose" verges on burlesque. The pathos is never extravagant, although a more simply pathetic tale than the "Poor Noble" could hardly be told. The moral is never heavy, although we have seldom read a more impressive and didactic story than the "Three Ravens." But it is difficult for grown-up people to criticise children's books; and if we are glad with so brief a notice to take our leave of the "Five Days' Entertainments," it is only because we cannot any longer withhold them from their lawful owners, "the Children of England."

H. R. H.

Krilof and His Fables. By W. R. S. RALSTON, M.A. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

To such as, whilst perusing Mr. Ralston's version of these fables from the Russian, are at proper pains to acquaint themselves, through the prefatory memoir, with the author's history, the study will supply a reflection how much society would lose, were genius to persist in misconceiving its vocation. Happily society has a voice in such matters, or Liston might have died an ordinary tragedian, Sarah Siddons have ended as she began, taking comic parts on country boards, and Krilof, an inimitable fabulist, have left a third-rate name, limited to his own country, as a writer of tragedy. But his *Cleopatra* and *Philomela* failed and are forgotten. His fables, one-half of which the English reader is now, by Mr. Ralston's service to literature, enabled to enjoy in his own tongue, assert for him a foremost rank among the many popular writers who, before and since Æsop, have conveyed instruction and inculcated wisdom by means of the fable and apologue. Krilof was born at Moscow about the year 1768, and died in 1844. In the course of a life as interesting and eccentric as that of Oliver Goldsmith, although vastly more successful, he so won the favour of all classes in Russia, both in the capital and in the provinces, that he is literally "familiar in their mouth as household words;" and his statue, erected in the Summer Garden, St. Petersburg, at public cost, does not more perpetuate his memory than his works, which are on the lips of high and low alike.

We must not, however, trench on the pleasure to be derived from the perusal of this memoir, by any prelibations. It is written in a strain worthy of its subject, lively and simple, and thoroughly appreciative of the talents which must commend Krilof to foreigners, as they have already commended him to his countrymen. Such brief notice as we can afford must be devoted to the fables themselves, translated as they are, *direct* from the Russian, though the translator avails himself expressly in cases of difficulty of recent translations into French and German.

The original is in Russian verse. In the exercise of a sound discretion, Mr. Ralston englishes the fables in faithful, though elegant, prose. Had he used the vehicle of English rhyme, he might indeed have won for himself a

double breath of applause, but he could not have done equal justice to his author's characteristics. As it is, he gives an excellent impression of these, and enhances the certainty of this volume becoming a lasting and deserved favourite in this country. It is not at all a reiteration of old tracks; as, in spite of much ingenuity, is the case with many of the works of later fabulists. We detect very few instances of similarity of plot, and not a single wholesale appropriation of the same ground with his predecessors. If ever we suspect an echo, it turns out to be only one in name. The fabulist's lively wit and keen observation of life in its most opposite phases saves him from the temptation of plagiarism, and communicates thorough freshness and novelty to all that he sets his hand unto. One of the best fables in the book, indeed, the "Ass and the Nightingale" (pp. 30, 31), has been called an imitation from Diderot; but this is certainly "not proven," and it is not a little remarkable that the motive cause of Krilof's writing this fable was, by all accounts, an inquiry of him by some great patron, "Why do you not translate fables, as Dmitrief does?" We need not quote the fable, but our readers may surmise that it is written for those who, having heard the nightingale, are asses enough to put the barn-door cock in competition with it as a songster. Krilof's fables are many of them written to teach a political truth—many subserve a moral purpose, and not a few have what may be called merely a social aspect; but that which characterizes all is the sly humour, and slightly-veiled good-natured irony that underlies them. In most we discern this vein, more or less under the surface; as, for example, in the fable "The Education of the Lion" (pp. 3—6); and that portion of it which reviews the "mole's" claim to be his royal highness the lion-cub's tutor:—

"The Mole," we read, "has the reputation of being very great in small affairs. Unfortunately, however, though the Mole's eyes are keen for whatever is just under his nose, it cannot see anything at a distance. The Mole's love of order is an excellent thing for animals of its own kind: but the lion's kingdom is considerably more extensive than a mole-run."

Another marked feature is the skill with which Krilof's fables teach their own moral. It would be quite *de trop*, for example, to append any epimyth, after Croxall's manner, to a fable telling its own tale so happily as that of "The Pike" (p. 66). This culprit in Krilof's fable is brought in a tub before a "quorum," consisting of two donkeys, two old horses, and three goats. Reynard sits by, however, as assessor, and though he does not venture to interfere with the verdict, avails so far by subtlety as to get "hanging" commuted into "drowning for his fellow-rogue." These were his arguments:—

"Respected friends, hanging is a trifle. I should like to have sentenced the culprit to such a punishment as has never been seen here among us. In order that rogues may in future live in fear, and run a terrible risk, I would drown it in the river."

"Excellent!" cry the judges, and unanimously accept the proposition.

"So the Pike was flung—into the river."

So far for fables that tell their own tale. Wherever there are others—e.g., "The Division" (pp. 19, 20), "The Pike and Cat" (27—29), "The Bear among the Bees" (51—53)—that have a political significance, Mr. Ralston is always ready with the interpretation of the poet's meaning; and his interpretations have that air of probability which ensures acceptance. Besides and beyond this, a vast deal will be found in these fables and the annotations to them, which will interest those who are curious as to Russian rural manners and Russian folk-lore. In the fable of the "Miser," for instance, Mr. Ralston observes that the *goblin* is the "domovoi," or domestic spirit, in whom the Russian peasant has great faith. It is probably a near relation of the lubber-fiend which, in Milton's country-house,—

"Basks at the fire its hairy strength;"

and of the well-known Scotch bogie which, when its weary landlord was flitting in order to get rid of it, exclaimed from the centre of the furniture-laden cart, "And I'm flitting too."

We hope that we have said enough to quicken a curiosity as to this new fable-treasure, without too much exposing the nature and value of its component parts. A cordial word of congratulation is due to Mr. Ralston, who has so well turned to account his recent sojourn in Russia, and performed his task of translating and editing in the true spirit of a scholar.

J. D.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Practical International Law (Introduction). By E. C. CLARK, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co.

THIS is an introduction to a comprehensive treatise on the subject of International Law, which Mr. Clark hopes shortly to lay before the world. In it he explains the principles by which he proposes to be guided. These appear to be at once sound and practical. He, without hesitation, we are glad to see, flings to the winds that inhuman maxim *si vis pacem, para bellum*. Perhaps no single brocard could be quoted which has done more than this to spread misery among the human race. It has mainly contributed to make the art of war a regular profession, to which a large class of men devote their lives. It is, perhaps, not surprising that kings and their ministers should be dazzled by the show of power which belongs to great armaments, but it is strange, and by no means creditable to human wisdom, that scholars and men of peace should have supported them in this folly.

We regard the increased faith which thoughtful men are inclined to repose in a well-founded system of international law as a means of averting war, as among the few hopeful signs of the times. The reproach usually brought against it is that it can exist only on paper, and cannot be enforced without recourse to the very means it is intended to prevent. In this, no doubt, there is some truth. Yet, surely, to have a recognised standard of right and wrong between nations tends powerfully to preserve peace. As between individuals, so between nations, many quarrels would be settled if a salve could be found for the pride of one or both of the parties. Adversaries too self-willed and headstrong for calm debate between themselves will often bow to an impartial declaration of the law and right of the case from the lips of a competent judge. Besides, the study of international law is likely to introduce a different and more powerful class of men into diplomacy. Hitherto high birth and good manners have been held as sufficient qualifications. These may serve in ordinary times and in dealing with ordinary men, but break down before the strong will of a determined and ambitious wrong-doer. We think, therefore, that Mr. Clark, in seeking to turn the minds of his countrymen to the rules of conduct regulating the intercourse of states, is doing good service to his generation.

T. M.

The Dutch Boers and Slavery in the Trans-Vaal Republic; in a Letter to R. N. Fowler, Esq., M.P. By F. W. CHESSEON. London: W. Tweedie. 1869.

IT is, as Mr. Chesson says, a mystery to those who have known the Dutch in their own country as "the most peaceful and law-abiding of citizens," how as colonists they should always have been notorious for lawless rapacity and cruelty. It is the fashion to abuse South American Republics; but the worst of them is a model of virtue and prosperity by the side of the so-called "Free State" and "Trans-Vaal" republics of South Africa. Originating in disgust at the abolition of slavery by the British Government, they have remained true to the spirit of their origin. In spite of express conventions with the British Government forbidding the existence of slavery, they have perpetuated it under the name of apprenticeship, sending out commandoes whose regular practice it is to kill both men, and often women, among the blacks, and bring back the children, to be apprenticed as "destitute," after which the lash is the only answer to any claim for freedom. The Trans-Vaal boers are, moreover, in league with the Portuguese slave-traders on the east coast, and both from them and from our own possessions obtain freely arms and ammunition, which at the same time, by the most unequal injustice, the natives are forbidden to purchase from us. Civilization is altogether retrograding, education all but neglected, the currency entirely reduced to a ridiculously depreciated paper, and the only British officer who, as High Commissioner, has any title to interfere on behalf of the native races, is the Governor of the Cape Colony, who resides 700 miles away from the first borderland where they are to be met with; so that the immediately neighbouring colony of Natal, which sees and suffers from the evils of the Boer government (or rather anarchy), is powerless to remedy them. Mr. Chesson's letter deserves to be widely read. J. M. L.

A Sketch of the History of Grammar, being an Introduction to the Public School Latin Primer. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 12mo. Pp. 43.

THIS is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *Academia* of last March and April, and which are now adroitly reproduced as an introduction to the Public School Latin Primer. Their connection with that publication is of a slender kind.

The "Sketch" consists of an interesting description of the consequences of the study of Sanscrit chiefly on Latin, also on Greek, grammar, and an account of the slow but steady progress made by the doctrine grounded upon that study amongst classical scholars. If the title is intended to suggest the idea of a general *résumé* of the history of grammar, it is plainly untrue and misleading. For there is scarcely a word in the essay to relate what has been done about grammar before the present century, except in India. But, allowing for that omission, the record of some of the labours in Germany, and of nearly all in England, to improve our system of etymology, is well worth reading. Indeed, hardly too much can be said upon the extraordinary influence exerted by Sanscrit literature in this respect. It has transformed mere guess-work into scientific principle, though the inveterate habit of guessing still infects some of our best workers in this line. And the germs of true etymology are evidently contained in the doctrine of crude forms, or stems and roots, which is excellently explained by "J. M. M." in the case of Latin nouns and verbs.

But how about the Primer?

Only with reference to crude forms is the present an introduction to that ill-judged work. And even in this particular the author, as it appears (p. 22), would go much further than the Primer does, and would uphold Professor Key's method. There seems to be a persistent imputation of false grounds to those who do not like the Primer, on the part of its promoters. The objections most strongly felt are not to the system of crude forms, but to the bad logic, to the inaccuracy, to the unscientific basis, to the barbarous jargon of that book. And some of the best judges—no *profundum vulgus*—are amongst the objectors.

E. M.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—Dr. Greenhill has pointed out that the words placed by me in inverted commas (*C. R.*, Jan., p. 115) as a citation from his life of Celsus in the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography," do not occur in juxtaposition in his article. I have therefore corrected it by transcribing the whole passage from which the words are taken, and shall be much obliged to you if you will insert it in the next number of the *Review*. Dr. Greenhill also informs me that this is one of the passages taken by him from the late Dr. Bostock's "History of Medicine," which he adopted *in toto* five-and-twenty years ago, but which he would not now be inclined to repeat without some modification of the wording.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

THOMAS MARKBY.

"His (Celsus's) description of the symptoms of fever, and of the different varieties which it assumes, either from the nature of the epidemic, or from the circumstances under which it takes place, are correct and judicious; his practice was founded upon the principle already referred to, of watching the operations of Nature, conceiving that fever consisted essentially in an effort of the constitution to throw off some morbid cause, and that, if not unduly interfered with, the process would terminate in a state of health. We here see the germ of the doctrine of the 'vis medicatrix Naturæ,' which has had so much influence over the practice of the most enlightened physicians of modern times, and which, although erroneous, has perhaps led to a less hazardous practice than the hypotheses which have been substituted in its room."—("Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography," i. 660.)



MR. FFOULKES' LETTER.

*The Church's Creed or the Crown's Creed. A Letter to the
Most Rev. Archbishop Manning. By EDMUND S.
FFOULKES, B.D. London: J. T. Hayes.*

THIS is a letter of considerable importance. The numerous editions through which it has rapidly passed in a very brief period attest the strong and sustained interest which it has awakened in the public mind. It merits the attention which it has received. Its subject-matter strikes deep down into the essence of the Christian religion, and it is treated with an earnestness, a directness of meaning and expression, a freshness and an honesty, which command for it a very high psychological value. It exhibits a singularly lively picture of the workings of a deeply religious and truthful mind. Mr. Ffoulkes throughout deals honestly with himself. He shuns no difficulty; he challenges himself and all around him. He is bent on discovering the truth and looking it fairly in the face, whatever may be the results which the operation may work out for his religious conviction and his ecclesiastical position. So long as religious feeling is alive, so long as the vast issues involved in the right appropriation by each human soul of the teaching of Christianity are duly appreciated, the spectacle of a thoughtful man abandoning one Church for another must always create a strong, if not an uneasy, excitement. That Mr. Ffoulkes was keenly alive to the responsibility engaged in leaving the Anglican for the Romish communion, and still more, that in his new position, he is painfully sensitive to the duty of challenging what he

has embraced, and ascertaining whether it is true, is transparent throughout. This gives a wonderful air of reality to the whole pamphlet. Moreover, in addition to the ordinary interest attached to a change, there is a very peculiar feature in the present state of Mr. Ffoulkes' mind. He is a Roman Catholic assailing the Roman Catholic Church. He became a Roman Catholic upon study and conviction. He is a Roman Catholic still: he exhibits no signs of retracing his steps. He intimates indeed that, if his knowledge at the time when he joined the Romish Church had been as deep and as accurate as it is now, he would have felt no necessity urging him on to make the change: but he equally signifies no intention of quitting his adopted faith. Thus the charges and the remonstrances which he utters are at once loyal and severe; and this constitutes a great charm for us Protestant readers. The disclosures come from Roman Catholic lips. Their honesty is vouched for by his two strong desires to remain in the Roman Catholic Church and to bring her up to his ideal; and that ideal is one which, in many of its main elements, all Christian associations recognise. It is therefore not the Roman Church alone which Mr. Ffoulkes sets before our eyes, but in no small measure the Christian Church itself, in whatever sense that term may be used.

These are features which encircle Mr. Ffoulkes' pamphlet with lively interest; but there is one which in our eyes is still more important—his standard of judgment, his method and principle of testing, his mode of measuring value, both ecclesiastical and religious. This for us is the most striking and distinctive attraction of this small but very important writing. It is this, beyond all other matter contained in it, which induces us to occupy ourselves with it here. It is well worth close attention, as we hope to show presently. The method of examination, and the rule applied by him to ascertain what is true and valuable, greatly transcend in importance any result at which he arrives; and, strange to say, we believe that Mr. Ffoulkes is not himself distinctly conscious of the real nature of the principle of judgment which he applies so fearlessly. But on that very account the charm in his manner of working it is greatly increased. It is carried out artlessly and naturally; it is unspoilt by any sense of consciousness, by any appearance of anything else than the spontaneous application of his natural sense and understanding.

The opening of the pamphlet is most striking and peculiar: it takes up the position at once, and places it in the full view of the reader. Mr. Ffoulkes addresses Archbishop Manning: for what reason does he write to him a public letter? Precisely because the archbishop had great influence over his conversion to the Roman Church, and because he and the archbishop have pursued opposite

courses since they became Roman Catholics. The archbishop, like many others, "seems to have joined the Roman communion not only pledged never to find fault with it, but to see with its eyes, hear with its ears, understand with its understanding, stand or fall by its judgment." "His argument," Mr. Ffoulkes presumes, "would be that the Church of Rome claims to be infallible; that he submitted himself to it as such, in the fullest confidence that its decisions can never mislead him; that they are God's voice speaking to him, which he is bound on the peril of his salvation never to mistrust, much less to dispute." Mr. Ffoulkes "joined the Roman communion on other grounds, and was accepted." He was never required to profess that she was infallible on entering her communion. Her claim to infallibility he reserved for examination, when he could investigate it as a Roman Catholic, with the very natural assurance that, "if she was really infallible, she would be able to stand a much more searching criticism than the communion which he was leaving for her sake, on behalf of which no such claim had ever been made." An infallible Church would have no weak points, and how could her true character, what she was in fact as well as in theory, be so well or so fairly ascertained as by one who was one of her sons, and had every opportunity of penetrating to her very essence? So Mr. Ffoulkes takes for his starting-point the investigation of facts; Archbishop Manning assumes perfection, and, heedless of error, corruption, and sin, finds everything perfect. The one begins with inquiry: the other pronounces all to be right before inquiry. The one looks at the earliest condition of the Church of Rome: the other first reaches infallibility by general and *a priori* reasoning, and then never challenges a single phenomenon. The one sets out with the philosophy of the ideal: the other takes the path of the Baconian method. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is the foundation, the essential and all-pervading principle of Mr. Ffoulkes' Letter.

Mr. Ffoulkes commences his investigation with a great point of doctrine. He could not have taken fairer ground. Archbishop Manning may parry arguments drawn from conduct by pleading that every form of religious life must necessarily fall short of its ideal; but an infallible Church must be able to defend every assertion of doctrine, or be lost. The Roman Catholic Church cannot decline such an issue, at least in the form in which it is put by Mr. Ffoulkes. It may affirm that its own declaration of faith is necessarily true, and it may refuse discussion; but it must meet a charge that a very essential part of the faith it imposes on all its members is no emanation from its inspired vision, but is a foreign importation, derived from a secular and unauthorized source. The archbishop had reproached the Church of England with its "Crown in Council;"

but what if "the creed which Archbishop Manning and the Archbishop of Canterbury recite still in common at each celebration of the Lord's Supper is the Crown's and not the Church's creed?" What if the words which tore in twain Western Christendom from Eastern, which engendered the great schism, and which leads many to doubt whether there is at this moment one Catholic Church actually existing in the world, were introduced into the creed of Rome—against the sworn oath of the Pope to preserve unmutated the decrees of the first five councils—by a king named Reccared, of a barbarous and till then heretical race in Spain? That this is a very vital matter for the Church of Rome no one can doubt. It is an issue of fact. It cannot be covered by a general allegation of infallibility. The charge is that the Pope betrayed his trust; that he violated his oath to preserve inviolate the faith handed down; that he yielded to secular force, and accepted from it an addition to the creed of the universal Church, which rent it asunder; that the faith of the Eastern Church, and not the Roman, is the true Catholic faith; and that consequently the Church of Rome is plunged in grievous error, and is living on a lay-made and lay-imposed creed.

"The majority by far of the Church was with Adrian I. and Leo III., when they defended the uninterpolated Creed against Charlemagne: the majority by far of the Church was against Benedict VIII. when he yielded to the threats or persuasion of Henry II. Reccared, Charlemagne, and Henry II. prescribed a Creed for the West, at least as much as Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth prescribed one for England. Subsequent acceptance cannot alter their origin in either case: and whether one consisted in a compound word of four syllables, and the other of thirty-nine articles, embodying six hundred propositions, the fruits were the same—a schism in each case followed, and both schisms are still in force. When the West separated from the East, the East constituted the majority of the Church by far: when England separated from Rome, the majority of the West by far sided with Rome. Then it came to pass that Rome was literally paid back in her own coin. Adding to the Creed of the Church produced one schism, subtracting from the Creed of the Church of Rome another. The Reformation was at once the avenger and the logical offspring of the schism between the East and West."

It is foreign to our object on this occasion to investigate this charge; it would require a whole article for itself alone. Mr. Ffoulkes has given his proofs. The onus of disproof lies on Archbishop Manning and his fellow-Churchmen; and if refutation is not forthcoming, the only conclusion can be that it is impossible. For, we repeat, the question here is not the general power of the Church to interpret with unfailling accuracy; the charge is a specific allegation of an innovation superadded by a secular power against the positive declarations of the whole Church. The Church of Rome is accused of using, in a most material particular, a Crown's creed. Is it or is it not so? But the cry will be raised that we are smiting our own brother, that we are assailing

the Church of England, and stigmatizing her creed with the imputation of error. If the *Filioque* is wrong in the Church of Rome, it is wrong also in the Church of England; if the primitive creed has been violated in the one society, so has it also in the other. Doubtless this is so; but the difference between the two cases is wide as the poles asunder. An infallible Church cannot, under pain of destroying her essence, accept the imputation of error. A Church which claims no other powers than those accorded to fallible men may admit with impunity the charge of having been mistaken. The Church of Rome cannot amend her faith; the Church of England can. The Church of England has the reformation of error for her starting-point and her principle. As those who preceded her often failed to discern the truth, so likewise may she have arrived at false conclusions; and as error, when detected, was condemned and expunged, so may it be so again in our day, if cause shall have been shown for amendment. The legislature of the Church of England, the Parliament of the nation, may do again what it did in the past: it may correct the formularies of the Church. The Church has no cause for trembling for the issue of the investigation of the origin of the *Filioque*. She may see with pain an ancient landmark, long used, proved to be inaccurate; but she has no deeper or more vital interest at stake.

From doctrine, Mr. Ffoulkes passes on to morals; from declarations of faith to the moral and spiritual life of the Church of Rome.

"I desire to record my solemn conviction," says he, "that the reunion of Christendom cannot be, that it ought not to be, till material guarantees have been secured that Rome shall never again be what she has been, and to some extent still is; so irresistible to my mind are the evidences that it is her conduct, more than anything else, which has divided Christendom—her conduct since she became a Court as well as a Church—not her faith but her policy for the last thousand years, dating from her endowment under Charlemagne."

Here Mr. Ffoulkes' language, if not novel, is none the less severe and compromising. We know what Protestant writers and preachers have said of Rome. Mr. Ffoulkes cites the burning words of great Roman Catholics of the past, and he adds to them his own. John of Salisbury, when asked by the English Pope Adrian to tell him frankly and earnestly what men thought of him and of the Church of Rome, replied that the Roman Church "exhibited herself as a step-mother;" and that the Roman pontiff was spoken of by "the people as a universal oppressor, and well-nigh past endurance." Mr. Ffoulkes himself is "doubly convinced now, after reading ecclesiastical history through again as a Roman Catholic, that if ever there was a justifiable revolt from authority, it was the revolt we call the Reformation."

"Rome," exclaims he fiercely, "has abundantly proved, during the last

thousand years, that she can be a most negligent, hesitating, fickle, self-seeking, hypocritical guide to others, even where the Faith is concerned." "She rose to her zenith—from which in the Providence of God she has been gradually but surely descending ever since—by fraud and force, to the dismemberment and destruction of the Church at large."

Amongst the most reprehensible of those deeds of violence which Rome unscrupulously availed herself of to her own aggrandisement, Mr. Ffoulkes cites the Pseudo-decretals and the Crusades. The story of those "miserable impositions" is known to all the world. But, says Mr. Ffoulkes—

"With such evidence before us, we are unable to resist the inference that truthfulness is not one of the strongest characteristics of the preachers of even the modern Church of Rome; for is not this a case palpably where its highest living authorities are both indifferent to having possible untruths preached from the pulpit, and something more than indifferent to having forgeries, after their detection as such, adduced from the pulpit to authenticate fact?"

Profitable lies preached from their pulpits by the ministers of religion! What Protestant ever uttered more degrading charges? How would Rome have shrieked if such language could have been used with truth of a Wesleyan or a Baptist minister!

Of the Crusades Mr. Ffoulkes remarks that "he can discover no redeeming feature in them from first to last. The combination of the Cross with the sword demoralized all classes alike. The Easterns were trampled upon for maintaining their rights, ejected from their churches as far as was possible, and supplanted by a rival hierarchy, wherever the Crusaders conquered." Speaking of Innocent III., he adds—

"To have to consent to the desolation by fire and the sword of the largest and most flourishing part of the Church by the other, in contempt of his own orders—to look on while the ancient landmarks of the Church were one after another upturned by violence, and then, by accepting a share of the spoils himself, to identify not himself merely, but his see for ever, with the outrageousness of the whole proceeding. What frightful hypocrisy, what downright profanity for this ever to have been designated Crusade, a holy war waged in behalf of the life-giving Cross! Who can possibly believe in a God of justice, and doubt his holding the Papacy responsible for all this?"

And now it becomes necessary to ask, For what purpose are these terrible denunciations hurled by Mr. Ffoulkes against the Church of which he is a member? With what motive was his Letter written? What end does he seek to accomplish? Is it that he is preparing the way for a relapse into his old Church—that he repents of his desertion of her—that he loves his old home better than his new one? There is no trace of such a feeling, unless it be supposed to lurk beneath the confession that if the Reformation had resembled a

revolt from a secular power, like that of the United States of America from England, he never could have withdrawn his allegiance from the Anglican to the Roman communion. His aim is the healing of the divisions of Christendom, the restoration of the Church Universal. This great end is brought before him by the summons issued by the Pope for a General Council to be held this year at Rome; and it drives him to consider what are the obstacles in its way. The union of what is called the Church into an undivided body, the effacing of her great schism, must ever be an object most dear to the heart of every believer in the Catholic theory. That separation always seems to be refuting their theory. There is not one Church *de facto* unless the Western or the Eastern Church is denationalized, and expelled from the body of the Lord. The principle of one Catholic Church must be pronounced a failure in the world if it compels the unchurching and almost the unchristianizing of such vast numbers of Christians who seem to belong to it; and if they are still held to be a part of the Catholic Church, the definition of what the one Catholic Church is, as an organized society, becomes impossible. In addition, then, to the natural wish which every man must feel to promote love and charity amongst Christians, the believers in Catholicity have a very powerful intellectual as well as social interest to reunite all episcopally-constructed Churches into one great and unbroken communion. This urgent motive weighs heavily on the mind of Mr. Ffoulkes; it fills him with a passion of high intensity, and a sense of duty that almost seems to overwhelm him. In the presence of such a summons from the actual state of the Christian world, the bonds of his tongue are loosened: he pours out all that fills his soul.

Mr. Ffoulkes' object is to reunite the Catholic Church; and he feels that the Roman Church is the one fatal obstacle to the realization of this great end, to the fulfilment of what has been the dream and study of his whole life. And not only does Rome perpetuate, as she created, the schism, but, as we have already seen, such is the immorality of her actual state, that even the healing of the wounds of Christendom must be postponed till material guarantees have been acquired, till ample security has been taken, that Rome, renewed Rome, shall never again be able to repeat her past. It quickens the throbbing of even our Protestant pulses to hear a Roman Catholic break forth into such language. It lies, then, with Rome to reunite Christendom; by what means shall she perform the work? First of all, she must abandon substantially, if not by a direct avowal, the claim to infallibility. Mr. Ffoulkes does not say that there is no infallible authority on earth; we would gather that he holds the belief that a genuine representation of all the Christian Churches, a Congress of all Episcopal societies, would have authority to deliver

the interpretation of the Christian verities with unerring certainty. But, at any rate, the Roman Church is not the full Catholic Church; its deeds are not the voice of the whole body of the faithful, and, consequently, she has no right to interpose difficulties based on an impossibility of recalling or undoing what she has once done. This impediment must first of all be cleared away out of the path. It may be impolitic and unnecessary to require her formally to abjure the claim of infallibility; but she must act, feels Mr. Ffoulkes, as if she shared the liability to error which is the lot of all mortals. She must not only not plead that a doctrine once affirmed is irrevocable, but she must act on the absolutely contradictory assumption. She must confess that she received from a lay source, from a barbarian king, an interpretation of the Creed, which was an addition to a Creed already declared by the whole Church to be perfect, and she must remodel the Nicene Creed. In this way she must remove the cause by which she created the great schism that has for ages divided the Eastern from the Western Church. It is a vast sacrifice of pride to truth which Mr. Ffoulkes demands of Rome. To repudiate a large portion of one's past history is not an easy act for any human being, much less for a large and powerful organization. Mr. Ffoulkes is of a sanguine temperament, but does he ever, in his most dreamy hours, nurse himself with a vision of the Roman Catholic Church, of a hierarchy so proudly dominant, so haughty in pretension, so presumptuous from long-continued greatness, voluntarily kneeling on the stool of penitence, and confessing that it had corrupted one of the most famed creeds known to history? Do the records of the past furnish an example of a vast association performing an act of this nature except under the pressure of overwhelming compulsion? Do truth, and honesty, and the beauty of proclaiming them to others, possess such irresistible charms for men as to be strong enough to force societies large as nations to tear away from their brow ornaments which have been most precious to their vanity and their prejudice? Does Mr. Ffoulkes really suppose that any power short of overbearing force will ever convince all Roman Catholics, as individuals, that the *Filioque* was an unfounded interpolation in the Nicene Creed, and then that, as a Church, she must publicly expunge it from her confession of faith? For our part, we are unable to cherish any such hope. No doubt what has occurred in the past may, according to the ordinary laws of humanity, recur in the future. Rome may recast her forms, but it must be on the application of similar pressure. Mr. Ffoulkes' own argument shows how heavily political motives told on the ecclesiastical decisions of Popes. The compelling power, we fear, must come from without, and of such external coercion we as yet see no sign.

But besides the expulsion from the Nicene Creed of the word, by adopting which Rome dismembered the Church, Mr. Ffoulkes demands guarantees—not words and promises, but material guarantees, existing in the nature itself of the new position to be created—that Rome shall never again backslide into a state which covers the cheeks of her best sons with the blush of shame. Here a brighter ray of hope bursts in upon us. Mr. Ffoulkes finds in the Court of Rome the chief source of her corruption.

“‘O Pope,’ exclaimed the great prophetess of the north by revelation, ‘thou art worse than Lucifer, more unjust than Pilate, more of a foe to me than Judas, more of an abomination to me than the Jews themselves.’ Not that she was speaking of the vices of any one Pope in particular, but of the Papacy, such as it was then. I could fill pages from mediæval writers of approved name to the same effect. What they meant, and what, with history before us, we cannot venture to contend that they denounced extravagantly, were the principles and practices of a system known and stigmatized as the Court of Rome, for this was its head-quarters, which had clearly been inaugurated under Charlemagne and his successors, parties to ‘the donation,’ and had usurped precedence of the self-denying mould and pastoral gifts inherited from St. Peter. Their sway was no sooner established than bad Popes found themselves omnipotent to do mischief, and the best Popes comparatively powerless to do good. Eugenius III. had not commenced, and he was impotent to resist, the changes in the constitution of the Church so bitterly denounced and deplored by St. Bernard.”

It is possible that Victor Emmanuel and the kingdom of Italy may apply a salutary remedy to the evil. We do not say that the loss of the temporal power would absolutely extinguish the Court of Rome, but unquestionably it would work out an enormous change in the position of the Roman Church in the world, and consequently in the ideas, the feelings, the principles, and the interests which sway its administration. The Roman Court, placed on the footing of a Wesleyan Conference, or an American Church, would be something, we may be quite sure, vastly different from a court possessed of temporal sovereignty, ruling territory, and receiving revenues, and involved in the complications of an incessant and most intricate diplomacy. Disestablishment, we cannot doubt, would here be an amazing sedative to no end of worldly excitement. Can it be that this is the “material guarantee” which Mr. Ffoulkes has in his mind as an effectual security against the recurrence of past scandals? If it be so, Mr. Ffoulkes, when joining the Roman communion, will have imported into it a very remarkable feeling of English growth. It may well be questioned whether the Pope and his Papal Court would contemplate with much satisfaction the probability of a large inflow of similar converts, and a reunion of Christendom which, if ever brought about, Mr. Ffoulkes is persuaded will go down to posterity as mainly effected by men who had been born and educated in the Church of England. This is not

exactly the sort of work which one can be confident would be to the taste of the Vatican. Seville, in devout and Catholic Spain, "evangelized" with great advantage by missions from "the Brompton Oratory, that heart-stirring creation of old Oxford and Cambridge men," must excite strange sensations in the *mater* and *magistra* of all Churches. The reduction of Rome into a purely spiritual power, into a body similar to the Church of the age preceding that of Constantine, has been a vision hailed with delight by many excellent Christians, and some very good Catholics; but it is not yet known to be the object to which the ambition of Roman ecclesiastics aspires. Mr. Ffoulkes very probably desires it; but his correspondent, Archbishop Manning, has pronounced very warmly against it. He has made piteous appeals to the world to save the temporal power; he has given loud warning that the loss of it would destroy the independence of the Church, and has almost thrown doubts on the very existence of the Church afterwards. However, this is a question which will ultimately be solved by other forces than the Roman hierarchy; and whatever other results it may have, it cannot fail to bring about a very considerable abatement of the evils which Mr. Ffoulkes has comprehended under the designation of the Court of Rome.

Does Mr. Ffoulkes know of any other guarantees for ecclesiastical amendment? He has not mentioned any; but we cannot be wrong in supposing that he contemplates the meeting in Council of what he would call the Universal Church, and the submission of Rome to the regulations prescribed by that body. If the reunion of Christendom were ever to take place on the scale which looms before Mr. Ffoulkes' mind, it is obvious that in so vast an organization the Roman Catholics proper would find themselves in a real minority. That the Roman Church would ever bow its head before an ecclesiastical master is for us an inconceivable thing. Nothing but absolute force would, we are persuaded, be capable of making her submit to what she would and must regard, in the presence of her past history, as positive humiliation. An assembly composed of representatives from every portion of the Christian world, in numbers proportional to those of their constituents, is not an idea of the Christian Church which Rome has ever entertained; and we cannot conceive how anything but the dictation of superior and external strength could ever plant such an idea at Rome. It may be that Mr. Ffoulkes imagines that Rome might be prevailed upon to content herself with the presidency of the Church, or possibly even with a veto; but if so, he is cherishing an illusion. Rome knows too well that such a veto would soon disappear, if ever the Universal Council became a reality. By submitting to such an assembly Rome would have lost her theory, and a Church

thus deprived of its central principle would speedily sink into relative unimportance.

But, replies Mr. Ffoulkes, they have practically lost their theory already. "Who can fail to be struck," says he, "with the absence of any formal assertion on the part of the Popes that the terms Catholic and Roman Catholic are strictly convertible—with the fact that they have never striven to appropriate the term 'Catholic,' pure and simple, to their own communion, but have commonly called themselves, and have been content that it should be called by others, the Roman Catholic Church, as being its strict and adequate title?" We are not so sure of the accuracy of this statement. We think that we have heard and seen the expression, "*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*," applied often by Roman Catholics in such a way as to unchurch, we may almost say unchristianize, in all formal sense, every man who did not belong to the Roman communion, and did not acknowledge the divine headship of the Pope. However, as Protestants, we are only too glad to obtain such an admission from the Roman Catholic Mr. Ffoulkes; it is no small matter to be assured that the Popes have not dared to expel us from the Catholic Church. But Mr. Ffoulkes goes much farther yet, and adds a passage most deserving of attention from its importance:—

"Where, indeed, is the part of Christendom seriously purporting to call itself the Catholic Church in these days? Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, Episcopal, Orthodox, or Presbyterian, all in their degree seem influenced by some hidden spell to abstain from arrogating to themselves or attributing to each other the epithet of Catholic, without qualification, as it is applied to the Church in the Creed. Test existing phenomena by this theory, and the results are plain and straightforward. One of its logical results would be that the administration of the Christian Sacraments might be frequented with profit outside the pale of the Roman communion. Is this confirmed by experience? My lord, my own experience, which is confined to the single communion in which you formerly bore office, that of the Church of England, says emphatically that it is; and there is no canon or ordinance that I know of forbidding me to maintain it. You have preceded me yourself in expatiating on the workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England with your accustomed eloquence, and have not hesitated to attribute to its members many graces in virtue of the Sacrament of Baptism, which you allow they administer on the whole validly—but there you stop. I feel morally constrained to go further still. If I had to die for it, I could not possibly subscribe to the idea that the Sacraments to which I am admitted week after week in the Roman communion—Confession and the Holy Eucharist, for instance—confer any graces, any privileges, essentially different from what I used to derive from the same Sacraments, frequented with the same dispositions, in the Church of England. On the contrary, I go so far as to say, that comparing one with another strictly, some of the most edifying communions that I can remember in all my life were made in the Church of England, and administered to me by some that have since submitted to be re-ordained in the Church of Rome—a ceremony therefore which, except as qualifying them to undertake duty there, I must consider superfluous.

Assuredly, so far as the registers of my own spiritual life carry me, I have not been able to discover any greater preservatives from sin, any greater incentives to holiness, in any that I have received since; though, in saying this, I am far from intending any derogation to the latter. I frequent them regularly; I have no fault to find with their administration or their administrators in general. All that I was ever taught to expect from them they do for me, due allowance being made for my own shortcomings. Only I cannot possibly subscribe to the notion of my having been a stranger to their beneficial effects till I joined the Roman communion, and I deny that it was my faith alone that made them what they were to me before then, unless it is through my faith alone that they are what they are to me now."

This passage raises questions of supreme interest. Mr. Ffoulkes marvels that no portion of the Christian world, no definite Christian body, has ventured to proclaim itself openly to be the Catholic Church, in the sense assigned to this expression in the Creed. He evidently thinks that there ought to be a Church which should profess to be the body designated in the Creed. He holds the theory involved in the words of the Creed to be a true theory, and he conceives that the fact to correspond with it must be a specific, distinct, definite organization, under one government and one legislation, and thus a single society in the strictest sense of the term. That is his interpretation of the words of the Creed. He believes the disunion of the Episcopal Churches to be the cause which prevents the Creed from being realized in fact. He seeks their reunion, and then, evidently, he thinks that the one Catholic Church will be found and restored. Now, we should like to put a plain question to Mr. Ffoulkes. Does he really imagine that if all the Episcopal Churches were combined into one society, under one rule and one head, the Church, vast though it would be, would now, in the nineteenth century, dare to call itself the One Catholic Church, in the sense of the Bible, in the meaning of the Lord and His Apostles? Does he suppose that it would one whit more than its several portions do now assert that it was the Church, so as to exclude from the Church all bodies of Christians not constructed upon the Episcopal model? Would it be possible for such a society, however imposing, however founded on ancient tradition, to say to the Church of Scotland, the Free Kirk of Scotland, the Wesleyans, the Independents, and all other non-Episcopal societies,—You do not belong to the Church of Christ; you have no Church? Can it be conceived that such language could be publicly held, not by individual writers and preachers, but solemnly by the authorities of a great Christian society? Is it not obvious at once that it would compromise Christianity itself, would give the Christian religion a new aspect, would assert that a particular form was an essential and indispensable element in a religion whose very essence, even upon the admission of every Catholic, is a personal union of every Christian with Christ by the

indwelling of the Holy Spirit? Would it not be certain that new evidences of Christianity would have to be constructed the instant that large bodies of men, holding to the words of Christ and His Apostles, implicitly receiving the Bible, accepting Christ as their Redeemer, studying to be animated by His Spirit, rendering Him the sincere homage of their faith, their obedience, and their love, are proclaimed outcasts, strangers beyond the pale of the Christian communion, bound together by no lawful association that can be recognised by their Master, outsiders to that one spiritual society to which the word of Scripture describes all Christians as belonging? Let Mr. Ffoulkes be assured that this is an issue too sharp to be ever raised in a definite and authoritative form by any Christian society which the world will ever see. It has been a true and right instinct which has made every Episcopal society shrink "in these days"—the expression is very significant—"from arrogating to itself the epithet of Catholic without qualification." It was not possible to tell the non-Episcopal Churches that they were not in the Church, the Church of the Creed, the Church of Christ. Such an issue could not be faced. It would compel the excluders, the assertors of an exclusive claim, to define the position of the excluded—not in vague and loose expressions, generalities about the uncovenanted mercies of God, and other unthought-out words, which may go on very well so long as they are not brought to the test of definition, but in precise and responsible language. It would force them to declare specifically whether the members of the Kirks of Scotland were or were not Christian. If it was impossible to refuse them the character of Christians, then the exclusive Churchmen would have to expound the difference between a Christian within the Church and a Christian outside the Church; and if the unchurched Christian could be saved, and obtain absolution for his sins, and go to heaven without ever having been a member of Christ's Church, the terrible question would arise, Of what use, then, was this non-necessary, not indispensable institution of the Church? The onus of the argument would then be transferred; the excluders would become defendants, and the proof would be upon the Churchmen, to show why Christians need be in the Church at all. These are questions which no Christian Church in these modern times has chosen to encounter, and, we tell Mr. Ffoulkes, no Christian Church ever will.

But is it, then, that no meaning can be assigned to the expression in the Apostles' Creed—the Catholic Church—or even to that of the Nicene—the One Catholic and Apostolic Church? Very far from it. A most complete and accurate sense can be given to these important words. Protestants meet with no difficulty in the matter. All true

Christians throughout the world compose the Catholic Church. They make one Church, not in the least because they use the same institutions to carry out their necessary relation to each other in social organization, but because they have all one common Head, with whom they are united, and through whom they are related to each other as fellow-members of His Body. The essence of the idea of Church consists in this—that Christ lives and has a living personal union with every true Christian through the Holy Spirit, and that this personal connection with Christ bestows upon him feelings and relations towards his fellow-Christians. It is a generic term—it includes all Christians. The condition that the officers employed by Christians shall be episcopally-ordained men, is an appendage of human invention, totally destitute of competent authority, non-existent in Scripture, or in any other authoritative declaration of the Divine Will. No wonder, then, that Episcopal societies pause before they declare Episcopal orders necessary to the Christian Church. The charter which conferred this exclusive legitimacy is never forthcoming. On the other hand, we do not say that the Catholic Church, as conceived “in these times,” is identically the same as it was conceived by the Christians of the Nicene period. The external circumstance, that the Roman Empire embraced the whole civilized world under one government, made the gathering of the Christians into one single society easy and natural. It was difficult at that time to conceive of Christians as not belonging to this one society,—as difficult as to suppose any civilized man as not the subject of imperial Rome. In our day the political state of the world is radically different; and this, beyond doubt, is the most influential cause which has distributed Christians into many separate societies. One Universal Church, except as an ideal, as the common brotherhood derived from a common relation to Christ, is a dream, a phantom, which can never be converted into a substance. It is waste of thought and feeling to pursue such an illusion—not the grand and characteristic reality of the Christian religion, the love and communion of all Christians with one another, but the heterogeneous, secular, and material conception of an outward and unmoral form. We say unmoral, because we have never heard or read of even a pretended reason, drawn from a moral consideration, and not from arbitrary appointment, why the ministration of Dr. Chalmers was not as complete as that of any pope or bishop that ever lived.

In bold contrast with the allegation of a divine command unconnected with any visible moral reason for its enactment stands forth the grand principle adopted by Mr. Ffoulkes in judging of the value of religious ordinance. We have already remarked that his standard of judgment, his method of ascertaining religious value, constitutes

a great distinction for this Letter to Archbishop Manning. His rule for religious worth is the effect produced on the soul. He measures the efficacy of an ordinance by the piety it engenders, by the devotion it enkindles and sustains, by the spiritual-mindedness it implants and strengthens; in a word, by the fruits of the Spirit. We know the stress laid by all Catholics of every kind on the sacrament of the Holy Communion. We know, too, how indispensable for its virtue the ministration of an episcopally-ordained priest is held to be. The world for ages has been exhorted to appreciate the validity of orders; that is, the correctness of the appointment to his office received by the priest. A mystical, but most certain efficacy has been, and is, attributed to the agency of such a priest. The sacrament administered by such an agent is proclaimed to possess an excellence which is not present at communions celebrated by non-episcopal ministers. To put a Presbyterian or Wesleyan sacrament on a level with the Catholic, for every genuine High Churchman, is something little short of profanation. Yet how does Mr. Ffoulkes proceed in testing the value of the administration of the Holy Communion? "If he had to die for it," he could not admit that "the sacraments of the Church of Rome possess any superiority over those of the Church of England." And how does he arrive at this conclusion? what does he look to in making the comparison? The "edification" received, the effect on his spiritual life—sin guarded against, holiness promoted. And if a Roman Catholic, standing on the intrinsic excellence of a rite as administered in his Church, and yet unwilling to deny that religious benefit may have been received from an Anglican administration, should reply that "it was his faith alone, and no element belonging to the Anglican Church, which earned the blessing," Mr. Ffoulkes rejoins with as much truth as logical accuracy, that then it must have been the same faith, alone, which enabled him to obtain good from the Roman sacrament. External ceremonies, outward and ecclesiastical qualifications, the priestly character of the celebrant, here go for nothing: it is the state of the soul, the faith of the recipient, the quality of his religious affections, the devoutness of his spirit, which are the all in all. For him the priest is nothing—he is but the administrator of the rite: it is with Christ, and Christ alone, that the soul of the partaker has to do, and from whom alone every grace and privilege connected with the office flows. A greater, a more fundamental, a truer and more Christian principle cannot be uttered. It is decisive of many things; decisive, above all, of the nature of the Christian religion, of the supremacy of the end it aims at—the sanctification of the human soul—and of the subordinate quality of the means employed, provided only that the end is attained.

It may be said that Mr. Ffoulkes keeps himself within the limits of Episcopal orders, and that as far as his discussion extends, he speaks only of two portions of the Catholic Church. This is so: but his words command a far wider range. He cannot take up the position that his faith alone enabled the sacrament, whether Roman or Anglican, to be efficacious for him, without at the same time granting that the faith of others is equally effective in non-Episcopal Churches. The orders of the Catholic priest rest on a distinct command, if ever given, wholly unconnected with the state of mind of the recipient: they have no reference to his faith, even if they were ever demonstrated to be a necessary part of ecclesiastical organization. If faith alone applies the virtue of the sacrament in Episcopal societies, how can it be said to be ineffectual amongst Wesleyans and Presbyterians? The faith remains the same: the ceremony of orders, a mere ceremony on the ground taken up by Mr. Ffoulkes, cannot change its nature. Faith, faith in Christ, the acceptance of Christ in his heart by the believer, effectual in an Episcopalian, and ineffectual in a Presbyterian Church, is a confusion of ideas not tenable for an instant. It not only is excluded by Mr. Ffoulkes' word "alone," but, which is far more important, it is shipwrecked on his central principle of judging the value of an ordinance by its religious and edifying effects on the soul. What possible answer could Mr. Ffoulkes give to Dr. Guthrie or Dr. Norman Macleod, if they assured him that they found their non-Episcopal sacrament as edifying, as full of power over the heart and conduct, as vivifying of devotion, as any partaken of within the Church of England or any other Church? On what basis could Mr. Ffoulkes contest the conclusion that Episcopal orders had nothing whatever to do with the quality and effects of the ordinance? The only ground which Mr. Ffoulkes could take up would be, that the Lord did give a distinct command that the Holy Communion should be administered by an Episcopalian priest: but if asked to show this command, from what authoritative record would he be able to produce it? It is very obvious that he has abandoned the position of the full virtue of the sacrament being confined to Episcopal orders; though we believe, at the same time, that he is quite unconscious of having done so. He still stands on technically Catholic ground, on the system of "the Church," but his principle is Protestant, or rather, Spiritual, and he is really building on the true Catholic Church, the Universal Church of all Christians of all denominations, Roman and Presbyterian, Anglican and Independent, alike. Mr. Ffoulkes' heart, his devotional appropriation of the Christian religion, here triumphs over his understanding. His spirit is broader than his intellect; the instincts of his soul burst the barriers of his mental conceptions.

Such will ever be the tendency of truly good men : his Letter is but one illustration more that the greatest of all Christian forces is charity. And observe how grandly this comes out in the declaration that "the only test of the efficaciousness of the sacraments appreciable by common sense lies in their influence on the conduct." "How is it to be proved that it is not to their faith and integrity of purpose solely that members of the Roman Catholic Church are indebted for all the progress they make?" For Mr. Ffoulkes, "it is this action of the sacraments, in enabling Christians to keep the rule of life prescribed in the Gospels, yet more than the superiority of this rule, which constitutes the vast difference between the moral tone of society in the Christian and the pagan worlds." What principle can be more purely Catholic, more comprehensive of every Christian who humbly hopes to be saved by Christ? *Ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia*. So was it said of old time, and so says Mr. Ffoulkes now.

And now what must be said of the position which Mr. Ffoulkes occupies at the present moment with these feelings and principles? That it is eminently peculiar is obvious at the first glance. He is a Roman Catholic. He left the Anglican communion to become a Roman Catholic: what motives determined him to take this step? He did not conceive that he was changing a fallible for an infallible Church. On this important point, the doctrine which impelled Dr. Newman is absent in Mr. Ffoulkes, and the justification of the change must be placed upon different grounds. What then did he gain by leaving the Church in which he was an ordained minister? Not validity for doubtful orders. "Anglican orders," he tells us, "if they have not been recognised in practice, have never been declared invalid, still less the grounds of their invalidity set forth." It was something else then that he sought. He did not feel sure at that time that he was within "the One Church which only all Scripture told him there should be." "All history told him that a Primacy from time immemorial in that One Church belonged to the See of Rome." Here then was a clear gain. As he was then minded he felt that he had placed himself under the one indispensable and appointed Head of the Church. It might be that the Church of England was no part of the One Church, because it was unconnected with its one Head, but there could be no doubt that the Roman communion was a true and a necessary part of that One Church. All history informed him further, "that from the foundation of the See of Canterbury to the Reformation the Church of England had been one with Rome, and had voted freely for the doctrine and discipline upheld by Rome, including the supremacy of the Popes, for centuries." Hence it seemed to him that the Church of England had done wrong in separating from the body

of which she had been so long a foremost member. "There was no excuse for our continued isolation." He hoped for the reunion of Christendom into the One Church—and outside the Roman Church that One Church could not be. He believed that incorporation with the Roman Church was the sole method by which the practical existence of the One Church could be effected. Thus he became a Roman Catholic. But what sort of a Roman Catholic is he now? What is his theory of the Church of which he is a member? Is it that this Roman Church is the only One Church? Nothing of the kind. It possesses the designated Chief; it has the Primacy, the Presidential office, the Headship, of this Universal Body: but, as far as we can discern from Mr. Ffoulkes' current of reasoning, nothing more. It is not infallible; and why? Because the gift of infallibility has not been given to any man or body of men? Not so: the One Church is infallible, but it must be the whole Church, and not merely a portion of it. Let the whole Church of Christ be gathered together; let all its members—Episcopalian members, we presume—be united into one single society; let such a body send its representatives to a common congress, to a general council, and then it will speak with the voice of God—it will declare doctrine under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But this divine voice is not found in a mere fragment of the One Catholic Church, and the Roman Church is but a part, and not the whole. The Tridentine Fathers could not define the truth with certainty, because the representatives of a portion only of the Church were present at Trent. But, worse still, the cause and sin of the great schism lie with Rome. It is the Easterns who have preserved the faith undefiled; the Romans have debased it with a human and secular interpolation, and have nearly broken up the Church, and rendered infallible enunciations of the truth impossible. In fact, in every other respect save the single point of the Primacy or Perpetual Presidency of the Church, the inference from Mr. Ffoulkes' argument seems to be that the Eastern Church is ecclesiastically superior; it has the true and not an interpolated faith, and it was Roman which broke away from the truth, and not Greek Christendom. Judged by the ultimate end of the Church, the object for which the truth was revealed to man, the purpose for which Christianity itself was founded, the Roman has no advantage whatever over even that Anglican Church for which "Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth prescribed a Creed." Men are not better and holier in the Roman Church than they are in other Churches. They do not acquire more efficacious sacraments, better helps against sin, stronger incentives to holiness, by joining her communion. Nay, they are often spiritually the worse for this act; that Archbishop Manning has

fallen off since he has been a Roman Catholic is hinted by Mr. Ffoulkes in very unmistakable terms.

Whether such sentiments are compatible with loyalty to the Roman Church, of which Mr. Ffoulkes is now a member, is a question which the Roman Catholic authorities are now called upon to determine. Mr. Ffoulkes has stated his points with singular clearness and definiteness. He offers elaborate proofs in support of their correctness. His language is so fresh and hearty, it is so full of single-mindedness and sincerity, it has so profoundly interested the English public, that it is impossible not to regard this Letter as a direct issue raised at the bar of the public opinion of the whole world. It is for the Roman Catholic Church to make good its defence.

But let us suppose that the great object of Mr. Ffoulkes' passionate desire has been accomplished, and that by the reunion of all Episcopal Churches, the One Catholic Church has been recovered. In these modern days, it will stand in sharp and direct antagonism with a vast non-Episcopalian body, with Churches comprising great numbers of all the Christians of the world, with organized societies which assert their absolutely complete legitimacy on a perfect level with this Catholic Church. A very solemn issue will instantly be raised. The Catholic Church will gather its Councils, and will proclaim that their definitions of religious doctrine are infallibly true. They will claim to possess the sole lawful ministers, to be alone endowed with valid orders, and alone to have in their sacraments a virtue which is accessible to no non-Episcopalian ordinances. Every one of these points will be firmly denied by the non-Episcopalians. How shall this most momentous question be determined? upon what principle? To Mr. Ffoulkes at least, if he is consistent, that principle cannot be doubtful. He must apply his own rule, the rule by which he judged the Roman in comparison with the Anglican communion. He must appeal to the evidence of the fruits of the Spirit. Now we put it to Mr. Ffoulkes pointedly—is he prepared to affirm that the Free Kirk of Scotland, for instance, is not as devout, as religious, as spiritual and holy, as the Roman Church, or the Church of England, or the Eastern Church? We do not speak of the individual members of the Free Kirk, but of that Church itself—of a body of associated and organized Christians. Judging by the rule of the effects on life and conduct, is the Roman Church or the Church of England a more Christian body of men and women than the Free Kirk of Scotland? And if he will refer us to the period when the Catholic Church will have been reunited, will he assert that the mere act of reunion will at once make that Church holier, purer, and more full of Christian life than the other? He must make no smaller affirmation than this, if he stands on his own principle, and chooses to place the non-

Episcopalians in a permanent condition of inferiority in respect of their full possession of legitimacy. Will Mr. Ffoulkes make any such declaration? Will he admit that the Free Kirk of Scotland will, according to this standard, be as certainly possessed of infallibility as any ecumenical council of the reunited Church? It is obvious that he will not, and that he still holds that the Catholic Church, if united, is the only Church.

The question then must be tried upon a new basis. If the character of the piety, if the state of the religious affections and the conduct, is not the standard whereby to determine the full legitimacy of a Christian Church, it must manifestly rest on enactment, on a declaration of the Divine will, on ordinances prescribed by the Supreme Authority, by Christ himself, and declared by Him to be the indispensable constituents of the true Church. The issue thus becomes identical with that raised formerly in the civil world by the claim of divine right asserted in behalf of monarchy. There is not a particle of difference in the question to be decided. It is legitimacy exclusively claimed for one particular form of government against all others, and the nature of the proof, not its details, must be identical in both cases. A positive charter from the competent authority must be produced. The French Empire and the Emperor Napoleon do not stand on divine right. On the ground of divine right, Queen Victoria is an unlawful and illegitimate occupier of the throne of England. Are the governments of England and France lawful or unlawful governments? and if unlawful, if their title rests on *de facto* occupation alone, are the nations of England and France deprived of actual benefits, of advantages bearing directly on their welfare, which the rulers commended to their throne by divine right would have conferred upon them? Society has settled this question thoroughly. The governments of France and England are held by all mankind to be complete and legitimate governments. Not one benefit is thought to have been forfeited by the loss of divine right. That right is universally declared to be not proved, and the world has passed on. If some few individuals still imagine that there is a divine right in civil government, and reconcile their obedience to actual powers by the help of some subtle distinction, they are treated as dreamers and *idéologues*, mere nourishers of illusions of the fancy.

In respect of the theory of One Catholic Church, as a positive and definite society, the issue, we repeat, is the same; but unanimity of judgment about it, we admit, has not yet been attained. Divine right is still largely held on Church ground. The non-episcopal Christians are pronounced not to form a part of the One Catholic Church. They are illegitimate, a society without orders, without the sacraments, without the power of declaring the truth. We are *de*

facto Churches, they reply; like the governments of England and France. That allegation will not serve you here, is the Catholic rejoinder; "you are not in the Apostolic Church." It is manifest that upon such a plea, the Apostolical exclusive Church has to be proved, by whatever argument, whether it rests on spiritual grounds or on specific appointment. The usual proof adopted is to cite the Church, as it existed in the third and a few subsequent centuries, and the language which it held respecting itself. The Church was then a single body, we are told. It had a recognised chief, whatever may have been his powers. It acknowledged one supreme government, a general council, whose due it was to be universally obeyed. That government could and did lay down the truth with infallible certainty. It stood over against the secular world as a single society. It treated with that secular power as equal with equal. It maintained a supremacy in things spiritual as real and as authoritative as that which the State exercised in temporal matters. It says of itself that it is infallible, when it speaks through its proper organ. It declares that its ministers are the only lawful ministers, and it points to an unbroken descent of bishops from the Apostolic age. It proclaims that it alone possesses the sacraments, which Christ undeniably instituted; and it tells all other Christian societies that they are no part of the real Christian Church at all. So says Mr. Ffoulkes, as we understand him, so says Dr. Pusey to the Church Union, and so says every High Churchman. But, if nothing more can be alleged in support of this exclusive title to legitimacy in behalf of the Episcopal Church, what is this but purely and simply to stand upon *de facto* ground? All that is here urged, could be urged, and was urged, in behalf of the Stuarts and the Bourbons; yet it has not prevented the universal sense of mankind from condemning the divine right of these dynasties as an illusion and a chimera. The language held by the Catholic Church of these times respecting its own authority and the wickedness of disobedience to its ordinances, can be paralleled to the letter by the proclamations of monarchs by divine right,—the same declarations that it was the will of God that subjects should obey them, the same denunciations of disloyalty, the same assertions that it was God who placed them in authority, the same curses against schisms, insurrections, and new governments, as rebellion against God. There is no difference. Nay, the similarity of the two positions, thanks to Mr. Ffoulkes, we can say is yet more wonderful. Just as the Bourbon and Stuart dynasties have disappeared, although each possesses a living representative, so the One Catholic Church, except as the collective aggregate of all Christians, has come to an end. There is no One Catholic Church, as a definite society, now existent on earth; no body, as Mr. Ffoulkes

observes, which dares arrogate to itself to be that body, no executive organ, no voice to govern and to declare the truth. Broken fragments are all that remain of it—fragments which obey different rulers, which profess different doctrines, which chant different Creeds, which are as distinct as France is from England. If there ever was One Catholic Church, in the sense put on the expression by High Churchmen, it belongs to the past, to the time when Europe was politically one under the Roman Empire, and consequently furnished facilities for one single Christian society. This is the fatal fact which Mr. Ffoulkes preaches to all Catholic theories. It vindicates and establishes the perfect completeness and legitimacy of all Christian Churches, whether Episcopal or not. It places them on the same level of right as that which despotisms, republics, and constitutional governments, whether inherited by descent or set up by revolution, possess in the civil world, where antiquity and long tenure are worthless to found exclusive right. It does not follow that all Church societies are constructed with equal wisdom, or produce results of equal excellence. Long existence, the record of a continuous chain of great deeds, the memories of great men, the training and education conferred by the examples and the principles derived from a long line of ages,—these, and other merits such as these, may confer great superiority on one form of Church rule, as compared with another; but they are utterly powerless to supply a foundation of exclusive legitimacy. There is one God for all men, one Ruler, one Fountain of all authority, religious and secular; but there are many societies, ecclesiastical and temporal, which all partake of the same stream of legitimacy, as it flows from the common Source. To build society in the religious world on essentially different principles from those which underlie its existence in the civil, is to violate the most essential truth of all religion—that it exists alike in every thought and every act.

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HANDEL.

PART I.

IT may sound like an anachronism to call Handel a contemporary ; and yet he seems so constantly present with us, that at times we can hardly believe that he has passed away. We are surrounded by his effigies ; no living face is more familiar—no modern minstrel more beloved than he who has now lain quietly in the great Abbey for some one hundred and ten years.

A few hours after death, the sculptor Roubiliac took a cast of his face : that dead face made alive again, and wrought into imperishable marble, is indeed the very face of Handel. There, towering above his tomb, towering, too, above the passing generations of men, he seems to accept their homage benignly, like a god, whilst he himself stands wrapt from the "fickle and the frail," and "moulded in colossal calm."

The frequenters of Exeter Hall are familiar with another figure of him clothed in a long robe, with the legs crossed, and holding a lyre in his hand. A marble bust of the same date (1738) is at the Foundling Hospital. The head is shaven and crowned with a sort of turban cap ; the face is irascible and highly characteristic. Casts of this bust have been multiplied through the land, and can be easily obtained.

The original of what is perhaps the best known of all (1758) is in the Queen's private apartments at Windsor. The little china bust

sold at all music shops is a fair copy; on either side of the face falls down a voluminous wig elaborately wrought. The sculptor seems to have felt he could no more dare to treat that wig lightly than some other persons whom we shall have to refer to by-and-by.

There are more than fifty known portraits of Handel, and the best of them happens to be also the best known. It is by T. Hudson, signed "1756 A," at Gopsall, the seat of his remarkable friend, Charles Jennens. Handel is seated in full and gorgeous costume of the period, with sword, shot-silk breeches, gorge de pigeon, embroidered with gold. The face is noble in its repose; a touch of kindly benevolence plays about the finely-shaped mouth; every trace of angry emotion seems to have died out; yet the lines of age that are somewhat marked do not rob the countenance of its strength. The great master wears the mellow dignity of years without weakness or austerity.

In that wonderful collection of pictures lately exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, the often-recurring face and figure of Handel—young, middle-aged, and old—life-size, full figure, head and shoulders, standing up, and sitting down—filled us with the sense of one who had left a deep and yet bewildering impression upon his own age. The portraits were not only different in look, but even in features. As we passed, with a feeling that at length we had seen Handel all round, to the miniature room, we were once more surprised to find the same face subjected to the minute photographic treatment of Denner, or the robust handling of Wolfand, who makes the composer fat, rosy, and in excellent condition. There are few collectors of prints who have not a lithograph, woodcut, or line engraving of him. He is exposed in every second-hand printshop, still hangs on the walls of many old nook-and-corner houses in London, or lies buried in unnumbered portfolios throughout England.

With such memories fresh in our minds, and with the melodious thunders of the great Festival still ringing in our ears, let us attempt to trace once more the history of Handel's life, and hang another wreath upon the monument of his imperishable fame.

I.

Händel or Handel, (George Frederic), was born at Halle, on the Saale, in the duchy of Magdeburg, Lower Saxony. The date on his tomb in Westminster Abbey is a mistake (Feb. 24, 1684); his real birthday is Feb. 23, 1685.

Germany was not then the great musical country which it has since become, and was chiefly engaged in cultivating second-hand

the flowers of Italian music, which grew pale enough beneath those alien skies.

The Italian maestro might be looked upon with some respect, but the native artist was not yet considered a prophet in his own country. Even eighty years later Mozart and Haydn were treated like lacqueys. "Music," remarked Handel's father, about 170 years ago, "is an elegant art and fine amusement, but as an occupation it hath little dignity, having for its object nothing better than mere entertainment and pleasure."

No wonder the boy Handel, who, from his earliest childhood, seems to have been passionately fond of sweet sounds, encountered opposition and disappointment in his early musical endeavours. He was to go to no concerts, not even to a public school, for fear he should learn the gamut. He must be taught Latin at home, and become a good doctor, like his father; and leave the divine art to Italian fiddlers and mountebanks. But up in a little garret the child of seven years, perhaps with the connivance of his nurse or his mother, had hidden a dumb spinet—even at night the faint tinkling could not be heard down below—and in stolen hours, without assistance of any kind, we are told the boy taught himself to play.

By-and-by Father Handel has a mind to visit another son in the service of the Duke of Saxe-Weisenfels, and little George runs after the carriage and begs so hard to go, that at last he is taken to the ducal palace. But he soon turns out to be an *enfant terrible* to his poor old father. He is caught playing the chapel organ, and is brought up before the duke, trembling more, no doubt, at his father than at the duke, who has heard him, and now pats him on the back with "bravo!" Then, turning to his enraged and afflicted parent, he tells him that his son is a genius, and must not be snubbed any more. The boy's fear is now exchanged for the wildest delight, and the father's rage is quickly followed by astonishment. Handel would often tell the story in after years; and he never forgot the duke, the kindest, because the earliest of his benefactors.

From this moment fortune seemed to smile upon him, and his early career exhibits a combination of circumstances wonderfully favourable to the orderly development of his genius. Severe training, patronage, and encouragement, ardent friendship, the constant society of the first composers, wholesome rivalry, and regular orchestral practice—all seem to be suddenly poured upon him out of fortune's great horn of plenty. As the favourite pupil of the great Halle organist, Zachau, he analyzes at the outset very nearly the whole existing mass of German and Italian music, and is set to write a cantata or motett once a week. At last the good Zachau has not the conscience to put him through any more fugues; tells him with

kindly pride that he already knows more than his master, and advises him to go to Berlin and study the opera school, under the auspices of the Elector of Brandenburg. Attilio and Bononcini were then the favourite composers. The first received Handel with open arms; but the second scowled at him from the beginning, and determining to put the conceited boy's powers to the test, composed an elaborate piece, which he challenged him to play at sight. Handel played it off like any other piece, and from that hour Bononcini, who had a bad disposition, but excellent brains, treated the boy with the hatred of a rival, but with the respect due to an equal.

Dr. Handel's failing health brought George Frederick back to Halle. In 1697 the old man died, leaving his family ill provided for, and young Handel was thus driven into a course of immediate, though somewhat dry industry. He descended into the ranks, and became a kind of occasional second violin at the Hamburg opera-house. As he played little, and badly, the band soon began to sneer at an artist who could hardly earn his salt; but one day the harpsichordist (the principal person in the orchestra) being absent, Handel, then about nineteen, laid his fiddle aside, sat down in the maestro's place, and finished by conducting the rehearsal with such ability, that the whole orchestra broke into loud applause. About this time Handel received an offer of marriage. He might be organist of Lubeck if he would take the daughter of the retiring organist along with the organ. He went down with his friend Mattheson, and Mattheson appears to have been offered the same terms. Something, however, did not suit—whether it was the organ, or the daughter, or the salary, we are not told; but both the young men returned in single blessedness to Hamburg.

Handel was never married; and perhaps he felt it would be neither wise nor generous to accept as a gift what he had not asked for, and did not want. The rivals in unrequited affection were also rivals in music: both Mattheson and Handel composed operas for the Hamburg opera. They had not come to blows over love, but what love could not do, music did, and the two, who had probably laughed heartily together at the maid of Lubeck, found themselves soon after with drawn swords in front of the theatre, surrounded by a circle of friends and admirers. They fought, as young men will fight in Germany to this day, for the merest trifles. Mattheson's rapier struck Handel on the bosom, but the point shivered on a great brass button; a distinguished councillor of the town then stepped in, and gravely declaring that the claims of honour were satisfied, called on the combatants to desist, and "on the 30th of the same month," writes Mattheson, "I had the pleasure of having Handel to dine with me, and we were better friends than ever."

The mind of genius in its early stages is habitually gloomy, and dark tales of crime and sorrow often possess irresistible attractions for the happiest and most innocent of men. Shakspeare early painted the tragedy of Lucrece, and the death of Adonis; Schiller first made his mark with "The Robbers;" Goethe with the "Sorrows of Werter;" Schubert, when a mere boy, wrote the "Parricide" and "A Corpse Fantasia." We shall, therefore, not be surprised to learn that Handel's first opera, *Almira*, turns on the misfortunes of a dethroned queen; whilst his second, *Nero*, is, as the prospectus briefly explains, intended to show how "love" is "obtained by blood and murder."

Handel, not content with manufacturing Italian operas in Germany, had, in common with every other musician of that day, a strong desire to visit Italy itself, the great seat of musical learning. With singular independence, he refused the offers of Prince Gaston de' Medici to send him; but by working hard with his pupils he soon got together money enough to go at his own expense. In the month of July, 1706, being twenty-one years old, he first entered Florence.

In that beautiful city, where the flowers seem to come so early and linger so late, the German musician stayed, under the auspices of the Grand Duke, until Christmas. Equal to Venice as a great centre of art revival in Italy, with its strange octagonal dome, its matchless Giotto campanile of black and white marble, its bronze doors, its ducal palazzo, and rich memories of Giovanni, or Angelico da Fiesole—second only to Rome in its passion for the revival of learning, and second to no city in poetic fame—Florence was, indeed, a fit residence for the re-creator of all music. Remembering the vivid impression which the first aspect of Italy left upon the minds of Mozart and Mendelssohn, we cannot but regret that Handel's life at Florence is a simple blank to us. He composed the opera of *Roderigo*, for which he obtained one hundred sequins, and left for Venice, where he came in for the thick of the Carnival. Here, too, we would fain know what impression the city in the sea made upon him. The marble palazzos, not yet ruined by the hand of decay, the façades, the domes, and the porticos, still retaining a certain splendour long after the bloom of the Renaissance had past away—the shrines decorated with the spiritual heads of Bellini—the staircases and ceilings plastered all over by Tintoret—the cool splash of the oars in the still lagunes—the sound of a guitar at night in the dark water-streets—the sights and sounds, and, above all, the silences peculiar to Venice, must have exerted a powerful influence over a mind upon which nothing was thrown away.

Whatever effect Venice had upon Handel, it is certain that Handel took Venice by storm. "Il caro Sassone," the dear Saxon, met with

a formidable rival in the person of Domenico Scarlatti, the first harpsichord player in Italy, and they met frequently in the brilliant saloons of the Venetian aristocracy. One night during the Carnival, Handel, being masked, seated himself at the harpsichord and began playing. The masques took little notice until Scarlatti, entering, arrested their attention. The great Italian was soon struck as his ear caught the sound of the harpsichord, and making his way across the room, he shouted, "It is either the devil or the Saxon!" It was not the devil; and let it be written for the learning of all other Saxons and Italians, that Handel and Scarlatti were honourable rivals and fast friends. In a later contest at Rome the superiority of Handel on the harpsichord was thought doubtful, but he remained the unchallenged monarch of the organ. Handel always spoke of Scarlatti with admiration; and Scarlatti, whenever he was complimented on his own playing, used to pronounce Handel's name, and cross himself.

To satisfy the Venetian public, Handel composed in three weeks the opera of *Agrippina*, which made furor even in that emporium of connoisseurs, and gained for its composer the above-mentioned title, "*Il caro Sassone*." Having seen summer in Florence, and the Carnival in Venice, it was natural that he should hurry on to be in time for the great Easter celebrations in the Eternal City.

Rome in those days was still a power, and though shorn of much strength, she remained the greatest ecclesiastical force in Europe. Let us hope that the Pope's retinue was not quite so shabby as it is now, and that the cardinals' dingy old coaches were gilded and painted a little more frequently. Probably they were; for although the Pope himself was comparatively poor, some of the cardinals had managed to amass enormous wealth. Cardinal Ottoboni, Handel's great friend at Rome, was something of a pluralist, and lived above all sumptuary laws. He advanced to the purple a mere stripling of twenty-two, and he died forty years later the possessor of five abbeys in Venice, and three more in France (which last were alone worth 56,000 livres). He was Dean of the Sacred College, Bishop of Velletri and Ostia, Protector of France, Archpriest of St. John Lateran, besides being an official of the Inquisition. Unlike some of his compeers, he was not a mere voluptuary, but was the friend of the people. He kept for them hospitals, surgeries, was princely in the distribution of alms, patronized men of science and art, and entertained the public with comedies, operas, puppet-shows, oratorios, and academics.

Under the auspices of such a man, Handel composed the operas of *Amadigi*, *Silla*, and *Roderigo*, in 1715; and the oratorios of the *Resurrection* and the *Triumph of Time*. This last was composed in

honour of the great cardinal himself, whose bandmaster was none other than Corelli, and who gave an orchestral performance in his own house once a week.

At this early period of his composition, Handel began insensibly to part company with the old Italian traditions, although not until he had abandoned entirely the false forms of opera was it possible for him to carry out the changes in choral and orchestral music with which his name is for ever associated. In the *Triumph of Time* the dead level of melody and recitative is definitely abandoned, and we find there, in addition to the usual chorus at the end, a striking innovation in the shape of two long vocal quartetts. The MS. of the *Resurrection* contains an unusual number of wind instruments, although it may be doubted, for this very reason, whether it was ever performed in Italy with the full orchestra.

Bidding adieu to the pomps and splendours of Rome, Handel now went southwards, and chose the Bay of Naples for his second summer in Italy; and no doubt amongst the vine-clad hills that rise above Naples, he encountered the scenes, and came upon the types of rugged men, gentle swains, and Neapolitan women, which provided him with the *mise en scène* and *dramatis personæ* of *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (1708).

This Italian serenata differs from the English cantata of *Acis and Galatea*, although, when the latter was brought out in 1732, it contained several Italian airs, amongst them the popular "Non sempre no crudele," which, although quite distinct from "O, ruddier than the cherry," is excellent rough singing for a *basso* giant. Whilst in this romantic and pastoral vein, he composed a number of songs on the model of the French canzonets, which became fashionable all over Europe. Then touching, as it were, cautiously the fringes of Catholicism, he composed a few sacred pieces for the Mass; but this kind of thing was never much to his taste. Handel brought from the land of the Reformation all the instincts of a stern Lutheran. He seems to have revolted from shams of all kinds. No wonder, then, if he found it impossible to clothe with a religious sentiment, dogmas which his common sense repudiated, and which his section of the Church denounced. Passing back slowly through Rome, Florence, Venice, he found less and less inducement to linger anywhere. The composer of Halle was made of sterner stuff than the maestros of Italy, and probably began to be dimly conscious of the fact that his methods of work and his mission were essentially different from theirs.

In the autumn of 1709 he arrived in Hanover; and it was at the court of George of Brunswick (afterwards King of England) that he fell in with certain English noblemen, who invited him over to

see them. Although he was retained in the service of the Elector, at a salary of £300 a year, he obtained leave from that liberal prince to visit England; and after once more greeting his old master Zachau, and embracing his aged mother at Halle, he prepared to cross that untried and treacherous ocean on which poor Papa Haydn (who was only to be born twenty-three years afterwards) was destined to be so terribly tossed about, before he arrived here on a similar mission. Both found London mad for Italian music; but, whilst Haydn was able, through the advance of taste, to impose his own style in the symphony, Handel, less fortunate, had to fall in with the prevalent taste, and toil through many years of Italian opera-manufacturing before he could gain a hearing for his real creations in oratorio music.

What the public adored was opera "after the Italian model"—what they tolerated was "English singing between the acts by Doggett;" and Handel proved fully equal to the occasion. His first opera, *Rinaldo*, was brought out at a theatre which stood on the site of the present Haymarket. It proved an immense success. Nearly the whole of it was transposed for the harpsichord, and thrummed incessantly throughout the kingdom. The march was adopted by the band of the Life Guards, and died hard about the beginning of this century. It has since been revived in the gardens at the Crystal Palace. One air has at least survived, and by virtue of a certain undefined quality, inherent only in the highest works of art, seems to have defied with success the developments of modern music and the changes of taste. Like Stradella's divine "I miei Sospiri," like Glück's "Che farò," "Lascia che io pianga" is still listened to with profound interest and genuine emotion. Handel considered it one of his best airs. Walsh published the whole opera, and is said to have made a profit of £1,500 out of the sale. When Handel, who had been but shabbily paid, was told of this, he accosted the publisher in the following characteristic manner:—"My dear fellow, next time you shall compose the opera, and I will sell it." It is probable that Walsh, who published many of Handel's works in after years, took the hint.

But the Elector's Chapel-master could no longer be spared. He returned to Hanover in about six months, and settled down to compose all sorts of trifles for the court dilettanti. After the stir and excitement of London, that dull and pompous little court must have been terribly monotonous. Chapel-master Handel soon escaped back to England, and in 1712 he brought out an ode for Queen Anne's birthday. In 1713, to celebrate the peace of Utrecht, appeared two more works, that are still listened to with interest—

the famous "Te Deum" and "Jubilate." They were played then with a full band and organ, and not a little startled people who were unaccustomed to hear sacred music with such an accompaniment. The queen granted the composer a pension of £200 a year, and he seems to have immediately forgotten all about Elector George and his stupid court. But the day of reckoning was not far off, and the truant Chapel-master soon found himself in an awkward position. When good Queen Anne died, Elector George took possession of the empty throne as George I. of England, and Handel was forbidden to appear before his old patron, who was naturally very angry with him.

But the atmosphere of London was charged with Handel. People sang him in the streets, and he came floating in at the windows; the band played him in the Palace Yard; his name filled the opera-house, and was inscribed on numberless music books, programmes, and newspapers—nay, at last, the first violinist of the day insisted on having Handel into the king's ante-chamber to accompany some sonatas. It was obvious that terms must be made with so irrepressible a person. One day as the king went down the river in his state barge, a boat came after him, playing new and delightful "water music." But one man could have written such music, and the king knew it; he called for Handel, who could now have no temptation to run away, and sealed his pardon with a new pension of £200 a year. The day on which the king and Handel were reconciled was a day of feasting and joy. Houses on both sides of the river were brilliantly illuminated. As they came back, numbers of boats, filled with spectators, put off to meet the royal barge, and cannons continued to fire salutes until after nightfall.

The "water music" may be said to be steadily written down to the requirements of the age. The author seems to say to himself all the way through, "Let us be popular, or we are nothing." Within the stiff periods, which seemed so charming and so spontaneous to our forefathers, and which are so tedious to us, there is no doubt a considerable play of fancy. And had there been more originality, the music would, doubtless, have had a less immediate success.

Soon after, the opera of *Amadigi* made its appearance, and with it came that fatal symptom of dramatic decline—minute attention to stage fittings and gorgeous scenery; and we fear it must be confessed that these accessories, and not Handel's music, began to be relied on for success. Melancholy stress is laid on the "new clothes, and scenes, and novel variety of dancing;" and among other things, attention was called "particularly to the fountain," which, like the "pump" property belonging to another illustrious company of

players, was real, and had to be lugged in on all occasions. The music certainly attempted some novel effects, and in the accompaniment to one cavatina, the experiment first tried in the *Resurrection* in Rome, 1708, of making the violins all play in octaves, is repeated in London, 1715.

II.

Handel at this time moved in good society. Rival factions had not yet been organized to crush him. Lord Burlington was glad to have him at his mansion, which was then considered out of town. When the king twitted this nobleman good-humouredly for living out at what we may call the St. John's Wood of the period, his lordship replied that he liked his "house in the middle of the fields," for he was fond of solitude, and was placed where none could build near. The beadle of the Burlington arcade, much like a superannuated relic of his lordship's household, had not then come into existence. For years the noisy stream of life has flowed along Piccadilly, close past the portico of the once secluded "house in the fields."

It is strange now to think of the people with whom Handel must daily have rubbed elbows, without knowing that their names and his would in a century be famous. Yonder heavy, ragged-looking youth, standing at the corner of Regent Street, with a slight and rather more refined-looking companion, is the obscure Samuel Johnson, quite unknown to fame. He is walking with Richard Savage. As Signor Handel, "the composer of Italian music," passes by, Savage becomes excited, and nudges his friend, who takes only a languid interest in the foreigner. Johnson did not care for music; of many noises he considered it the least disagreeable.

Towards Charing Cross comes in shovel hat and cassock the renowned ecclesiastic Dean Swift. He has just nodded patronizingly to Bononcini in the Strand, and suddenly meets Handel, who cuts him dead. Nothing disconcerted, the dean moves on, muttering his famous epigram:—

"Some say that Signor Bononcini,
Compared to Handel, is a ninny;
Whilst others vow that to him Handel
Is hardly fit to hold a candle.
Strange that such difference should be
"Twixt tweedle dum and tweedle dee."

As Handel enters the "Turk's Head," at the corner of Regent Street, a noble coach and four drives up. It is the Duke of Chandos, who is inquiring for Mr. Pope. Presently a deformed little man, in an iron-grey suit, and with a face as keen as a razor, hobbles out, makes a low bow to Handel, who, helping him into the chariot,

gets in after him, and they drive off together to the duke's mansion at Edgware. There they may meet Mr. Addison, the poet Gay, and the witty Arbuthnot, who have been asked to luncheon. The last number of the *Spectator* lies on the table, and a brisk discussion soon arises between Pope and Addison, concerning the merits of the Italian opera, in which Pope would have the better if he only knew a little more about music, and could keep his temper. Arbuthnot sides with Pope in favour of Mr. Handel's operas; the duke endeavours to keep the peace. Handel probably uses his favourite exclamation: "Vat de tevil I care!" and consumes the *recherché* wines and rare viands with undiminished gusto.

The magnificent, or the grand duke, as he was called, had built himself a palace for £230,000. He had a private chapel, and appointed Handel organist in the room of the celebrated Dr. Pepusch, who retired with excellent grace before one manifestly his superior. On weekdays the duke and duchess entertained all the wits and grandees in town, and on Sundays the Edgware Road was thronged with the gay equipages of those who went to worship at the ducal chapel and hear Mr. Handel play on the organ.

The Edgware Road was a pleasant country drive, but parts of it were so solitary that highwaymen were much to be feared. The duke was himself attacked on one occasion; and those who could afford it, never travelled so far out of town without armed retainers. Cannons was the pride of the neighbourhood, and the duke—of whom Pope wrote,

"Thus gracious Chandos is beloved at sight"—

was as popular as he was wealthy. But his name is made still more illustrious by the Chandos anthems. They were all written at Cannons between 1718 and 1720, and number eleven overtures, thirty-two solos, six duets, a trio, quartett, and forty-seven choruses. Some of the above are real masterpieces; but, with the exception of "The waves of the sea rage horribly," and "Who is God but the Lord," few of them are ever heard now. And yet these anthems were most significant in the variety of the choruses and in the range of the accompaniments; and it was then, no doubt, that Handel was feeling his way towards the great and immortal sphere of his oratorio music. Indeed, his first oratorio of *Esther* was composed at Cannons, as also the English version of *Acis and Galatea*.

But what has become of the noble duke and his mansion? The little chapel, now Whitchurch, at Edgware, alone survives. Handel's organ is still there; and Mr. Julius Plummer, of honourable memory, fixed this plate upon it in 1750:—

HANDEL WAS ORGANIST OF THIS CHURCH
FROM MDCCXVIII. TO MDCCXXI.
AND COMPOSED THE ORATORIO OF ESTHER
ON THIS ORGAN.

The castle has been pulled down, and the plough has prepared the site for cultivation. In the prophetic words of Pope,—

“Another age has seen the golden ear
Embrown the slope and nod on the parterre;
Deep harvests bury all his pride has plann'd,
And laughing Ceres reassumes the land.”

But Handel had other associates, and we must now visit Thomas Britton, the coalheaver, of Camberwell Green. As he stands at the door of his stable, with his dustman's hat on, a coarse blouse, and a kerchief tied round his neck like a rope, who should drive up but the beautiful Duchess of Queensberry—not to order coals, forsooth, but to visit the dustman. Laying down his pipe, he receives her like one accustomed to mix with “the quality,” and pushing open a rickety wooden door, discloses a narrow staircase. This leads up to a long, low room, built over the stable. As the lovely duchess trips laughingly up the stairs after her strange host, sounds of a chamber organ and stringed instruments reach them, and as they enter the imperfectly-lighted apartment, they perceive that Mr. Handel is at the organ, helping the others to tune up.

There is Mr. Banister, the first Englishman who distinguished himself on the violin: he gave concerts of his own at Whitefriars, near the Temple back-gate, fitted up a room over the “George Tavern,” with seats and tables—charge, “one shilling admission and call for what you please;” but he was always glad to play gratis for his friend the coalheaver, in whose den he met with the last musical novelties, and the best society in town. Then there is Sir Roger l'Estrange, gentleman, in close converse with the excise officer, Henry Needler; and Robt, a justice of the peace, is telling the last bit of scandal about Madame Cuzzoni to John Hughes, who wrote the “Siege of Damascus,” a poem which his friends considered equal to Dryden, and superior to Mr. Pope. And there is Mr. Woolaston, the painter, who, when Britton has sat down with his viol de gamba, and got to work on a trio of Hase or a saraband by Galuppi, will take out his pencil and make a rough sketch of him, to be afterwards worked into one of his famous pictures (for he painted two portraits of his singular friend).

Amongst other friends that are crowding into the long room to listen to a particularly favourite trio of Corelli's, or to hear Mr. Handel play his new piece called the “Harmonious Blacksmith,”—that favourite *morceau* from the “Suites de pièces pour

le Clavecin," which, like Stephen Heller's "Nuits Blanches," or "Wanderstunden," was soon reprinted in France, Switzerland, Holland, and Germany,—amongst other distinguished guests, we notice Henry Symonds, Abiel Wichello, and Obadiah Shuttleworth. The little form of Pope is probably not far from the fair Queensberry or her Grace of Chandos; and later in the evening, the celebrated Dr. Pepusch will look in with that wag Colley Cibber, whose jokes he will in vain endeavour to prevent from exploding in the middle of some favourite gavotte by Bononcini.

But the gentleman with a full, good-natured face, the carefully-powdered wig, the maroon-coloured coat, who enters on tiptoe, is evidently of importance in the present circle. Britton motions him to a seat, and Handel makes room for him close to the organ. It is Mr. Charles Jennens, the amateur poet, who wrote many of Handel's librettos for him, and arranged the words for the *Messiah*. He lived in Great Ormond Street, in such magnificence that the neighbours called him "Soliman the Magnificent." Later in life he had a controversy with Samuel Johnson about Shakspeare, but the world which has since learnt to love the dear doctor, has forgotten the magnate of Great Ormond Street; and even at that time it was commonly allowed that the dictionary-maker had the best of the argument.

It is hard to leave that goodly company of wits, poets, musicians, and philosophers, when we have once drawn aside the curtain and taken a peep at their faces. We follow them about from one great dingy house to another—some of their houses are still standing. They have deep wainscoted walls and narrow windows and back-yards, with perhaps a superannuated fig-tree, and a classic fountain dripping over some Cupid with a large sham cockle-shell. All is dreary enough and changed,—the place is probably a hospital or an attorney's chambers now,—but the old tenants come back to us in imagination as we stand at the door or sit down in the dining-room. Whilst the vision lasts we long to have more details; but scene after scene rises only to fade out too rapidly from the mind's eye. We have hardly time to master the trains and puffs, the frills and the patches of the ladies; to note the set of the nodding wigs, the glitter of colour in plush and satin, the clinking swords of the cavaliers, the rumble of the heavy coaches and four, the shouts of the link-boys and torch-bearers, the swearing of the tall footmen who wait outside in the ill-lighted streets with those snug sedan-chairs: they are there, but only, like Mr. Pepper's ghosts, behind glass; the voices sound hollow and distant, the magic light is flashed upon them for a moment, presently it fades out, and they are gone.

In 1720, Handel, being at the time the organist at Cannons, was engaged by a society of noblemen, including his Grace of Chandos, to compose operas for the Royal Academy of Music at the Haymarket, and the *Postboy* soon afterwards announces "the most celebrated opera *Radamistus*, by Mr. Handell." Of this opera, "Ombra Cara," which Handel considered one of the finest airs he had ever written, may still be occasionally heard. The work was fairly successful, and was followed, in 1721, by *Muzio Scavola*, which we shall return to presently.

In 1721 *Floridante* also appeared. It was this opera which called forth the remark from Dr. Burney, "I am convinced that his slow airs are as much superior to those of his contemporaries as the others are in spirit and science." *Otto*, which appeared in 1723, was generally considered the flower of his dramatic works. Like Mozart's *Don Juan*, Weber's *Freischütz*, Rossini's *Tell*, Meyerbeer's *Prophète*, and Gounod's *Faust*, it was a work composed of one long string of gems, and each air became in its turn a favourite throughout the land. Pepusch, who could never quite forget that he had been the best organist in England before the arrival of Handel, remarked of "Affani del pensier," "That great bear was certainly inspired when he wrote that song." The celebrated Madame Cuzzoni came out in it. On the second night the tickets rose to four guineas each, and the Cuzzoni was paid £2,000 for the season.

In the same year *Flavio* and *Giulio Cesare* were produced. The first is celebrated for the "Doni Pace" (the first scenic quintett ever composed). The second is for ever associated with poor George III. It was revived in 1787 in order to attract him to the theatre to hear some of Handel's music, of which he was passionately fond. "Da Tempesta" and "Alma del gran Pompeo" are still much esteemed by connoisseurs. In 1725 *Rodelinda* was received with enthusiasm; the public going so far as to adopt in society the costumes worn by the favourite prima donna.

Between 1726 and 1727 appeared *Scipio*, *Siroe*, and *Ptolemy*, of which little can now be said. The principal airs were popular at the time, and published in the favourite form of harpsichord pieces, in which some of them are still extant; and many more have been worked up by subsequent composers until their phrases have passed into modern music, and now live over again unrecognised in the works of many a contemporary composer, and, perhaps, suspected least of all by the composer himself. We remember our astonishment at discovering M. Jullien's once celebrated "Bridal Waltz" in a trio of Corelli; it is notorious that "Where the Bee Sucks," by Dr. Arne, is taken from a movement in *Rinaldo*; and we doubt not that a further study of the old masters would bring to

light similar cases. Thus the soil of music is ever growing rich with the dead leaves of the past, and what appears to us the new life in forest and glade is, after all, but the old life under a new form.

But a change was at hand. In 1720 this Royal Academy of noblemen had subscribed £50,000 to get up the Italian opera, and they had engaged Mr. Handel to compose. The first operas, as we have seen, made furor; the singers were the finest in the world, the audience of the very grandest description. Opera after opera rolled from Mr. Handel's facile pen. But as time went on sinister rumours got afloat. It was said the funds were not coming in. It is quite certain they were going out. In two years the committee of management had spent £15,000; the wits and critics were beginning to abuse Mr. Handel, and laugh at his supporters. The appeals for money became urgent. The libretto to *Ptolemy* even announces that they are "in the last extremity." Some of his warm supporters began to cool; either they could not or would not pay. Threats at last caused an open breach. Many forsook the opera-house; the rest got up a ball to pay the expenses, and invitations were issued to improper characters. The proceedings were declared by legal authority to be "an offence to his Majesty's virtuous subjects;" the opera itself "a nursery of lewdness, extravagance, and immorality." It ended by the whole thing being put a stop to by order of the king; and poor Handel, who had nothing to do with the ball, and never got the money, found himself defiled without having touched the pitch. To make matters worse, an opposition house started up. The *Beggars' Opera*, with music by Dr. Pepusch, who stole some of it from Handel, was brought out at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, and the fickle public, suffering under a surfeit of *Julius Cæsar*, *Cyrus*, and all the *Ptolemys*, went off in crowds to enjoy a little low life with the burglar Macheath, and Polly. Rich was the name of the manager, and Gay that of the poet; and the people who nightly greeted the smiling manager and called loudly for the needy poet, remarked that the *Beggars' Opera* had made Gay rich and Rich gay.

Handel, who either could not or would not see that a change had taken place in the public taste, gathered up the remnant of his fortune, and making arrangements with Heidegger, proprietor of the Haymarket, prepared to make another serious attack on the musical world in the character of an operatic composer. He made up his various quarrels with the singers and managers, got together his scattered orchestra, and finally went off in person to Italy for reinforcements. His energy was undiminished; he was in his finest musical vein, and prepared to pour forth opera after opera upon a public whose ears and eyes seemed closed.

In 1729 *Lothario* was produced. *Parthenope* followed in 1731. Both fell flat. The wonderful voice of Senesino carried *Porus* through fifteen representations in 1731, then *Rinaldo* was revived with "new cloathes," but the public had heard the music and did not care for the "cloathes;" and when *Ætius* appeared in the following year, they grumbled at the old clothes, and did not care for the new music. A faint flicker of interest was shown in *Sosarme*, produced in the same year, but the audience steadily dropped off; and *Orlando* (1733), although the scenery was admitted to be "extraordinarily fine and magnificent," died without a struggle in an empty house.

III.

True originality has usually the same battle to fight with conventional tastes, stupidity, or ignorance. The Duke of Wellington, in the Peninsula, contending for his own measures with a distant Government; Nelson disobeying orders at Copenhagen; Jenner trying to persuade people to be vaccinated; or the Liberal politicians of our own age labouring for years to pass Liberal measures; are only instances in other spheres of action of what is constantly going on in the world of Art.

It would be interesting to inquire in such cases how far circumstances control men and their measures, and how far men and their measures were influenced by circumstances. In some cases we seem to have very nearly a balance of power. Handel's operatic career is a case in point. It would be curious to study how far the very music and instrumentation were dictated to him at times by the tyranny, necessity, or solicitation of circumstance. One of the airs allotted to Polifemo was certainly written for an exceptional voice, for it contains a range of two octaves and five notes. *Semiramis*, *Caius Fabricius*, and *Arbaces*, played in 1734, are simply *pasticcio* operas, composed of all sorts of airs, in which each singer has the opportunity of singing his own *bravura* songs. Some of them are Italian, others German, and these fragmentary songs are all strung together by a recitative, which is the only new part of the opera. It would not be difficult to find curious hints and suggestions in the writings of other composers which point to a similar pressure or peculiarity of circumstance. The soprano part of Mozart's *Flauto Magico*, especially the great aria with the staccato passages, was written for a special voice.

The only reason why Schubert did not write more symphonies was the difficulty of getting them played. It has been remarked in the notices in the Crystal Palace Saturday programmes that Beethoven's relations with the instruments of his orchestras, and especially with the horn, are often suggestive. In the B flat symphony

there is only one flute instead of two. Of Mozart's G minor symphony there are two versions, one with clarionets and one without. It is well known that the opening to *William Tell* overture was written for a celebrated violoncello at Vienna, whilst there can be little doubt that Handel wrote many of his finest airs for particular voices.

But it is refreshing to learn that the voices had occasionally to bend to the genius of the composer or the imperious will of the man. When Carestini, the celebrated *evirato*, sent back the air, "Verdi Prati," Handel was furious, and rushing into the trembling Italian's house, shook the music in his face with, "You tog! don't I know better as yourself vat you shall sing? If you will not sing all de song vat I give you, I will not pay you ein stiver!" Carestini afterwards found that Handel was right. "Verdi Prati" was one of his *grands succès*. When, in a similar spirit of ill-timed revolt, the famous Cuzzoni declined to sing "Falsa Immagine" at the rehearsal, Handel, who had been waxing hot at sundry signs of insubordination, exploded at last. He flew at the wretched woman, and seizing her arm, shook her like a rat. "Ah! I always knew you were a fery tevil," he cried; "and I shall now let you know that I am Beelzebub, de prince of de tevils!" and dragging her to the open window, was just on the point of pitching her into the street, when, in every sense of the word, she recanted. Although Handel sometimes gained his point in this way, yet his violence occasionally laid him open to the ridicule and contempt of small minds.

Persons have been known to appreciate that indescribable mixture of sound produced by the preparatory tuning of an orchestra with the organ, even more than the performance itself. Handel was not of this opinion. After he was once at his desk, woe betide the belated fiddle that scraped a fifth, or the inexperienced flute that attempted the least "tootle." Some of us may have witnessed the despair of a professional conductor at the endless and insatiable tuning of an amateur orchestra. Others may have watched the calm distraction of an accompanist at having to play through "Vagu Luna" to some one not more than half a semitone flat. Others may have seen the expression on the master's face when in some pause the drum comes in with a confident, but perfectly uncalled-for, "rataplan;" but these incidents are trivial compared with the scene which it is now our painful duty to describe.

It was a grand night at the Opera. The Prince of Wales had arrived in good time, remembering how Handel had been annoyed sometimes at his coming in late. The instruments, supposed to be in perfect tune, were lying ready, and the performers entered. Alas! a wag had crept in before them, and put every one of the stringed instruments out of tune. Handel enters; and now all the bows are

raised together, and at the given beat they all start off *con spirito*. The effect must have been as if every one of the performers had been musically tumbling down-stairs. The unhappy maestro rushes wildly from his place, kicks to pieces the first double bass that opposes him, and seizing a kettledrum, throws it violently at the leader of the band. The effort sends his full-bottomed wig flying, but he does not heed it; and, rushing bareheaded to the footlights, he stands for a few moments amid the roars of the house, snorting with rage, and choked with passion.

The Prince, although highly amused, soon thought this kind of entertainment had lasted long enough, and, going down in person, he beseeches Handel to be calm, and with much difficulty prevails on him to resume his wig and his opera.

Like Burleigh's nod, Handel's wig seems to have been a sure guide to Handel's temper. "When things went well at the oratorio," writes Burney, "it had a certain nod or vibration which manifested his pleasure and satisfaction. Without it, nice observers were certain that he was out of humour." The ominous sign always appeared if, when Handel was conducting the Prince of Wales's concerts, any of the ladies-in-waiting talked instead of listening. "Hush! hush!" the Princess would say; "don't you see Handel is in a passion?"

But it must be added that Handel, who knew his own hastiness, was often the first to apologize; and on one occasion, after roundly scolding Burney, then a mere lad, for what turned out to be an error of Smith, the copyist, he instantly made the *amende honorable*. "I peg your pardon; I am a very odd tog; Meister Schmidt is to plame."

Handel paid his singers enormous prices. Senesino and Carestini, had each £1,200 for the season; and on one occasion, as we have seen, the Cuzzoni got £2,000. Towards the close of what may be called his operatic period, most of the singers, and almost all the nobles, forsook Handel, and supported the greatest singer of the age, Farinelli, at the rival house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. But before we proceed further, we may give the reader a glance at some of the composers with whom Handel came into immediate contact, and with whose genius, effrontery, or cabals, he was forced to contend.

IV.

Of Glück we have spoken fully in a previous paper.* He crossed Handel's path late, and was but slightly connected with him.

Of Domenico Scarlatti, who died 1757, we shall not say much more here. He was the real creator of the advanced harpsichord school of the period, as much as Mendelssohn was of the advanced pianoforte school of the present day. But his range, like that of Chopin, was limited, and he wrote little besides harpsichord music. Those who care to examine some of his allegros in $\frac{1}{2}$ time

* See vol. vii. p. 535.

will be surprised to find the prototypes of many of the *tarantelles* written in such profusion for the modern pianoforte. His father, the celebrated Alessandro Scarlatti, was the greater of the two. He wrote 115 operas, besides an immense mass of sacred music.

Of all Handel's rivals Bononcini was certainly the most formidable. He came to England about 1720, with Attilio, a composer of merit. When something or other in the tone and spirit of Handel's music (not then recognised as the high peculiar tone of the German school) made people feel that he was quite different from the beloved Italians, factions began to form themselves, and the Handelists, backed by the Prince of Wales, ranged themselves against the Bononcinists, supported by the Duke of Marlborough and most of the nobility.

A whole chorus of popular writers rehearsed the sublime merits of the Italian school, whilst Pope, Arbuthnot, and a few others, stood by Handel.

Exactly the same drama repeated itself with a different *mise en scène*, and other actors, about thirty years later. Paris was then the seat of war: Glück was the German hero, supported by Marie Antoinette; Piccini fought for Italy, under the meretricious banners of the Du Barry; l'Abbé Arnault plied his dignified pen for Glück, whilst Marmontel answered with daring and unscrupulous sarcasm for Piccini. Even before the open breach the parallel holds good—for as Glück and Piccini were each engaged to compose an opera (*Iphigenia*) on the same subject, so Bononcini, Attilio, and Handel were associated together in the composition of *Muzio Scavola*; and, moreover, as Glück was clearly victorious, so was Handel. Here, however, the parallel ceases. Glück left Paris in possession of the Italian opera; Bononcini, to our honour be it said, left London in possession of German oratorio.

Between two giants like Handel and Bononcini, poor Attilio seems to have been crushed to pieces. Originally he had been a Dominican monk. His temperament was gentle; he loved music, and wrote compositions much admired in his own country; but he should never have met either the Achilles or Hector of his day. His feeble light, that would have illumined a smaller sphere with a mild and gentle lustre, paled at once before the mighty sun of Handel, and the continuous blaze of Bononcini's fireworks. His Act of *Muzio Scavola* (1721) was voted the worst—a decision in which he fully acquiesced. In 1730 it was not worth while to compose any more; his place was filled; the public would hardly listen to his performances on the viol de gamba—an instrument which he himself had introduced into England in 1716. A humble-minded and inoffensive man, as graceful as a woman, and nearly as timid, he lapsed into silence and poverty, and died neglected, but not before he had been forgotten.

The career in England of the brilliant, but arrogant Bononcini, came to a fitting end in 1733. A certain madrigal of his was discovered to be note for note the composition of a Signor Lotti in Italy. Lotti was communicated with by the Royal Academy of Music. The matter was made public, and Bononcini, not caring to plead guilty, left the country, never to return, amidst the jubulations of the Handelists. The defeated maestro travelled through Europe, still pouring out from his astonishingly facile brain things new and old, and at last fell into the hands of an impostor, who professed to have discovered the philosopher's stone. He died soon afterwards in obscurity and solitude, having outlived his popularity, and lost his character.

Not the least of Handel's rivals was Porpora, or as Handel used to call him, "old Borbora." Without the romantic fire of Bononcini, the grace of Attilio, or the originality of Handel, he represented the high and dry Italian school. He was a great singing-master, a learned contrapuntist, famous throughout Italy. He was invited over in 1733 by the Italian faction in London, under the patronage of Marlborough and Lord Cooper. His opera of *Ariadne* was brought out at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and was a great success. But when later on he had the audacity to oppose to Handel's oratorios his own *David*, his failure was conspicuous, and he was candid enough to admit his great rival's superiority in sacred music. He thought no one's operas equal to his own. He wrote fifty of them; and had the distinguished honour when an old man of teaching young Haydn, who in return cleaned his boots and powdered his wig for him.

Amongst other Italians who were as thorns in Handel's side, we may mention Hasse, a man of real genius, whose chamber music is still esteemed by amateurs. Arrigoni came over with Porpora, and helped to supply the Italian programmes at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.

We must not forget to mention one or two other celebrities—Dr. Pepusch, the Prussian, and Dr. Greene, the Englishman. Pepusch held the first place in England before the arrival of Handel, and made a distinct sphere for himself even when Handel and the Italian composers were in their glory. His *Beggars' Opera* killed everything at the time, and still keeps possession of the stage. Pepusch may be said to have understood the merits of the English ballad. They are not considerable; but whenever the public taste gets jaded with Italian syrup or German solids, English ballads have ever been found useful as a kind of fillip. Pepusch was a learned, but not a very original composer, and his skill in arranging and adapting, especially the popular songs of the day, was greater than his skill in creating. He had the sense to bow before Handel, and the grace to subscribe to his works.

Dr. Boyce, Dr. Arne, and Dr. Greene were all composers of the

day: no lover of cathedral music is ignorant of their names; and many of Arne's and Boyce's anthems have become regular items in the week's services. Boyce was incomparably the greatest, Arne ranks second, and the name of Greene is usually more dreaded than loved by the frequenters of choral services. His relations with Handel and Bononcini are hardly creditable to him. He seems to have flattered each in turn. He upheld Bononcini in the great madrigal controversy, and appears to have wearied Handel by his repeated visits. The great Saxon easily saw through the flatteries of a man who was in reality an ambitious rival, and joked about him, not always in the best taste. When he was told that Greene was giving concerts at the "Devil Tavern," near Temple Bar, "Ah!" he exclaimed, "mein poor friend Tector Greene—so he is gone to de Tevil!"

On one occasion, we are told that Greene had left a new solo anthem of his with Handel, who good-naturedly asked him to breakfast the next morning. The great German was most affable, and discoursed on every possible subject, but all Greene's attempts to lead the conversation round to the anthem proved futile. At last, growing desperate, he interrupted his host's flowing talk with,—

"But my anthem, sir—how do you like my anthem?"

"Oh, your anthem? Vell, sir, I did tink it wanted air!"

"Wanted air, sir?"

"Yes, sare—air—so I did hang it out of de vindow!"

It must be noticed how entirely English music was swamped by German and Italian masters. It is an unwelcome fact to many, but it must not be overlooked. Much offence has been taken at the phrase, "The English are not a musical people." That phrase interpreted to mean "the English do not care for music," or "they cannot be got to like good music," or "they do not make good executive artists," is certainly untrue, and we should never use it in any of the above senses; but if a musical nation means a nation with a musical tradition and school of its own—a nation not only in possession of old popular melodies, whose origin it is always difficult and sometimes impossible to trace, but also possessing a development of the musical art distinct in character from that of all other nations, and subject to the inspiration of national genius—then we fear that England can scarcely yet be said to have established her claim to be called a musical nation. It is hardly possible not to see that the facts of history bear out the assertion. As the religion of England was Roman up to the time of Henry VIII., music in England that came along with Rome's ecclesiastical system drew its chief inspiration from Italy. In so far as there was a popular movement running side by side with the ecclesiastical, it is still more

easy to trace that popular movement to the *trouveres* and *troubadours* of Provence, who wandered all over Europe, and whose very names betray their foreign origin. If, however, we admit that Tallis and Farrant and Byrd founded an English school, and that Morley, Ward, and Weelkes, in their madrigals (observe, the very word *madrigal* is an Italian one), and Orlando Gibbons, continued the good work—it remains to be explained why Humphrey deliberately chose the French school in the reign of Charles II.—a school of music which was enthusiastically received in England—and why Purcell [died 1695], original, prolific, and above all eclectic, had no followers at all. The fact is, the so-called English school had not life enough to survive the paralysis of the civil wars, nor memory enough to continue its own tradition; and France and Italy alternately or jointly contended for the honour of carrying off the musical prizes in England, until Germany, like a very David, arose and slew both the lion and the bear.

We do not observe, then, from looking back, that England has had a great musical past; what we do see is a constant taking root, and springing up, and withering, a certain appetite succeeded by nausea and repose. With the growing passion for good, in other words, for wholesome food, this state of things may perhaps cease. Once, we know, she was distinguished among the nations for her commercial apathy. That apathy has passed away. There was a time before even Germany had developed her musical genius. Italy and France were long the leading composers of the world. That time has passed away, and England herself may even now be about to rise and claim a position among musical nations. Meanwhile, let us be just to the patrons of music in England. It is the fashion to say that native talent was crushed by the Hanoverian Georges, who showed favour only to German musicians. But this is not the case. On the contrary, native talent was for long protected in England. Italian music was not preferred to English until the two met in a fair fight, and Italy won. Nor was Germany installed supreme until she had beaten Italian opera out of the field with German oratorio.

For many years great efforts were made to encourage English talent. As late as George II.'s reign only an Englishman could hold the place of king's organist. Almost every English composer of any note was a Doctor of Music, and installed in some place of honour and emolument. The cathedral choirs were superintended by Englishmen; nor was there any effort made to suppress the ballads they wrote, or to keep their operas off the stage. The *Beggars' Opera* was full of English songs, and Pepusch, who, although a Prussian, was a naturalized English subject, collected and arranged large quantities of them. But England originated nothing, or next to nothing.

Pistochi invented the singing school; the Straduarii and their followers lay at the foundation of modern instrumental music. It is to Italy again we have to turn for the opera: whilst Handel gave us the highest form of the oratorio, Gossec invented and Haydn re-created symphony.

V.

But to return to Handel. We left him playing *Orlando* to empty houses in 1733. But an event had already occurred which was destined ultimately to turn the tide in his favour, and which struck the key-note of his immortality. We know that the MS. of Walter Scott's "*Waverley*" was laid aside for many years; so was the MS. of Handel's first oratorio, *Esther*. It was composed as early as 1720 for the Duke of Chandos at Cannons. Eleven years afterwards (1731) Bernard Gates, Royal Chapel-master of St. James's, got it up in private with his choir. Its fame soon spread, and both the Philharmonic Society and the Academy of Music produced it on a larger scale under the direction of Gates. Handel seems to have thoroughly revised it himself, and in 1732 we read that "*Hester*, an English oratorio, was performed six times, and very full."

To us it is tolerably clear that there was something in the form as well as in the subjects of oratorio music especially appropriate to the genius of Handel; and yet such were the force of habit and the tyranny of fashion, that it was not until 1741—twenty-one years after the composition of *Esther*—that Handel definitely, upon repeated failures, abandoned the composition of Italian operas.

Without seeing these works it may be difficult to decide why they failed. One thing is certain, that the better the music the less did it suit the operatic tastes of the age. The most popular parts were the most puerile. Compare the silly, but celebrated, march in *Rinaldo* (1711) with the splendid, but little known, march in *Scipio* (1726). Perhaps the singers did not follow the development of his genius, and got tired of him as he marched on with colossal strides towards the music of the future. We know that Cuzzoni and Carestini both refused to sing some of his finest airs. Perhaps the public grew tired of the singers. At all events, Farinelli, the greatest of them, left England in 1737 rather than sing to an audience of five-and-thirty pounds. But the best reason is indicated by Colley Cibber, and explains why Italian opera could never satisfy the requirements of the great German composer, or be anything more than a fashion with the English people:—"The truth is, that this kind of entertainment is entirely sensual."

As Handel's instincts ripened his intellect also developed. Perhaps he may have felt that dramatic action and musical emotion were two

things that ought not to be mixed up together by making actors sing; and assuredly in the cantata and oratorio he attained a more satisfactory and philosophical form by presenting a drama to the mind, clothed with musical emotion, but not confounded with dramatic action. Incidents can be acted, and incidents can be described in song; but incidents cannot be sung except in the way of description, simply because music does not express *acts*, but the emotions which underlie action. Probably Handel did not explain his reasons for abandoning Italian opera thus; but the fact that his operas are forgotten, whilst *Acis and Galatea* and the *Messiah* remain, goes to show that in these last he had hit upon a form sufficiently philosophical to outlive all the operas of the day, and one which they did not possess.

From 1732 to 1740 he presents the familiar spectacle of a man of genius struggling with the tendencies of his age—half sailing, half drifting, but gaining strength with every passage of conflict. In those twelve memorable years he composed sixteen operas and five oratorios. After 1740 he composed no operas, and from 1741 to 1751 he composed eleven oratorios, beginning with the *Messiah* and ending with *Jephtha*. The success of the long-neglected *Esther* induced Handel to compose *Deborah* in 1733, and the success of *Deborah* awoke all the dogs that had gone to sleep during the disfavour of his operas and the decline of his popularity.

"The rise and progress of Mr. Handel," writes one paper, "are too well known for me to relate. Let it suffice to say that he has grown so insolent upon the sudden and undeserved increase of both, that he thinks that nothing ought to oppose his imperious and extravagant will." We are then treated to a description of "the thing called an oratorio," and informed that "the fairest breasts were fired with indignation against this new imposition."

The Italian faction opposed him with close and serried ranks, and all the malcontents, from whatever cause, deserted from Handel's camp and joined Bononcini. It does not appear that opposition improved a temperament naturally hot, and there can be little doubt that as Handel went on in life he lost friends and made enemies. He quarrelled with the celebrated Senesino, who, of course, joined his rival; and many of the nobles who were accustomed to treat musicians like servants, and even to cane them, were so taken aback at the great German's haughty and overbearing demeanour, that they decided in favour of the astute and servile Italian, who lived in Lady Godolphin's house in the enjoyment of a large pension.

No slander was spared. Handel was a swindler, he was a false friend, a glutton, a drunkard, a raving idiot, a profane fellow, to whom not even Holy Writ was sacred. The very idea of setting *Deborah* to music scandalized deeply the pietists, who applauded

loudly the loose operas of Bononcini and the licentious canzonets of Arrigoni.

Rolli satirized him, and Goupy caricatured him; his person was voted ridiculous, and his innovations monstrous. People complained of the loud effects produced by his new brass instruments, his heavy choruses, and his numberless violins. We are accustomed to think of Handel's orchestra as poor; but, in fact, with the exception of the clarionet, cornet-à-piston, and ophicleide, it comprised all the instruments now used, and several extinct ones besides—*i.e.*, *violetta marina*, Theorbo lute, &c. He also wrote for serpents, although few could then play them; and we are told of a bassoon sixteen feet high, which only one man could play; this was called a grand double bassoon, and was made by Mr. Stanesby, the Distin of the period.

Under these circumstances we are not surprised to find Bold Briareus with a Hundred Hands abused and laughed at. Fielding, in "Tom Jones," must have a fling at him. "It was Mr. Western's custom every afternoon, as soon as he was drunk, to hear his daughter play on the harpsichord; for he was a great lover of music, and, perhaps, had he lived in town, might have passed for a connoisseur, for he always excepted against the finest compositions of Mr. Handel." Even his friends complained that he "tore their ears to pieces," and one writes: "I expected his house to be blown down with his artificial wind; at another time the sea overflowed its banks and swallowed us up. But, beyond everything, his thunder was most intolerable; I shall never get the horrid rumbling out of my head."

So much had it become the fashion to criticize his effects, that some years later Mr. Sheridan makes one of his characters let off a pistol simply to shock the audience, and makes him say in a stage whisper to the gallery, "This hint, gentlemen, I took from Handel."

In 1733, *Esther* and *Deborah*, together with *Floridante* (1723) and *Orlando* (1732), were the chief attractions at the Haymarket. On July 5th of that year we find "one Handell, a foreigner (who, they say, was born at Hanover), was desired to come to Oxford to perform in music." The same writer goes on to say "that Handel, with his lowsy crew, a great number of foreign fiddlers, had a performance for his own benefit in the theatre. N.B.—His book (not worth 1*d.*) he sells for 1*s.*" The grave Dons seemed rather perplexed at the whole performance. "This," says one, "is an innovation," but every one paid their 5*s.*, and went to "try how a little fiddling would sit upon them;" and so great was the crush to get in that, "notwithstanding the barbarous and inhuman combination of such a parcel of unconscionable scamps, he disposed of most of his tickets."

Before "Handel and his lowsy crew" left Oxford, the victory was won. *Athalie* was received "with vast applause by an audience of 3,700 persons." Some of his university admirers, who appear to have thought then as now that any university honour was of priceless value, urged Handel to accept the degree of Doctor of Music, for which he would, of course, have to pay a small fee. We can understand the good Dons opening their eyes at his characteristic reply: "Vat de tevil I trow my money away for dat vich de blockhead vish? I no vant!"

When Handel opened the Haymarket in the autumn of the same year (1733), he did so as manager on his own account. His recent successes seem to have inspired him with confidence, and he was slow to believe that the public had done with his Italian operas. He made great efforts to write in a popular style. The *Ariadne* (1733) was avowedly written to outbid the Italian composers, and regain the favour of the faithless nobles. He plied them alternately with quality and quantity, and in the following year produced several patchwork operas, into which many favourite Italian airs were introduced to please either the singers or the public. Then comes an allegorical poem in *Festa* (1734). After which we have a relapse into instrumental music, *e.g.*, the Hautboy concertos (1734) which are more like symphonies than concertos; and, above all, the famous "*six fugues or voluntaries*," 1735—a species of composition in which Handel has had but one superior, *viz.*, Sebastian Bach. Then we have a ballet written for a French danseuse newly arrived. Gods in the clouds and out of the clouds were to appear—Jupiter with plenty of thunder, and actually "two Cupids." What could be more attractive? The Cupids and the danseuse had to be lugged into the *Ariodante* (1735); after which, in the same year, was composed and produced *Alcina*, which contained thirty-two airs, one duet, and no less than four little choruses. Then comes, as it were, a sudden revulsion of feeling. Opera is once more abandoned, and *Athalie*, with parts of *Esther* and *Deborah*, is advertised.

But notwithstanding all his efforts, the Italian opposition at Lincoln's Inn Theatre grew stronger every day. Almost all the good singers had joined Porpora, Arrigoni, and Bononcini. Farinelli, whom the fashionable world raved about; Cuzzoni, whose very dresses were copied by the court ladies; Senesino, whose departure for Italy cast a gloom over the London season; Montagnana, considered by some the most finished artist that Italy had ever produced—all sung at the Opposition House against Bold Briareus, in order to crush him entirely. The nobles sent for the celebrated Hasse; but the great man, with becoming modesty, exclaimed, "Oh! then Handel is dead?" and on being told he was yet alive, refused indig-

nantly to go over in opposition to one so much his superior. It is strange to notice how, partly by the progress of his genius, and partly by the force of circumstances, Handel was being drifted out of Italian opera at the very moment when he tried to tighten his grasp on it.

The free introduction of choral and instrumental music into opera offended the singers and retarded the action of the drama in the eyes of the audience. Yet it was by these unpopular characteristics that the public mind was being trained to understand a species of composition which, from the first, seems to have proved attractive, under the form of the cantata and the oratorio.

It was in 1736 that Carestini, the only great Italian singer who had stood by Handel, left for Italy, and with his departure all further operas at the Haymarket became impossible. It was in that year also that Handel, once more left to follow the bent of his own genius, revived *Acis* and *Esther*, and composed the music to *Alexander's Feast*. However, in April, 1736, the Italian singer Conti was got over, and another Italian opera was tried—*Atalanta*.

The piece was in honour of the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his marriage with a princess of Saxe-Gotha; and was followed, in the same month, by a light wedding anthem, written down to their Royal Highnesses' taste. But the flicker of popularity which attended these two works came too late to restore the fortunes of a lost game, and although Handel stood out stoutly to the last, he must have been aware of the impending ruin. In 1737 *Arminius* appeared. Burney says, 'It had few captivating airs.' At any rate, it failed. *Justin* (1738) followed, and although it is acknowledged to be one of Handel's most agreeable compositions, it had but five representations. The master was getting worn and depressed with exertion, disappointment, and failure. The public seemed tired of everything. The Italian singers had not only deserted the Haymarket, but were beginning to leave the country.

In eight years Handel had dissipated a fortune of £10,000 on Italian opera, and on the fall of *Berenice* he was forced to suspend payment, and closed the theatre.

The rival house lasted but a few months longer. Its pride and success had been, after all, the pride of party spirit and the vamped-up success of a clique; and when Handel gave in, the game seemed hardly worth the candle—the candle having cost the Duchess of Marlborough and her friends as nearly as possible £12,000.

H. R. HAWES.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE WRITINGS OF JOHN HUSS,
IN THE CZESKISH OR BOHEMIAN LANGUAGE,

(INCLUDING HIS LETTERS WRITTEN FROM CONSTANCE), MOST OF THEM NOW PRINTED FOR
THE FIRST TIME.

*Mistra Jana Husi sebrané spisy České z nejstarších známých
pramenu vydání upravil KAREL JAROMÍR ERBEN. V Praze:
díl. i., 1865; díl. ii., 1866; díl. iii., 1868. Nákladem Bedřicha
Těmpešského.*

*The Collected Bohemian Writings of Magister John Huss, corrected
for publication from the earliest known sources by KAREL
JAROMÍR ERBEN. Prague: vol. i., 1865; vol. ii., 1866; vol. iii.,
1868. Published by Frederic Tempsky.*

THE historian Palacký, in the preface to the concluding portion
of his great "History of Bohemia," states the case of his native
country—a case, perhaps, unparalleled in the history of the world—in
the following remarkable words:—

"The old Bohemians, a people by no means considerable in number,
had by themselves, and perhaps prematurely, ventured on a great under-
taking—the emancipation of the human intellect from authority, which was
supreme in the middle ages, claiming for themselves the right of free
inquiry and persuasion in matters of belief and religion. Through this they
were entangled in two great and momentous wars, the like of which the
world had never seen before—wars for the interests and possessions of the
intellect. In the first, the so-called Hussite war, they succeeded almost
miraculously in gaining the victory over the whole remainder of Christen-
dom, and in wresting from it a recognition of the justification of a per-
suasion different from its own; but the Bohemian name was on this account
exposed to the hatred and contempt of all other nations. The second, the

Thirty Years' war, certainly brought them allies; they were, however, so completely conquered and overthrown, that, under the unheard-of blows and sufferings that smote them, three-quarters of the nation perished, and the remnant found mercy only under condition of not only renouncing, but also condemning, the efforts of their ancestors. From that time forth the notion became dominant, that the development of Bohemia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been an aberration to be regretted and to be ashamed of. An universal and merciless reaction annihilated almost all the monuments of the intellect of that epoch; all writings of that time were looked upon as a dangerous poison, and were, therefore, for more than a century everywhere diligently sought for, in order to be burned; and that which, accidentally, did not fall a victim to fanaticism often perished through the ignorance and dull indifference of posterity. Yes, during the dominance of the notion that it was better that those events of yore should be buried in the sea of oblivion, than that the deep intellectual repose of later generations should be disturbed by them, even search and inquiry after those monuments could not but bring men under the imputation of uneasiness of spirit and disloyalty."

No! it was not safe for either Papal Rome or despotic Vienna that the history and literature of Bohemia should be known to and studied by the descendants of that remnant, which has now increased again to the proportions of the times preceding the destruction of the life and liberties of the nation. But the holy fathers, to whom the work of search and destruction, as well as that of conversion, was committed, appear to have been less successful with manuscripts than with printed books, and indeed, though as it were by a hair's breadth, to have failed of complete success in every respect.* As a remnant of Protestants came to light in 1781, at the first moment that it was possible for it to do so, so has a remnant of the once extensive Bohemian literature been preserved; and as the Bohemian and other Protestants in the Austrian Empire have now attained religious equality with the members of the dominant Church of Rome, so are the remains of the old Bohemian literature now coming forth from their graves and claiming the attention of the literary world. It is to a very important, and, we hope, interesting portion of this resuscitated literature, that we now invite the attention of our readers.

Hitherto JOHN HUSS, or rather JAN HUS, of Husinetz, has only been known to the literary and theological worlds by his Latin works, and by what claim to be translations† into Latin of some of his Bohemian letters from Constance. Now, however, the whole of his Bohemian works that have escaped the fangs of the Jesuits—some of which have either never been printed at all, or else the printed copies

* It is to the literary order of the Jesuits that this wholesale destruction of literature is principally due. Palacký says quietly, in the preface to his fifth volume:—"The way in which the Jesuit missionaries dealt for more than a century with old Bohemian, and therefore heretical, or at any rate, suspicious writings, requires no closer examination."

† The ground of this statement will be given when we come to the letters themselves

have been utterly destroyed—have appeared at Prague, the first volume in the year 1865, the second in 1866, and the third and last in the present year. We can now know this extraordinary man, not merely as a controversialist among theologians, but as a living and moving power in his native country, addressing his brethren in their native tongue. The works of Huss are edited in the most careful manner by Pan Karel Jaromir Erben, Archivarius, or Keeper of the Archives, of the magistracy of Prague, a man as distinguished for learning as for poetic genius and skill in the management of the Bohemian language.* Let us listen to Pan Erben's preface to his labours.

"Very different judgments are passed both upon John Huss himself and his religious influence by persons of different parties, and a certain class of people in our day endeavours to conceal the truth and obtain currency for perverse explanations, in reliance on the circumstance that there is no one who can ascertain the truth at the very fountain head, and thus detect their falsehoods. Hence a critical edition of the writings of this man, who was so conspicuous above others in European history, appears to be the more necessary, in order that his real aim, his real line of thought, and his real spirit may thence be ascertained. The collected Latin writings of Huss have been published, partly at Nuremberg in 1715, and partly at Vienna in 1856; but some of them still remain in MS., while others, especially those in the Viennese collection, require to be re-edited with greater correctness. But we, at the present time, are especially interested in the writings, letters, and other productions of the mind of Huss, which were written in the Bohemian or Czeskish language, and in bringing them to light for the first time in a more complete collection. Some of them, it is true, have been printed—viz., the 'Postilla,' at Nuremberg, in 1563 and 1592, and elsewhere, singly; but these old editions are now excessively scarce, and, besides, to a great extent incorrect, containing many variations from the original text, caused by conforming the language to the current language of the day; nay, there are among them things that are incorrectly ascribed to Huss."

The first volume of the collection contains the longer theological works of Huss, written not long before his martyrdom, and dated by himself. The first work that meets the eye is an exposition of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, in 386 closely-printed octavo pages, of which pp. 1—52 contain longer and shorter expositions of the Creed; pp. 52—288, longer and shorter expositions of the Ten Commandments; pp. 288—358, longer and shorter expositions of the Lord's Prayer; and pp. 358—386, a directory to the exposition (*zpravidlo k vykladu*), consisting of various pieces of information and an index.

Huss introduces his work, and gives his reasons for writing it, as follows:—

* "Pan" is the Bohemian term corresponding to our Mr. The Bohemian nobles were divided into the *páni*, or "lords," and the *rytíři*, or "knights," after the more ancient distinctions and titles had become obsolete.

"Every Christian who possesses understanding, if he wishes to be saved, must believe, must fulfil God's law, and must pray to God. With respect to the first, the Saviour saith: 'He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' With respect to the second He saith: 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.' With respect to the third He saith: 'Men ought to pray.' Since these things are thus necessary to a man for eternal life, it is good that he should become acquainted with them, that, being acquainted with them, he should understand them, and that, understanding them, he should fulfil them in practice. And since without faith it is impossible to please God, St. Paul saith: 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation;' and a man cannot believe God and in God, unless he hearkens to Him, and how shall he hearken to Him unless some one instruct him?"

"Because I am a priest, sent by God in the hope that I should teach the people to believe, to fulfil the commandments of God, and to pray to God aright, I wish briefly to expound these three things to simple people. And since to a person desiring to draw near to God, the first thing necessary is faith, as a first foundation in God, the second the keeping of the commandments, and the third suitable prayer, therefore I desire, first, to make known the Great King to his courtier in the creed, secondly, his commandments, and then prayer, that, knowing his Lord, and keeping his commandments, he may with propriety venture to beseech his God, and He be pleased to hearken to him. Therefore, thou that desirest to serve in the court of the greatest of Kings, oughtest thus to know Him with the heart, that is, to believe, and with the mouth, if it be necessary, to confess Him before men unto death."

Then follows the Apostles' Creed, commented upon article by article. The following is a striking passage (c. v.) on the foundation of faith (*zalozenie viery*):—

"Likewise also ought all Christians to believe what God hath commanded to be believed; even though every man may not know all that ought to be believed, yet he is ready, and ought to be ready, when the truth is shown him out of the Holy Scriptures, to receive it gladly, and, should he hold anything contrary to the Scripture, to forsake it immediately. And it is good for every man not to hold anything rashly, but, when he comes to know God's truth, to hold it firmly even unto death, for the truth will eventually make him free; for the Lord Jesus saith: 'If ye continue in my word, then will ye be my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' Therefore, faithful Christian, seek the truth, hearken to the truth, learn the truth, hold the truth, defend the truth, even unto death; for the truth will make thee free from sin, from the devil, from the death of the soul, and finally from everlasting death, which is everlasting separation from the favour of God, and from all the bliss of salvation, which bliss he will obtain whoso believeth in God and in Jesus Christ, who is very God and very Man."

Huss gives his sentiments on the power of the priesthood in causing the real presence in the Eucharist in c. ix.:—

"From these testimonies thou hast, that the priests talk foolishly and erroneously, when they say: 'We can, when we will, create God or the body of God.' As if they were creators of their Creator, and that when, all together, they cannot create a single fly! And thus speaking they howl

like wolves, desiring to exalt themselves above the laity, and extend the sphere of their covetousness. And in token thereof they preach, with respect to the new masses, that the priest is more worthy than the Mother of God, and that he creates the body of God, and they prove it thus:—The Mother of God bore Him once, but the priest creates Him often and when he pleases; and thus by one error they prove another. But the humble priest does not exalt himself above the Virgin Mary, or say that he is the creator of Christ, the Son of God, but that the Lord Christ, by his power and his word through him, causes that which is bread to be his body; not that at that time it began to be his, but that there on the altar there begins to be sacramentally (*posvátne*) in the form of the bread, what previously was not there and therein."

Huss's illustration of his idea of the Communion of Saints, in c. xix., is worthy of notice:—

"Know that the Communion of Saints is the enjoyment of the merits of all the saints, so that all saints enjoy, first of all, the merits of Christ, then those of the holy Church, and lastly, each saint enjoys those of each saint; and this is called holding communion, that is to say, enjoying good all together. As, when any village possesses pastures, these pastures are called the common, because each member of the community is entitled to enjoy those pastures regularly without let or hindrance; and thus all the saints have the sufferings of Christ, as beautiful pastures, in common, whereon the saints in heaven, here and in purgatory, feed. Likewise, if any faithful man recites the Lord's Prayer, or does any good work whatever, all the saints have it in common; for the saints in heaven have enjoyment therein, the saints here have aid therefrom to enable them to stand more vigorously against the devil, and the saints in purgatory have aid towards being sooner liberated. Therefore, every man ought to be diligent to be without mortal sins; for thus, if he be elected, he will participate in all the good that is done in the whole world. And this was what the prophet David prayed for: Make me a partaker with all them that fear thee and keep thy commandments. Whoso considers this communion will be diligent in faith, hope, and love, and will not trust in purchase of masses, prayers, or indulgences, being an evil liver. For mortal sin kills in a man participation in this holy communion, for it severs him from that holy community, so that he is excommunicated from all that is good, and is at that time under the curse of God; for David the prophet says: Cursed are they that do err from thy commandments."

The first mention of the great Englishman, Wycliffe, of whom Huss was a disciple, occurs in c. xx., in considering the question of the power of the keys. After narrating the raising of Lazarus, Huss proceeds:—

"In this fact thou hast, that God the Father and Christ, and Christ's call, restored Lazarus to life, and the disciples looked on in readiness, and then, at the word of command, loosed him when living. So it is in the remission of mortal sins, when a dead soul is to revive. God himself cleanses it by his power from internal stain, remits its sin, and unbinds it through Christ's merits from the debt of everlasting death; but the priest cannot do this, that is to say, cannot thus cleanse and revive the soul, but he has power to loose and to bind, that is, to declare people bound and loosed. Therefore Christ first revived Lazarus, and

they afterwards loosed him, that he might see and walk freely; and also He first healed the lepers himself, and afterwards sent them to the priest, that they (the priests) might give testimony to Christ, that He healed them (the lepers), and might also declare to them that they could with safety dwell publicly in the congregation. And thus thou hast, that it is impossible for the priest to remit the sins of any one unless they are first remitted by God and by Christ, the Grand Priest, and His merits. Therefore saith the MASTER OF DEEP THOUGHTS (*Mistr hlubokých smyslův*),* that God does not follow the judgment of the priest, who often judges treacherously and ignorantly, but God always judges according to truth."

We come now to the "Exposition of the Ten Commandments," which does not, to our judgment, appear to have received the final corrections of the author, but to be as it first proceeded from his pen in the midst of multitudinous avocations and distractions. There is a heaviness about this part of the work, from which the "Exposition of the Creed" is entirely free, and which does not appear so decidedly in the "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer." Still there are many remarkable passages in it, of which the following is a specimen from c. xxxv. :—

After quoting a passage from the third Decretal of Innocent III., Huss proceeds :—

"This is the great constitution of Innocent III., but, because it is somewhat adverse to the purse or pocket of the priest, it is not liked; but, were it observed, they would perhaps exhibit fewer teeth of St. Barbara and other things called relics by them. And, believe me, that it is thus that the priests more openly incite people to offer who are in the habit of giving them less than formerly. And already even the peasants have a proverbial expression, 'That priest is a capital hand at bringing in the silver conclusion,' when they hear him saying that people are to approach the relic and commend themselves to it, and open their hearts, that is, their purses. Nay, I once heard in a sermon—God is my witness that it was said in a sermon at St. Henry's, in the new town of Prague—'Know, my children, that three devils have come to this festival: one to close the heart, that people may not be sorry for their sins, and, children, that is a wicked devil; a second to close their mouths, that they may not pray and praise God, and, children, that is a worse; and a third to close their purses—ah! children, that is the worst! Therefore, dear children, do not allow this worst devil to close your purses; approach the relic, opening your purses and pockets.'"

In c. xxxix., after speaking of the five senses as the windows through which sin enters, Huss proceeds, in language which exhibits towards the end of the passage what we may almost venture to call the *ne plus ultra* of homely illustration :—

"These windows or doors ought to be closed in Jerusalem, that is, in a man who desires the vision of the divine peace, and especially on a Sunday or holy day, lest the doors should be opened to vanity, for Jeremiah saith: Take heed to yourselves and bear no burthens on the Sabbath-day, neither

* This is the title under which Huss always refers to Wycliffe.

bring in any burthen through the gates of Jerusalem. Here he forbids the burthen of sin, which is called the talent or hundredweight of lead, as saith holy Zachariah the prophet; for sin immediately, by its weight, drew Lucifer from the highest place down to the lowest hell. And therefore sin is termed *grievous* or *heavy*, for, as a heavy thing always drags downwards, as far as possible, as a stone, lead, or any other heavy thing, so likewise does sin drag the soul downwards, but it does not feel the weight unless it quits the body. For as a dog in a boat, with a large stone tied to his neck, does not feel the weight unless he is thrown out of the boat and drowned, so likewise the soul does not feel the weight so long as it is in the body; but, when once it quits the body, then it begins to feel it, when it falls into the depth of hell."

In c. xli., Huss gives a very distinct indication of his views on the subject of *election*. Strange to say, no word corresponding to "predestination" occurs in his *Bohemian* theological works, the word "*predvedeny*," "foreknown," being the nearest approach to it.* The passage runs:—

"Whoso doth actions that the devil commands, and loveth not Christ, and heareth not His word gladly, the same hath the devil for his father, not by creation, but by wickedness; and he hath not Christ for a father in grace here below at that time, although another, who is also wicked, is God's son, elected from eternity. As St. Peter, when he swore falsely that he knew not Christ, was at that time without grace; yet, nevertheless, he was a son of God by eternal election, although he was at that time a son of the devil through mortal sin. In the same way many are now sinful sons of the devil and also sons of God; sons of the devil through sin for a time, but sons of God by election from eternity; and when they repent, like Peter, they cast off devilry from themselves and become sons of God only, as in process of time did St. Peter. But those who are in mortal sins and remain in them, these are sons of the devil through wickedness, and sons of God by creation, by preservation, and by nourishment, but not by grace unto salvation."

The following passage (c. xlix.) brings vividly before the mind's eye a man contemplating and preparing for martyrdom in the flesh. After stating and refuting, *seriatim*, the arguments current in his day in justification of the then frequent practice of bishops and priests engaging in actual warfare, Huss proceeds:—

"After this fashion ought his true follower to engage in war, and thus ought he in love meekly to suffer death; for he ought to love the soul of an enemy more than his own body, and thus ought to avoid killing him, lest he should cause his eternal perdition. And so ought I, a priest, to do, and woe to me if I do it not when occasion occurs for it! For I know that by loving suffering I should obtain for my body the martyr's crown, I should still the anger of my enemies, I should give a good example, I should

* Passages in Huss's *Latin* works have caused him to be numbered among the foremost champions of Augustinian *predestination*. In c. xciii. we find: "Neither do they (the priests) know, whether he, who has given money, has repentance, neither do they know whether he is *elected* for salvation, or whether he is *foreknown* (*predvedeny*) for perdition."

confirm others in good, and perhaps I might, by suffering, quicken the soul of an enemy, which, if exasperated by my defence and impatience, might perhaps have perished. And thus, by laying down my life for Him, whose I am, by acting thus meekly and suffering, I should make Him my friend, I should be profitable both to Him and to myself, and should be a glorious martyr to the whole Church."

In c. lxii. occurs a remarkable and characteristic passage on slander or backbiting,—

"Alas! how greatly have backbiting dogs increased in number, and backbiting has already become such a habit, that it is not considered a sin. For priests, when just about to robe themselves in the mass-vestments for the mass, practise backbiting. God is my witness that I have heard it myself! And after mass, when they meet at table, they devour living before they eat cooked flesh. And what is a more grievous slander than to call a neighbour a heretic? And thus they serve the devil more than the Lord God, being unworthy to eat bread, as St. Augustine saith, on account of their backbiting. Likewise lay people, monks, and nuns, practise backbiting a little less, or perhaps still more, settle the whole world, the quick and the dead, but forget themselves. Oh, if they remembered what they repeat in the hours, how the holy David saith: With him that slandereth his neighbour, with him I have not eaten! Oh, with whom could a true man eat now if he refused to eat with a backbiter, when backbiting is everywhere a dish at table, and especially at a priest's table? At which they sit still and eat, putting one piece into the mouth and letting out ten calumnious words. And they devour their neighbour with less compassion than the cooked meat; for they do not gnash their teeth at the meat as they do at their neighbour. Therefore saith the righteous man through David: They gnashed upon me with their teeth."

Proceeding to the "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," it is not long before we meet (c. lxxxi.) with a passage on prayer, the language of which is singularly homely and forcible, though not what all will consider elegant:—

"Prayer has the fire of love, which raises it mightily towards God, and two wings, that is to say, recognition of our own wickedness and of God's mercy. These two good wings bear prayer up to God along with love; for, if there be not love, prayer does not ascend to God; and if there be not holy thoughts, which clarify prayer, and devotion besides, then prayer smokes fetidly. Therefore, dear brother, if thou hast not love, holy thoughts, and devotion, stink not and smoke not. O dear God! how often do I, sinful man that I am, stink and smoke against thy holy love!"

In c. lxxxvii. we have a most exquisite and eloquent piece of exegesis, which may well stand in contrast with the rugged language which we have just been quoting:—

"But, since we know that God accepts not persons, therefore we say not apart from others, 'My Father!' but humbly and socially, 'Our Father!' For as dignity in the world neither severs nor excepts any one from misery and death, so likewise neither does it sever nor except from equal participation in the grace of God; but in proportion as that dignity gives occasion of pride to the elevated, so doth it immediately render them

more unworthy and rejected before the eyes of the most righteous Judge. And hence I infer that proud, great men in the world are still more rejected before God on account of their non-humble prayer; for since the Almighty Saviour is not ashamed to call us wretches brethren, as St. Paul saith, and since He saith, 'Whoso shall do the will of my heavenly Father, the same is my mother and sister and brother,' how is it that inflated wretches are ashamed to be called the brethren of all Christians? What is this, but that they wish to be above Christ, although they say it not with their lips? But not thus speak humble sons, who say lovingly and humbly, remembering their Father's instruction: 'Our Father, who art in heaven! Our Father, powerful in might, who art our Creator! Our Father, sweet in loving! Our Father, rich in inheritance! Our Father, merciful in redemption! Our Father, able to protect! Our Father, always ready to listen! See what manner of Father is ours, who is in heaven!'

At the conclusion of the "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," Huss adds:—"In this 1412th year, before St. Martin, this was finished." His martyrdom took place in 1415.

We now come to a very finished work, one that would bear translation as a whole, and would be interesting at the present day from its noble morality, loftiness of tone, and bearing upon matters not unfrequently discussed in the Church of England, in spite of the somewhat extravagant and unpractical nature of some of the views expressed as to the dues and revenues of the clergy. It is entitled "*O sratokupecti*," "Of Traffic in Holy Things," i.e. "Of Simony." Of this, which is divided into ten chapters, and contains 165 pages, we shall proceed to give a brief account, with a few extracts.

After proving simony to be a kind of heresy, Huss proceeds to divide heresy (*kaciersti*) into three stems—apostacy, blasphemy, and simony—each of which he explains by instances. He then divides those guilty of simony into the followers of Simon, Gehazi, Balaam, Jeroboam, and Judas, each of which classes he examines separately. Then in c. iv. he raises the question, whether the Pope can be guilty of simony, proves that he can be so in three several ways, and disproves the various excuses commonly brought forward in his defence. In c. v. he inquires how bishops can fall into simony, and examines the various excuses alleged in their defence. From this chapter we shall extract a passage, which is interesting both in itself, and from its bearing upon the history of Bohemia, in which persons of the class alluded to played directly or indirectly no inconsiderable part:—

"Likewise, WILD BISHOPS excuse themselves by saying that they should not have the means of life and existence, if they did not take money for consecrations. But the first answer is: Since such a one is the representative or assistant of a bishop, let the bishop give him what he requires, for he maintains other gentlemen, and many of them, who do not appertain to the episcopal office. The second answer is: Let the wild bishop live in poverty, like Peter and Paul the Apostles, and preach the word of God. And the third answer is: Let him go and preach to the people from which he has the title of bishop. But alas! they have the title, and do not, as they

ought, do good among the people over which they have been ordained bishops. Therefore, the Bohemian who gave them the name 'wild bishops' (*plani biskupové*) did it, perhaps, because they do little good among people, especially the people of their own bishopric. And the fourth answer is: Let people ask him why he got himself consecrated, knowing that he had no intention of going to the people in question, and likewise being ignorant of their language. And perhaps, if he confessed the truth, he would admit that he obtained the episcopal rank for worldly dignity, for carnal pleasure, and for freedom's sake. And it is for this (latter) reason that monks are wont to become these 'wild' bishops and patriarchs, as is manifest; for then they escape from obedience to the authorities of their order."

Let us now state the bearing of this upon the history of Bohemia. In 1393 King Wenceslas IV., of Bohemia, was contemplating the erection of a new episcopal see in the south-west of his kingdom, for the benefit of either a "wild," i.e. titular, patriarch, or one of three titular bishops, who enjoyed his favour, and was waiting for the death of the old Abbot of Klattau to establish a cathedral instead of the Benedictine Abbey in that place. But the abbot was scarcely dead, when the monks proceeded with their election of a successor, and the vicar of the Archbishop of Prague with his confirmation of their choice, so rapidly, contrary to the express commands of the king, that the latter received intelligence of both events together. At a meeting, for the purpose of reconciliation with the archbishop and his clergy, at Prague, the king was completely mastered by a violent fit of passion, and had John of Pomuk, the archbishop's general-vicar, and others, arrested, and taken first to the Hradschin, and then to the town-hall of the Old Town of Prague, where they were put to the torture, and all, save John of Pomuk, eventually released after more or less ill-usage.

"But the general-vicar," says Palacký, "John of Pomuk, who was especially implicated in the eyes of the king, endured all the tortures of the rack, wherein Wenceslas himself is said to have assisted in performing the part of executioner, without satisfying his vengeance. Finally, he caused the already half-inanimate priest to be bound, carried to the Prague bridge, and thrown thence into the river Moldau. This took place on Thursday, March 20th, at about nine o'clock in the evening."

Out of this historical personage has been manufactured the celebrated St. John Nepomuk, the patron of bridges, whose legend asserts him to have been put to death, in the manner and form above described, on May 16, 1383, ten years previously, for refusing to divulge to King Wenceslas the confession of his wife, Queen Johanna, at a time when Wenceslas was and had been on excellent terms with the archbishop and clergy. Queen Johanna died in 1386, and in 1389 Wenceslas married Sophia of Bavaria, who was more than suspected of favouring the Hussites.* The legend cannot, we believe,

* Compare Huss's 16th Letter, *infra*.

be traced further back than the publication of Hajek's Chronicle in 1541, a work which Palacký, after careful examination, discards as utterly useless for historical purposes. John of Nepomuk is, moreover, by no means an ancient saint, but was only canonized in 1729, so that we do not see how the Jesuits can clear themselves from the charge of procuring, and the memory of Pope Benedict XIII. from that of sanctioning, the canonization of a saint under false pretences. This they are with great probability supposed to have done, in the short-sightedness engendered by the plenitude of power, for the purpose of altogether eradicating the memory of another John, even of him whose works in his native tongue have now wonderfully been restored to light.

The second occasion, on which a "wild" bishop became of importance in Bohemia is of a very different character. The Utraquists were never able to obtain from Rome the promised consecration of an archbishop of their own, and could only procure ordination for their clergy in Italy *sub rosa*, and even this was at length forbidden by the Pope. But in 1482 Bishop Augustin Lucian, who had a poor Latin bishopric in the island of Santorin or Thera, near which he never went, came to Bohemia, where, until his death, in 1493, he conferred holy orders upon the candidates presented to him by the Utraquists, who thus for many years escaped from being compelled to adopt a Presbyterian system.

But to return. The sixth and seventh chapters examine the simoniacal practices of the regular and secular clergy respectively, to the usages of the latter of whom in Huss's day our next extract will have reference:—

"They likewise sell holy oil dearer than other oil, and that for no other reason than that it is holy; taking sometimes two groschen, sometimes twelve pfennigs, and sometimes a groschen. Then, for thirty masses, they generally take thirty groschen; and perhaps this is a memorial of Judas, who sold the Saviour for thirty silver pence. And some priests undertake so many masses, that, if one served five, six, or ten, every day, he could not complete them in fifteen years. But, say they, How am I to do, when a person comes to me, wanting thirty masses, and entreats me? And I reply, that thou oughtest to say, 'Dear brother, all the masses in the world art thine, if thou art in the grace of God. And I am ordained to serve the mass, whenever I can by the grace of God, so that I ought not to serve any more for money than I ought to serve from love; therefore I cannot engage myself to thee, neither is it proper that I should do so. Go, and God be with thee!'"

In c. viii. Huss examines the simony of laymen; in c. ix. inquires into the guilt of those who aid and abet or assent to simony; and in c. x. details the proper methods of avoiding and getting rid of simony. And here we find the real secret of the inveteracy with which he was pursued by the higher Roman clergy:—

"The second method, which is more likely to come into play, is this:—Let secular princes and lords, being instructed by God, put a stop to this simony, and to the irregular establishment of unworthy prelates over the people. And this they would bring to pass best, if they were to prevent them from squandering evilly the alms of their fathers, taking them into their own hands and their own custody, that future clergy may not traffic with them. . . . But immediately out rushes the wild boar from the forest, who ravages the vineyard of Christ and tears the roots out of the ground, saying, Neither kings, lords, nor other laics, have power to regulate the clergy. Hereto I give this answer, first, that in all the Old Testament kings ruled over priests and bishops. . . . Secondly, I say, that since each king has power from God over his kingdom, to govern the whole kingdom in truth and righteousness, and since priests are in the kingdom, therefore the king ought to govern them in truth and righteousness. . . . The proof of this statement is the bull of St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 13), in which he commandeth all men to submit to the king as supreme."

The conclusion of the work, which is dated Candlemas, 1413, is very fine:—

"And in proof that we ought thus to measure nearness to the Lord Christ, He saith: 'Whoso doth the will of my heavenly Father, the same is my brother, my mother, and sister.' And again He saith: 'Ye are my friends, if ye do those things that I command you.' See how He measures nearness to Himself by the keeping of his commandments! . . . And so with regard to other truths, which are laid before our eyes, that we may in deed press to them and follow our Saviour Jesus Christ; for we cannot have a better guide and teacher, nor any other foundation and a purer mirror. Therefore after Him let us go, to Him let us listen, and on Him let us place faith, hope, love, and all good works; on Him, as into a mirror, let us gaze, and to Him let us approach with all our might. And let us hear, in that He saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life,'—the way in example, the truth in promise, and the life in recompense. The way in example, wherein if a man goes, he erreth not; the truth in promise, for what He has promised, that He will fulfil; and the life in recompense, for He will give Himself to be enjoyed in everlasting bliss. He is also the way, because He leads to salvation; He is the truth, because He shines in the understanding of the faithful; and He is the life everlasting, in which all the elect will live in bliss for ever. To that life, and by that way and truth, I desire to go myself and to draw others."

The second volume contains Huss's "Postilla," or sermons on the Gospel for every Sunday and important holy day in the calendar. These having been printed before, and having been used for historical purposes, must, in the abundance of matter presented by works that have just been dug out of the grave, in which they had been buried by the Jesuits, be passed over on the present occasion with the simple remark, that the MS. from which they are taken was written in the year 1414,* *i.e.*, in the year preceding Huss's martyrdom.

* Any one wishing to see a specimen of Huss's popular sermons in an English dress, will find one in the "Journal of Sacred Literature" for October, 1867, pp. 98—105.

The third volume commences with one of Huss's earlier works, a mystical exposition of the Song of Solomon, which occupies over one hundred pages, but offers little to interest the reader, except an extraordinary allegory in the preface, which is unfortunately too long for quotation *in extenso*, while justice cannot be done to it by a mere extract. This work is supposed to have been more or less imitated from a Latin original.

Next comes a charming little work, "Of the Knowledge of the True Way of Salvation" (*O poznání cesty pravé k spasení*), commonly called "The Daughter" (*Dcerka*), from the commencement of every chapter, which runs, "Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear!" The "daughter" is the human soul, and the work itself would require but little alteration to rival the best of our practical manuals at the present day. If we were to select the works upon which, in an English dress, we should be willing to make the literary reputation of Huss depend, we should unhesitatingly select this, the "Treatise on Simony," and the "Letters from Constance."

"The Daughter" contains ten chapters, and is included in twenty-six pages of Mr. Erben's edition. We select the following passage from the second chapter:—

"Hear, O daughter, and see and incline thine ear, because it is good, that thou shouldest understand thy conscience. Know, that thou canst not finally conceal sins, for thou mustest acknowledge them in the judgment day to all people, to the angels and to the devils. Hear, see, and incline thine ear, because, whithersoever thou turnest thyself, whatsoever thou placest in thy soul and in thy conscience, be it evil or be it good, thy conscience preserves for thee, so long as thou livest, and will return it to thee when thou diest. For it is a warning voice placed in every soul, in order that it may keep its promise to God; if it doth evil, immediately the conscience is affected; if on the other hand it doth good, and the soul is not proud thereof, a right conscience doth not inflict chastisement; but if a man doeth evil, conscience is with him while alive, and dogs him after death. And thus, whithersoever a man turns himself, praise or blame always attends him; and thus in his own house, that is in his own soul, he has adversaries of his own household: lo! his conscience accuses him, his memory testifies against him, his understanding judges him, pleasure points out how he ought to be tortured, fear or terror is the executioner, and pleasures are the tortures: for in proportion to the evil pleasures that a man has had, so many and so great sufferings must he have, as saith the Scripture. Hear this, O daughter, and see and incline thine ear!"

From a vivid controversial dialogue with the devil in c. iv., we extract the following:—

"If thou sayest further, 'Cain and Saul are lost, as saith the Scripture,' this we admit; and if thou sayest, 'These men sinned less than I did,' this I deny; for they sinned with the sin of final impenitence, and that sin is

greater than all other sins; for, though a man hath all manner of other sins, if only he hath not this, he is not lost, and will not be lost, if he hath it not; and this sin, O devil, is thy sin! Thirdly, then, O devil, if thou sayest to a man who is not conscious of mortal sin, 'In whatsoever thou doest, thou doest evil,' this, O devil, we deny; and if thou endeavourest to prove it, saying, 'For thou art in mortal sin,' O devil, thou liest! thou canst not prove it, and in what thou sayest afterwards thou liest; for I repent, I have lamented my sin and confessed it, and always do confess it, to the Lord God, acknowledging myself guilty to Him, in whatsoever manner I may have sinned. Neither, O devil, shalt thou lead me to this, always to confess anew in sorrow and relate all the causes and circumstances of my sins to a priest, or mention all my particular sins; for I know that it is not necessary to enumerate them to the Lord God, who knows them all, and I acknowledge myself to Him guilty in them all and lament them. This thou, O devil, dost not do, and therefore thou sufferest everlasting perdition."

Next come a series of short works or pamphlets, "The Mirror of a Sinful Man," "The Lesser Mirror of a Sinner," "Nine Gold Pieces," "The Rope of Three Strands—Faith, Love, Hope—which every Christian ought to hold fast who wishes to arrive at Eternal Salvation," "Sermon on Corpus Christi Day," "Of Seven Mortal Sins," "Of taking Mortuary Fines or Escheats," "Of the Married State" (from which it is clear that Huss would have disapproved of the establishment of the Divorce Court in England), "Of Six Errors,"—most of which subjects are treated at length in the longer theological works in the first volume.

Then comes a singular little pamphlet written by Huss against a priest who said, and confirmed what he said by an oath, that Huss was worse than any devil. This priest had given up his priestly office and become steward of the kitchen to a nobleman named Ctibor. In answer to him Huss cites the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, proving that the worst man is better than a devil. A couple of extracts from this pamphlet will be interesting:—

"Fifteenthly, I should wish all priests to live well and preach the Word of God; and the devil would wish them all to live ill and not preach! therefore he leads them into unchastity, for the sake whereof they practise simony, and do not perform their spiritual office, but, neglecting preaching, praying, serving the mass, and other spiritual works, entangle themselves in the offices of secular people, in which they scent money. Lo! a priest is burg-grave, a priest is in the land-registry, a priest is a judge, a priest is manager over an estate, a priest is engaged in the kitchen, a priest is secretary, and if the office of town-beadle had a large salary, and were not disgusting and very laborious, a priest would even have been town-beadle. Yea, alas! the Pope takes a florin a month from the harlots, of whom there are many hundreds in his city. See, my brother! 'tis not I that have seduced them into these sins, but solely the devil—even though he were to assert that I seduced thee to become a steward of the kitchen, and thus caused this proverb to rest in thy mind, 'There's no better road than from the kitchen to the cellar,' that thou mightest consider what thy

lord should eat, before thinking whether thou wouldest obtain the kingdom of heaven. The Saviour saith in the sixth chapter of St. Matthew: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven;' and the mortal lord saith: 'Priest, seek my comfort; and whatever sins lie therein, these I commit to thine own conscience.'"

Just before concluding, Huss plays upon his own name (Jan Hus = John Goose):—

"I might write," he says, "about the curse, with which thou reproachest me, but it would be tedious, and I have inscribed a notice of it on the walls in Bethlehem.* Yet I say briefly, that a curse hurts no man, if priests curse him, when he is free from mortal sin, and suffers it lovingly; for St. Peter saith in his epistle: 'Who is he that shall harm you, if ye love that which is good?' And St. Gregory speaks to that effect, and thou recitest, in the hours, that no adversity will hurt, if no wickedness be dominant. And the Saviour himself saith: 'Blessed shall ye be, when all men shall curse you.' And thus people by the gift of God now understand, that a curse pronounced [against a man] without mortal sin tends to blessing and life eternal, and that by means of that curse the priests first terrified and scared whom they would, even as fowlers scare birds with a kite, and these fancying the wooden kite to be a living bird, do not dare to rise. But because THE GOOSE, a stupid bird, recognised this dead kite, he did not allow himself to be scared, but rose into the air, and gave an example to God's other birds to do the like."

Next come "The Kernel of Christian Doctrine," and some fragments of orthographical works. From the hymns, which appear next in Mr. Erben's collection, we give a brief specimen in the original metre (p. 263):—

"Dearly, dearly thou hast bought us,
Thou thy life for us hast given,
Of thy mercy thou hast brought us
Succour truly.

"Mighty towards us are thy mercies:
Woe to him who disregards thee,
And elsewhere for mercy seeketh
In his blindness.

"Christians! let us rise from error,
Recognise the proffer'd blessings,
To the Son of God and to his
Mercy hasten.

"Jesus, Jesus, martyr'd Jesus!
For our sakes defiled by spitting,
To us evermore be gracious
Of thy mercy!"

Three hymns of Huss's have been preserved in the Hymn-Book of the Bohemian Brethren, printed at Kralitz, in 1576, from the middle of the first of which the above stanzas are translated.

The little fragment "On Faith" contains so remarkable a passage,

* The church in Prague, where Huss used to preach.

that we must extract it before proceeding to the "Letters from Constance," in which the crowning interest of Huss's Bohemian works undoubtedly centres. This runs as follows:—

"Hence further infer, that we ought not to believe *in* the Mother of God, but ought to believe that she is the most worthy Mother of God, more worthy than any saint; although there is one Virgin, who is the bride of Christ, more worthy than the Virgin Mary—and that is the holy Church, the congregation of all saints, who will finally reign with Christ for ever. For the Virgin Mary is a member of that holy Church, and cannot be of such worthiness; and it was for that Church, his bride, that Christ died and gave himself up to death, as saith St. Paul, and not merely for the Virgin Mary. Thus we believe *of* the Virgin Mary, but not *in* her: for we ought not to believe *in* any other person or thing, save only in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, all in one Lord."

The remainder of the volume is taken up by ancient translations from works written originally in Latin, from which we shall not offer any extracts, but return to the Letters.

The first of these is addressed "to the virgins of a certain convent," and presents no very special features of interest. Neither does the second, a kind of pastoral letter to the people of Pilsen in the year 1413; nor the third, written to the people of Prague in the same year, after Huss's banishment from Prague. The fourth and fifth are a kind of placards, or public notices, affixed to the gates of the king's palace. The sixth was written on the road to Constance after September 28, 1414:—

"Magister John Huss, in hope a priest and servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, to all faithful and beloved brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus, who have through me heard and received the Word of God, grace and peace from God our Father, and from the Holy Spirit, that they may abide without spot in his truth.

"Faithful and beloved friends! ye know that I have long worked with you faithfully, preaching to you the Word of God without heresy and without errors, as ye know, and my desire has been, and until my death will be, your salvation. I had thought to have preached to you before my journey, ere I departed to the council at Constance, and especially to have made known to you the false testimony and witnesses in writing with their evidence; and these shall be made known to you in order that, if they condemn me or sentence me to death, ye, knowing this, may not be terrified, as if I were condemned for any heresy that I held; and likewise in order that ye may stand without fear and without vacillation in the truth, to the knowledge whereof the Lord God granted you to come through faithful preachers and through me unworthy; and, thirdly, that ye may be able to beware of lying and hypocritical preachers. And now I have prepared myself for the journey WITHOUT SAFE CONDUCT* among very great and very

* *Bez kleitu*. In the Latin translation (Op. Huss, i. 72-6) this stands "Ego proficiscar nunc *cum* literis publicæ fidei a Rege mihi datis." In remarking upon this, Palacký (iii. p. 315) says, that the sixteenth-century translator of Huss's Letters into Latin has done his work exceedingly ill, and that the translation contains a great deal of nonsense, as well as, now and then, just the contrary of what Huss intended to express. N.B. A safe conduct was given to Huss afterwards.

numerous enemies, among whom my enemies from home are the worst, as ye recognise in the evidence, and will learn after the conclusion of the council; of whom there will be many, bishops and masters of arts, and secular priests and regulars. But I hope to my gracious, wise, and mighty Saviour, that through his promise and your faithful prayer he will grant me wisdom and steadfastness of the Holy Ghost, that I may persevere and that they may not be able to make me take the wrong part; even if He gives me to suffer temptation, reviling, imprisonment or death, as He suffered himself, and subjected his best beloved servants to the same, and gave us an example that we should suffer for Him and for our own salvation; He being God, and we his creatures; He being the Lord, and we his servants; He being the King of the whole world, and we unworthy mannikins; He being without want, and we necessitous. He too has suffered, and why should not we suffer? Nay, our suffering in grace is our purification from sins and our liberation from everlasting torments, and death is our purification. Verily it is impossible for his faithful servant to perish, if he abides steadfast with his help! Therefore, dear brethren! dear sisters! pray earnestly, that He may be pleased to grant me perseverance, and that He may be pleased to protect me from stain; and, if my death is to his glory and our profit, that it may please Him to grant me to undergo it without evil terror; if, on the other hand, it is better for us [that it should be so], that it may please Him to cause me to return to you, travelling thither and back again without stain, that we may still instruct each other in common in his law, and destroy some portion of the nets of Antichrist, and set a good example to future brethren after us. Perhaps ye will never see me more in Prague before my death! If, on the other hand, the mighty God shall be pleased to bring me back, we shall see each other with so much the greater pleasure, and that at any rate, when we meet together in the bliss of heaven. May the merciful God, who gives secure peace to his own both here and after death, who perfected the grand Shepherd by the shedding of his blood, which is the everlasting evidence of our salvation, fashion you in all that is good, that ye may fulfil his will in concord without dissension, that, having rest in virtues, ye may attain everlasting rest, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who is eternal God and very Man, born of the Virgin Mary, to whom glory is and will be for ever with all the elect, with whom, if we persevere in the truth, we shall abide for ever. Amen.—Datum A.D. 1414, post festum Sancti Venceslai in recessu ad Constanciam."

The seventh letter is from Constance, November 16, 1414:—

"Peace be to you from the Lord God and from Jesus Christ, that ye may beware of sins, may abide in his grace, may make progress in virtues, and after death may enter into bliss everlasting. Dearly beloved! I entreat you to live according to the law of God, and to be diligent in your salvation, hearing the Word of God with cumspection, that ye may not allow the emissaries of Antichrist to deceive you, who palliate people's sins, do not rebuke them for sin, flatter their superiors, do not make known to people their sins, magnify themselves, disgrace themselves by their works, increase their power, but are not willing to follow Jesus, the Lord God, in humility, in poverty, in patience, and in labour. Of whom the gracious Saviour prophesied, saying: 'False prophets shall arise and shall deceive many.' And warning his faithful ones He saith: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; by their fruits ye shall know them.' Verily there

is great need for faithful Christians to be diligently on their guard, for the Saviour saith that, were it possible, even the elect would be seduced. Therefore, dearly beloved, watch, that the craft of the devil may not undermine you, and be so much the more diligent, the more Antichrist opposeth himself. The day of judgment is approaching, death is smiting many, and the kingdom of heaven is drawing near for the sons of God; for the sake whereof subdue your flesh, fear not death, love each other, and stand in God always with the memory, the understanding, and the will. Let the day of judgment be before your eyes in its terrors, that ye may not sin, and everlasting bliss, that ye may long for it, [and] the martyred Saviour, that ye may suffer gladly with Him for his sake: for if ye bring each torment of his into recollection, then will ye gladly undergo opposition, cursing, reviling, scourging, and imprisonment, and, if it be his will, corporeal death also for his truth's sake. Ye know, dearly beloved, that Antichrist has inveighed against us with reviling, and has not yet injured a hair of the head of many, as neither has he of myself, though he has greatly stormed against me. Therefore, I entreat you earnestly to entreat the Lord God, that it may please Him to grant me wisdom, patience, humility, and steadfastness for perseverance in his truth. Already has He conducted me to Constance without any hindrance; and during the whole journey, travelling as I did openly as a priest, and making myself known to the people aloud, I never found an open enemy in any place, neither should I have many in Constance, did not the Bohemian clergy, which goes about begging for revenues and for covetousness' sake, mislead the people on the highways.* And I hope in my merciful Saviour and in your prayer, that I shall stand in God's truth even unto death. Know, that they have not put a stop to divine service anywhere on my account, not even in Constance, where the Pope himself has celebrated mass for me. Be commended to the Lord God, to the merciful Jesus, very God, son of the pure Virgin Mary, who by his cruel and shameful death ransomed us without merit of our own from everlasting torments, from the power of the devil and from sin. Written at Constance on the day of St. Othmar, a good servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever.—Magister John Huss, a priest and servant of God in hope."

The eighth letter is from prison, dated January 19, 1415:—

"May God be with you, that ye may persevere, standing against wickedness, against the devil, against the world and the flesh! Dearly beloved, I entreat you, as I sit in a prison, of which I am not ashamed, suffering, as I hope, for the Lord God, who has graciously visited me with a great sickness and restored me again to health, and has let loose upon me many violent enemies, to whom I have done much good, and whom I have heartily loved! I beseech you, beseech the Lord God for me, that it may please Him to be with me, in whom alone I have hope and in your prayer, that He will grant me to persevere in his grace even unto death. If it be His pleasure now to take me to Himself, his holy will be done; if it be his pleasure to bring me back, also let his holy will be done. Verily I have need of great help, and yet I know that He doth not allow any suffering or temptation to come upon me, save only for my and your good, that, being tried and persevering, we may receive a great reward. And know, that that letter, which I left behind for you, has been very falsely translated into Latin by enemies, and that they issue articles against me and so many counts, that I have plenty to write, answering frequently from

* Or, "as they travel," *na cestách*.

prison, and there is no man who will counsel me, save the merciful Lord Jesus, who has said to his faithful ones, 'I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries will not be able to withstand.' O dearly beloved! remember that I have laboured earnestly with you, and have always desired your salvation, and do so now, being in prison and in great temptation.—Written on Saturday, the day before St. Fabian."

Passing over the ninth letter, which is very brief, we come to the tenth, which is dated June 10, 1415:—

"Magister John Huss, in hope a servant of God, signifies to all faithful Bohemians who love and shall love the Lord God, his desire that the Lord God may grant them to abide and end in His grace, and abide for ever in the bliss of heaven. Amen. Lords and ladies, rich and poor, faithful and beloved in the Lord, I entreat and warn you to obey the Lord God, to magnify His word, and gladly to hear and fulfil it. I entreat you to hold fast the word of God, which I have written out of the law of God, and preached and written out of the discourses of the saints. I entreat also any one who has heard from me in a sermon or in private aught against God's truth, or if I have anywhere written anything such, which I hope to God I have not, not to hold it. I entreat also any one who has seen instances of light conduct of mine in speaking or in actions, not to hold to them, but to entreat God for me, that He may be pleased to forgive me. I entreat you to love and exalt good priests, and to honour them, and especially such as labour in the word of God. I entreat you to beware of cunning people, and especially of unworthy priests, of whom the Saviour saith, that they are in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. I entreat the lords to deal mercifully with their poor subjects, and to govern them justly. I entreat the citizens to conduct their businesses honestly. I entreat the handicraftsmen to perform their work faithfully, and to obtain their livelihood from it. I entreat the servants to serve their masters and mistresses faithfully. I entreat the masters of arts* to live well and teach their pupils faithfully, first of all to love God and to study for His glory and for the good of the congregation and their own salvation, but not for covetousness, nor for worldly exaltation. I entreat the students and other scholars to obey and follow their masters in that which is good, and to study diligently for the glory of God and for their own salvation, and that of others. I entreat all in common to thank the following noblemen:—Lord Wenceslas of Dubá, otherwise of Lestina; Lord John of Chlum, Lord Henry of Plumlov, Lord William Zajec, Lord Mysek, and other lords from Bohemia and Moravia, and also the faithful lords of the kingdom of Poland; and to be grateful for their exertions, for, like God's worthy champions and auxiliaries of the truth, they frequently opposed the whole council, both arguing and replying in favour of my liberation, and especially Lord Wenceslas of Dubá and Lord John of Chlum, whom believe in whatsoever they shall tell you: for they were in the council, when I was answering, during several days; they know what Bohemians it was, and how many unworthy things they brought against me, how the whole council cried out against me, how I answered, and what they desired with regard to me. I entreat you also to entreat the Lord for his royal grace, the Roman and Bohemian king, for his queen, and for the lords, that the beloved Lord

* The Doctor's degree was unknown at Prague, and that of Bachelor of Divinity preceded that of Master of Arts, which is the genuine superior degree of an unpapalized European university. Huss took his B.A. in 1393, his B.D. in 1394, and his M.A. in 1396.

God may abide with them and with you by grace now, and hereafter in everlasting bliss. Amen.

"I have written this letter in prison in fetters, expecting to-morrow my sentence to death, having a full hope in God that I shall not apostatize from God's truth, and that I shall not recant the errors which false witnesses have testified against me. How mercifully the Lord God is dealing with me, and is with me in marvellous trials, ye will learn, when we meet in the presence of God in bliss by His help. Of Magister Jerome, my beloved comrade, I hear nothing but that he is in grievous imprisonment, expecting death, even as myself, and that on account of his belief, which he has steadfastly declared to the Bohemians. And Bohemians, our most cruel enemies, have put us in the power of other enemies and in prison. I entreat you to entreat God for us. Likewise I entreat you, especially the people of Prague, to be friendly to Bethlehem,* so long as the Lord God shall permit that the word of God may be preached in it: it was on account of that place that the devil became exasperated and stirred up the parsons and canons against it, seeing that his kingdom was injured in that place. I hope to the Lord God that He will preserve that place during His will, and will cause in it greater progress to be made through others than He has caused through me unworthy. Likewise I entreat you to love each other, not to allow the good to be oppressed by violence, and not to grudge the truth to any one.—The letter was sent in the night, the Monday before St. Vitus, by a good German."

The eleventh letter is addressed to a nobleman named Henry Skopek, and is dated June 13, 1415:—

"The Lord God be with thee, dear lord! Thy letter came to me on the Wednesday before the festival of St. Vitus, and I saw it gladly, although I am expecting sentence of death as I sit in fetters in my dungeon. I entreat thee, dear lord, so to live as the law of God commands, and to keep that which thou hast heard from me, and, if aught of it is not good, to let it go. But I hope in my Saviour that I have not taught thee anything that is contrary to His holy grace. Much I cannot write, but this I say briefly: Always have the commandments of God before thy mind, be merciful to the poor, let pride go, live meekly. And remember this:—

*'Quid sis, quid fueris, quid eris, semper mediteris,
(sic) Quid loqueris, ubi, de quo, cur, quomodo, quando.'*

Dear lord, think of me and salute thy lady, household, and friends; for now, me seemeth, thou wilt see me no more in life, for I am already expecting sentence of death.—Dated feria V. ante diem S. Viti.

"God be with you, beloved Bohemians! and with me, a sinner, for whose holy law I am suffering.—To the beloved lord Henry Skopek."

The twelfth letter is dated June 24, 1415:—

"Magister John Huss, in hope a servant of God, [declares] to all the faithful, who love God and his law, his desire that they may abide in the truth and make progress in the grace of God, and stand steadfastly unto death. Dearly beloved! I exhort you not to be terrified, nor to allow yourselves to be scared, because they have condemned my books to the flames. Remember, that they burned the holy Jeremiah's prophecy, which God commanded him to write; yet did they not escape from that which he prophesied: for after it was burned the Lord God commanded him to write

* Huss's church.

the same words, adding thereto still more. As was done: he dictated, sitting in prison, and the holy Baruch, who was his scribe, wrote. This stands written in the 36th chapter. Likewise is it written in the books of the Maccabees, that they burned the law of God and tortured those who possessed it. Afterwards, in the time of the New Law, they burned the saints with the books of God's law. Likewise the cardinals condemned and burned the books of St. Gregory, and wished to burn them all, but the Lord God prevented it by means of a scholar of his, Peter. Likewise two priestly councils condemned St. John Chrysostom as a heretic; yet the merciful Lord God showed their falsehood after St. John's death. Having these things before your eyes, do not allow yourselves to be frightened into not reading what I have written, or into giving them your books to be burned. Remember what our merciful Saviour said as a warning in Matt. xxiv.: that before the judgment-day there would be so great tribulation as had not been since the world began, neither would be afterwards, so great, that, if it were possible, even the elect would be led into error; but those days would be shortened for the elect's sake. Remembering this, dearly beloved, stand firmly; for I hope to God that the school of Antichrist will fear you and leave you in peace, and that the council will not come from Constance into Bohemia; for I am sure that many out of this council will die before they take the books from you by conquest; and from this council they will fly in all directions about the world, like storks, and when the winter comes, they will find out what they have done in the summer. Observe, that they have condemned their own head as a heretic! Now answer, ye preachers, who preach that the Pope is a terrestrial god, that he cannot sin, that he cannot commit simony, as say the jurists; that the Pope is the head of all the holy Church, which he governs admirably; that he is the heart of the holy Church, which he animates spiritually; that he is the fountain whence all power and goodness flow; that he is the sun of the holy Church; that he is the all-sufficient refuge, to which every Christian must flee. Lo! now has that head been cut off, and the terrestrial god bound; now has he been proclaimed guilty of sin, now has the fountain been dried up, the sun obscured, the heart torn out; and the refuge has fled from Constance, and has now been cast away, so that no one flees to him! The council has condemned him as a heretic for selling remissions, and bishoprics, and other things, and revenues; and those have condemned him, many of whom have purchased from him, and others have purchased amongst others. Here was John, Bishop of Litomysl, who trafficked twice for the archbishopric of Prague, but others outbid him. Oh, why did they not first cast the beam out of their own eye? But the law saith of them: If there be any one who hath obtained any dignity through money, let him be deprived of it. Yes, let the seller and the buyer, and the bargainer or go-between, be put to open shame! Saint Peter reviled and cursed Simon for wishing to purchase the gift of the Holy Spirit: these men have reviled and cursed a seller, and have remained purchasers and go-betweens themselves, and also act as sellers at home! In Constance there is a bishop who has purchased, and another who has sold, and the Pope received money for his assent. Likewise is it in Bohemia, as is known to you. Oh, if the Lord Jesus had said to the council: Let him that is without the sin of simony among you condemn Pope John! me seemeth that they would have gone out one after the other. And why did they kneel before him, kiss his feet, and address him as 'Most Holy Father,' knowing that he was a heretic, a murderer, and a sodomite, even as they proved these sins against him? Why did the cardinals elect him Pope, knowing that he was so wicked a

murderer, that he slew the most holy father? Why did they permit him to practise simony when he became Pope, they being appointed councillors in order to give good counsel? Are they not also guilty who practised simony with him themselves? Why, until he fled from Constance, did no one venture to say anything to him but 'Most Holy Father?' No, they were still afraid; but when, by God's permission or will, the secular hand fell upon him, then they immediately conspired, making a covenant that he might not be released. Verily the wickedness and abominableness and shamefulness of Antichrist have now displayed themselves in the case both of the Pope and of others in the council; now may the faithful servants of God mark, in our Saviour's discourse, what He meant by saying: When ye shall see the abomination in a desolate place,* of which Daniel prophesied, let him that readeth understand! The great abomination is pride, covetousness, simony, in a desolate place, that is, in dignity, which is void of humility, love, and the other virtues, as we see manifestly in those who are holding office and dignity. Oh, if it were possible to describe the wickednesses, that the faithful servants of God might beware of them, I would gladly do so; but I hope to God that He will send others more worthy after me, who will better expose the wickedness of Antichrist, and will hazard their lives unto death for the truth's sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will give you and me everlasting bliss. Amen.—Written on the festival of St. John the Baptist in a dungeon and in fetters, in the recollection that John was likewise beheaded in a dungeon and in fetters for the sake of God's truth."

The thirteenth letter is dated June 26, 1415:—

"Magister John Huss, in hope a servant of God, makes known to all faithful Bohemians, who love and shall love God, his desire and unworthy prayer, that they may abide in the grace of God, may end therein, and may abide with God for ever and ever. Faithful and beloved friends, and beloved in God! it has furthermore occurred to me [to write], that ye may note how the council, proud, covetous, and full of all abomination, has condemned my books in the Bohemian language, which it has neither heard nor seen, nor, if it had heard them, would it have understood them. For in the council were Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, Spaniards, Germans, and others of other languages; save that John, Bishop of Litomysl, who was there, may have understood them somewhat, as well as other Bohemians, the instigators thereof, from the chapters of Prague and the Vyssehrad,† from whom has proceeded the shaming of God's truth and of our Bohemian land, which I hope is a land of most excellent faith, observing its earnest desire with regard to the word of God and to the customs. Oh, were you to see this council, which calls itself the 'most holy' council, and asserts that it cannot err, verily ye would espy abomination exceeding great, of which I have heard commonly from the Swabians, that Constance, or 'Kostnice,'‡ their city, will not within thirty years be rid of the sins which this council has committed in their city; and I say furthermore, that all men have been offended through this council, and some have spit, because they saw abominable things. And I say unto you, that when I presented myself on the first day before the council, seeing how little order there was, I said aloud, when all were silent, 'I thought there

* "*Na mieste zpusilem.*"

† Lit. "High-castle," the fortress or citadel of Prague.

‡ The Bohemian name of Constance.

would have been greater reverence, and goodness, and better order in this council than there is.' Then said the chief cardinal: 'How speakest thou? In the castle thou spakest more humbly.' And I answered, saying, 'Yes, for in the castle no man clamoured against me, but here all clamour.' And since this council, which has done more evil than good, has proceeded with such disorder, faithful Christians and beloved in God, do not allow yourselves to be frightened by their decree, which I hope to God will not profit them: they will fly different ways, like moths, and their ordinance will stand like a spider's web. They wanted to terrify me, but through God's good help they have been unable to prevail over me. They have not thought fit to proceed against me in writing, as heard the gracious lords, who stood up steadfastly for the truth of God, braving all shame, Bohemians, Moravians, and Poles, and especially Lord Wenceslas of Dubá and Lord John of Chlum; for, being admitted by King Sigismund into the council, they stood and heard, that, when I said, 'I desire instruction! if I have written anything ill, I wish to be instructed!' then said the chief cardinal: 'Since thou wishest to be instructed, this is the instruction: thou hast to recant, as fifty masters of the Holy Scripture have found.' See! a pretty instruction! Thus St. Catherine, a young damsel, ought to have apostatized from the truth and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, because fifty masters were against her. But the dear damsel stood even unto death, and brought over to the Lord God the masters, whom I, sinful man, am unable to bring over. This I write unto you, that ye may know that they have not overcome me by any scripture or any arguments, but have assailed me with cunning and with threats, in order to lead me to recantation and renunciation. But the gracious Lord God, whose law I have magnified, has been and is, and I hope will be, with me to the end, and will keep me in his grace even unto death.—Written on the Wednesday after St. John Baptist, in prison and in fetters, in expectation of death: still, on account of the divine secrecy, I dare not say that this will be my last letter, for even yet the Omnipotent God can set me free."

The fourteenth letter is dated June 27, 1415:—

"God be with you! Having had great cause to think so from many reasons, I wrote as if I were to end my life to-morrow; now, on the contrary, having observed that my death is deferred, I write to you, gracious and beloved friends in God, that I may still signify my gratitude, as long as I possibly can, having always consolation in being able to speak to you by letter. And I say unto you that the Lord God knoweth wherefore He defers my death, and that of my dear brother, Magister Jerome, of whom I have hope that he will die holily without guilt, and that he bears himself and suffers more steadfastly than I, unsteadfast sinner.* The Lord God hath granted us a long time, in order the better to recollect our sins and bewail them worthily; He hath granted us a long time, that great trial may take

* How sadly Huss's anticipations in this respect were disappointed is well known. Jerome of Prague was an orator rather than a writer, a defender of the positions of others rather than an original investigator, and except a few hymns in the Bohemian language, he is not known to have left anything in writing behind him. One Bohemian letter only remains, written after his recantation, and before renewed persecution drove him to bay. The record of his shame survives for ever in his own hand; but that of his glory, when he repented of his recantation as of the greatest sin he had ever committed, when he smote the Philistines in argument hip and thigh, and slew them with a great slaughter, must be sought for in the pages of Poggio Bracciolini, who was present at his trial.

off [the burthen of] great sins and bring consolation; He has granted us time to call to mind the terrible shaming and cruel death of our King, the Lord God, the merciful Jesus, to value Him, and therefore to suffer the more gladly; to recollect also that it is impossible to go from the festivals of this world to the festivals of that world; to remember that it was through many sufferings that the saints entered into the kingdom of heaven, some of them being cut to pieces, others pierced through, others boiled, others roasted, others flayed alive, buried alive, stoned, crucified, pounded between millstones, harrowed, drowned, burned, hung, pulled in pieces, and previously insulted, imprisoned, scourged, and fettered. And who can describe all the torments which, under both the old and new laws, the saints have suffered, and especially those who rebuked priestly wickedness and preached against it? And it will be a strange thing if any one does not suffer now, if he stands steadfastly against wickedness, especially priestly wickedness, which does not allow itself to be interfered with! And now I am glad of this, that they have been obliged to read my books, in which their wickedness is exposed; and I know that, wishing to discover errors, they have read them more diligently than the holy Gospels.—Dated the Thursday before the vigil of St. Peter, in the evening. Amen."

The fifteenth letter is dated June 29, 1415. We give the Latin part as it stands, and translate the Bohemian portion only:—

"Valde gaudeo, quod dominus Wenceslaus vult ducere uxorem et mundi varietatem aufugere. Et revera tempus est, quia jam multum equitavit per regna, multum hastilusit,* corpus fatigavit, pecunias exposuit et animam offendit; imo jam restat hæc abjicere et in quiete domi cum conjuge servire Deo et servos habere proprios. It will be better to serve God at home, and have a good dwelling without sins and without toil, where others serve, than to toil elsewhere hard and disagreeably, to be unsafe in person, and always to look to the hands of another. Let this be read and shown to him, my faithful benefactor. The Lord God is still by his power keeping, and will, as long as He pleases, keep Huss alive, against the proud, covetous, and variously sinful council, wherein the Lord God knoweth who are his!—In die sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli datum ad cœnam."

In the sixteenth and last letter Huss "thanks the underwritten for their kindness, and writes to them:"—

"God be with you! and may it please Him to give you an everlasting recompense for having done me much good! For my sake, although perhaps dead in the body, do not allow any harm to happen to Lord John, a faithful and worthy knight, and my good benefactor, I entreat you for the Lord God's sake, dear Lord Peter, Master of the Mint, and Lady Anna! Likewise I entreat you to live well and obey God, even as ye have heard. Thank the Queen, my gracious lady, from me for all the good that she has done me. Salute her household and other faithful friends, whose names I cannot write at length. I also entreat all to entreat the Lord God and his holy grace for me: we shall ere long meet together by his holy help. Amen. Written in expectation of sentence of death, in prison and in fetters, which I hope I am suffering for the sake of God's law. For the Lord God's sake do not suffer good priests to be destroyed.—Magister Huss, in hope a servant of God.

* "Tourneyed." *Hastiludium* is literally "spear-play."

"Petre, amice carissime! pelliciam serva tibi in mei memoriam.

"Lord Henry Lefl, mayest thou live happily with thy wife, and I thank thee for thy kindness; God be thy recompense!

"Faithful friend, Lord Lidhër, as well as Lady Margaret, Lord Sknoeck, Mikešek, and others: the Lord God give you an everlasting recompense for the trouble which ye have taken with me, and for the other kindnesses which ye have shown me.

"Faithful and dear Magister Christian! the Lord God be with thee!

"Magister Martin, [my] scholar! remember what I have faithfully taught thee. Magister Nikulas, priest Peter, [chaplain] of the king, and other masters and priests! be diligent in the word of God. Priest Havlik! preach the word of God. And I entreat all to be steadfast in God's truth."*

We have now, we trust, satisfied our readers that a literature well worthy of attention was already in existence in the Bohemian or Czeskish language, when our own language was still in course of formation, when Chaucer had but just provided the nation with a "well of English undefiled," for future poets to draw from, and when no English prose works, intelligible at the present day without the aid of grammars, notes, and vocabularies, were in existence. And, strange to say, the Bohemian of Huss is less removed from that of the present day than the English of Shakspeare from our present current language. We have selected Huss as the fittest specimen of the ancient Bohemian writers to be laid before the British public, on account of the conspicuous part he played in the world's history, the reputation he had always enjoyed as one of the great "Reformers before the Reformation," and his indirect connection with ourselves, as the disciple of the English Wycliffe. But Bohemians would tell us that Huss occupies only the second place among their ancient literary worthies, the first being held by his predecessor, "Thomas of Stitný," a nobleman, who wrote his most important work in 1374, but continued to live to the end of the fourteenth century.

"He possessed," says Palacký, "not only all the scientific cultivation that the age could give him, but also the gift of imparting it to the people in attractive, clear, and vigorous language. In all his extensive writings the religious tendency is dominant; this did not, however, prevent him from discussing on occasion a multitude of learned and popular philosophical questions; neither did he allow himself to be disturbed in this employment by the frequently-expressed displeasure of the learned of the schools, who believed such inquiries improper to be brought before the

* On the 6th of July, in the present year, 280 Bohemians landed from the Rhine steamboat *Maximilian* at Constance, on a formal pilgrimage to the monument erected by the people of Constance in honour of John Huss, and celebrated the 453rd anniversary of his martyrdom. They were at first looked upon with coldness by the citizens of Constance, but by their conduct, and the sentiments they expressed, eventually succeeded in winning their hearts. Should this pilgrimage become, as it very likely will become, an annual custom, there is little doubt but that the Bohemians will in future be welcomed at Constance with the greatest enthusiasm.

people. His marvellous and masterly skill in the manipulation of the rich forms of the Bohemian language rendered it soon a fit instrument for the most learned disquisitions; even as the Bohemian people, reading his books with applause and advantage, accustomed itself, owing to him, to follow a series of abstract ideas of considerable length."

Indeed, as we have heard Bohemians say, it was Stitný who rendered Huss possible. In 1840 only one work of Stitný's was known to be in existence; by 1844 *five*—none of them of trifling extent—had been discovered. In 1852 the University of Prague celebrated the 500th anniversary of its foundation, by printing and publishing, under the editorial superintendence of Pan Erben, Thomas Stitný's "Six Books of General Christian Matters," addressed to his children, to which is prefixed a life of the author.

We ask our readers whether the nation that has produced such writers and such men cannot fairly claim the attention of the literary world? We ask them whether, considering the close intellectual connection between Wycliffe and Huss, it has not a special claim upon our interest and our sympathy? The Czeskish or Bohemian nationality is at present a source of weakness and distraction rather than of strength and cohesion to that power, which has happily been compelled to give up its evil influence in Central Europe and Italy, and to take up a line of policy which makes it the advanced guard of civilization and freedom towards the East and South-east. Nothing could tend more to the conversion of this weakness and discord into strength and union than the sympathy and counsel of men so long trained in constitutional liberty as Britons. The Czechs at present, after centuries of slavery, scarcely know either their strength or their weakness; they have, indeed, scarcely come to full self-consciousness. All their aspirations are noble, if some of them are mistaken; and it would be equally sad to see a nationality disappear, that has deserved so well of the human race as theirs, and to find it engaged now on the side of retrogression and darkness, after having made in former days the most unheard-of sacrifices in the cause of progress and light. We trust that what we have laid before the eyes of the countrymen of Wycliffe will induce them to grant a modicum of attention and sympathy to the poor and struggling countrymen of Huss.

A. H. WRATISLAW.



PROFESSOR PLUMPTRE ON THE POET AND HIS CREED.

ONE of the most welcome things in the world is to discern a probability of coming to a distinct agreement upon a disputed point. Only a few degrees less pleasant is it to see one's way to such a clear restatement of an open question that both sides may at last feel sure no corner of the subject remains unsearched, whether they can agree about it or not. In the Biographical Introduction to his Translation of the Tragedies of Æschylus, the Rev. Professor Plumptre has exhibited in such small compass an important question of criticism, that, though I have no right to discuss it except such a right as my interest in all critical questions may afford me, I feel tempted to venture upon a few sentences of comment; not without a hope that, for a good many of us, the matter may, with the help of the Professor's restatement of the old dispute, be now cleared up once for all. In making my comments I will endeavour to be exact in the use of language, and shall necessarily be brief, because the topic is one as to which I had long ago (to use the language of a distinguished lawyer) shut down the floodgates of my understanding.

When Professor Plumptre approaches the subject of the theology of the Athenian poet, he makes use of the following words:—

“The question, ‘What did this or that poet believe as to the will of God, the government of the universe, the destinies of mankind?’ seems to a large

school of critics an almost idle inquiry. 'We are concerned,' they say, 'with the elements of perfection in his work, not with his opinions or beliefs. The function of the poet is that of the supreme artist, capable of sympathizing with all fixed moods and passing impulses of man's nature, so far as to gain the power of reproducing them, and therefore with his religious affections among others. His own religious affections, if he have any, are nought to us. He is called to

"Sit apart, holding no form of creed,
And contemplating all;"

to be many-sided, myriad-minded, as Shakspeare and Goethe were. Strong convictions, a definite creed, may have their value in the formation of character, or in various forms of action upon men; but as regards the poet's work, they are simply detrimental, tending, at the best, to a second-rate excellence, marring the fair bloom and exquisite beauty of the artist's workmanship, bringing it down to the level of hymns, or sermons in verse, or didactic morality."

Personally I should certainly not think the consideration of a poet's religious beliefs an irrelevant or useless one. But Professor Plumptre will, I am quite sure, agree that, to use the words he has quoted from Mr. Tennyson's "Palace of Art," it is the duty of the "supreme artist," in the exercise of his office, to "hold" (in the sense of obtrude) "no form of creed." It would assuredly be the duty of a poet to paint the anguish of Niobe as impartially as that of "Rachel weeping for her children because they were not," and that of a Huguenot mother who had lost a child in the massacre of St. Bartholomew as impartially as that of a Roman Catholic mother who might have lost a child, by some accident, at the same time. The *man*, indeed, cannot be indifferent; but, obviously, the artist must.

It does not, however, follow that, in the language of the learned Professor, "strong convictions or a definite creed" must mar the poet's work; it is the poet's mistake if they do; they need not, unless by his fault, appear in his work in such a way as to spoil or injure it. In a minute or two I think we shall be able to see this more plainly.

But, again, the proposition that Art is of no creed, is surely not necessarily conterminous with that other proposition which Mr. Plumptre puts into the mouth of certain critics; namely, that "the excellence of the poet varies inversely as the strength of his religious convictions." I say not necessarily conterminous (though for the purpose of his argument it should be), in spite of the admitted fact, that the artistic or reproductive tendency is rarely found united with the dogmatic or affirmative tendency. For it is still conceivable that a poet should have "deep religious convictions;" should write his poetry religiously; and yet should not permit his beliefs to assume the place of generative or controlling conceptions in

his poems. Indeed, it will be seen, towards the close of the second extract, that the learned Professor has made a use of the name of Shakspeare, which expressly admits that a poet may write religiously, and yet that his religious belief shall not be generatively influential in his writings.

The criticisms of Professor Plumptre in the next two or three pages of his essay, we will come to in a moment, not omitting the subject of hymns. But let us first see if we cannot lay down the law of the case in terms which all parties—or at least Professor Plumptre, and a considerable public with whom I take sides in the matter—will at once agree upon.

In the first place, I will be indebted to a gentleman who has adorned this Review with some powerful writing, Mr. H. A. Page. In one of his essays he condemned those who had endeavoured to separate Religion, Art, and Morality. But, if I understand this, I should reply, that no person who had religious or moral feelings could pretend that this separation was possible, except in the symbols which are used for purposes of discussion. In the solidarity of life everything runs into everything—separation there can be none. Thus, the physical sciences osculate. Yet we can define chemistry, and can define physiology, which osculate perpetually; we know the province of the chemist, and the province of the anatomist; and we cannot dispense with classifications of the kind. Nor can we dispense with such symbols as the words Art, Religion, and Morals. Though they run into each other in life, they are as distinct in the logic of criticism as the *a*, *b*, and *x* in a sum in algebra. Every canon that is founded upon such distinctions is made with a *subauditur* to the effect that it is a "counsel of perfection:" and yet canons we must have. Nor is this reducing the whole topic to a mere logomachy; for Professor Plumptre would not deny that the point of view from which a man begins his work is of the essence of the case. He will, I am sure, allow that, though a work of art must be capable of bearing any test, either from the religious, or the philosophic, or the moral point of view, a man might look at things for ever, and go on working for ever, with a passionate eye to their truth or their goodness, and yet never produce a poem.

And thus Art, Religion, and Morals *are* separate, and must remain separate, taken as ideas. Coincident in their lines of direction, they are diverse in their beginnings. They all seek perfection as an end, but each commences the search from a different point. I confess I cannot see my way out of this.

That the religious emotions—the sense of the Divine Power in the world, the longing to communicate with it, the consciousness of wrong, the yearning after a clear vision of the moral order which

the Divine Power may be presumed to have established, the eager glance uplifted beyond the grave—that these things can by possibility be absent from the highest art, much less from the most articulate of arts, Poetry, I deny as firmly as Professor Plumptre would; for the moment the mind touches those highest peaks of human experience which are proper to the highest forms of art, it inevitably either finds religion, or else feels that religion is to seek (vainly, or otherwise, is of no consequence to our purpose). Nor, in fact, do we ever miss the religious ideas in poetry of a high order. They are always present, either in the shape of feeling consolidated into what we usually call “faith,” or in the shape of yearning, more or less distinct, and more or less akin to despair. In the last of these forms we have them in the poetry of Mr. Swinburne; in the former in that of, for example, Victor Hugo. Now, wherever there is “faith,” the man, if you push him, must express himself in a formula of some sort. So long as that formula does not exceed the limits of the emotions from the consolidated form of which it takes its rise, and so long as it is expressed in concrete or artistic form, the incalculable majority of mankind, myself among them, find it acceptable in poetry. All that some of us contend for is what Mr. H. A. Page actually admits in adopting a sentence of mine which scarcely deserved to be singled out for the purpose of expressing what seems to me an obvious truth. I had said elsewhere, that a novel of opinion must be a bad work of art, and must do injustice. This Mr. H. A. Page cordially adopts—and it involves every scrap of what some of us are fighting for. Carried as far as it goes, it yields this general law:—

Any matter of opinion whatever, consciously introduced into a work of art in such a way that it is organically connected with the structure of that work (*i.e.*, in such a way that it can neither be retained nor removed without interfering with the enjoyment of somebody who contemplates the work), is a flaw.

This may be stated in other terms, thus:—

Each art is conterminous, or, at least, homogeneous with each other art. You cannot state an opinion in a statue, or in a picture, or in a symphony. Therefore you must not state an opinion in a poem. In poetry your vehicle of expression is more definite than in any of the other arts, but your range of topic is identical.

These, it may be repeated, are canons of perfection, and canons, too, which are only necessary for the purpose of keeping up boundary lines in epochs of self-conscious and divaricated opinion. And, though an artist, say a sculptor, cannot (and ought not if he could) state an opinion in his work, he may—and, in proportion to his greatness and range of vision, he assuredly *will*—do that from which an opinion may be inferred. For example, he may, without having, himself, any con-

scious theory of life, put into a marble countenance an expression of triumphant faith. And this expression the philosopher or critic may draw out into a proposition which shall form an item of religious belief. The artist may do this kind of thing with intense sympathy or without it (though rarely the latter); but, except in his function of recorder or reproducer, he must not allow any sympathy to escape into his work upon points which lie outside of universal human experience. Thus, the spiritual suggestions and emotions which seek to express themselves in different creeds lie within his province. But formulated doctrines of any kind whatever, he has in strictness no right at all to express. If he attempts it, and in any degree succeeds, we invariably find that he has paid unconscious tribute to the canons by sliding into pure poetic form, and exhibiting dogma in the shape of narrative or picture. Take a verse out of Dr. Watts:—

“And, lest the shadow of a spot
Should on my soul be found,
He took the robe the Saviour wrought
And cast it all around.”

Here we have the dogma of imputed righteousness (which millions of even orthodox Christians reject), but it is shown to us as metaphor and picture; and so, having granted, as in the case of hymns we are expected to grant, the *donnée* of the work, we are not displeased. Again, take the case of Lucretius, instanced by Professor Plumptre, or the case of our own Alexander Pope. They both produced poetry, and, as we have been saying, in the solidarity of life everything runs into everything; but yet here, too, homage is done to the canons. It would not be poetry to say, even in the very best rhyme and time, “the characteristic of infinite intelligence is impartiality of observation.” But it is poetry, though of a quasi-rhetorical order, to say:—

He “sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish or a sparrow fall.”

Again, in the “In Memoriam,” it would not have been poetry to say (Canto cxxv.), “I am, at times, of opinion that the universal scheme will have a satisfactory conclusion.” But it is poetry to say:—

I “hear at times a sentinel
Who moves about from place to place,
And whispers to the worlds of space,
In the deep night, that all is well.”

This is not the statement of an opinion, but the record of an emotion, put into story or picture. Yet, in Pope and in Lucretius, as in all such poets, there is a great deal that is not poetry; for example, a mere comment like—

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

The position of Agamemnon himself was a topic of poetry, but this is a mere remark, and, barring the metre, flat prose.

A man who, supposing the thing possible, had only the faculties which go to make the perfect artist, and nothing else, would be, in the true etymological sense of the word, an idiot, or self-isolated being. There neither is, nor ought to be, any such person. Yet it is true that in proportion as the poet's skill is great, he can waive the question of personal belief. In Professor Plumptre's preface to Sadie's "Legacy of Verse," he has quoted a passage in which the lady expresses her warm admiration of Mr. Swinburne's "Litany." It is by general admission one of the most affecting of his poems. Yet, if the assumption or *donnée* of that poem were stated propositionally, Mr. Swinburne would turn away from it with sheer denial. Everything depends upon the form in which a thing is assimilated. As doctrine, for example, no specially Christian topic could be matter of poetry; but, assimilated as story, or (with all reverence be it spoken) as mythology, Christianity might become a topic of poetry—has been made such a topic. I have already said that a perfect artist would be a perfect idiot; but supposing such a being were found, and that he could assimilate the Christian story and the Christian emotions, it would be quite indifferent to him whether the narrative were true or not in any one particular. For the ends of the poet, or the painter, or the sculptor, one story is as good as another, so far as its mere truth is concerned. In other words, to restate the canon—an axiom, as it seems to me—no matter of contingent truth can be matter of art, *quâ* contingent truth. The proposition *St. Paul went to Malta* is identical in kind with the proposition *Cæsar went to Gaul*; and, though we fully believe both, it is perfectly conceivable that either might be proved false to-morrow.* So that, for ends of art of all kinds, either stands upon exactly the same footing as, *Apollo shot the Python*, or *William Tell shot an apple off his son's head*. The question is not, Is this true? but, Is this capable of being made to yield an affecting result? If anybody says that Christianity is not a proper theme for art at all, he takes another ground. And if he is an Evangelical Protestant, I think he is right. As a matter of fact, the Christian story never has been made a theme of high art with any result that can be called perfectly satisfactory except in the shape of the mythology into which it was cast by the

* The fact that we believe the life and labours of St. Paul left certain moral and spiritual deposits, does not alter the case. Suppose a person to come forward and say, "I have almost satisfied myself that there never was such a person as St. Paul: God inspired the minds of men with such and such spiritual ideas, and those ideas got clustered in some way round the life of some imaginary person." This would be ridiculous; but it is tenable, and so long as it is tenable, the case stands as I say.

Church of Rome. Yet, here again, it is noteworthy, and, indeed, most striking, that Evangelical Protestantism, in its hymnology, has done homage to the canons. The best and most accepted hymns are distinctly those in which Christian truth is assimilated in the form of incident or picture; in which the Christian emotions are put into concrete form. Of course, too, the emotions added by Christianity to the human experience are universal property. No man could, now, be a great, complete sculptor or painter, for example, who was incapable of putting into the human face that which we may find in Fra Angelico or Giotto, but not in the Apollo or the Venus Anadyomene.

I think, brief as these remarks are, we have travelled over the whole of the ground. Yet it is necessary, for the reader's information as well as desirable for his pleasure, to reproduce the three heads under which Professor Plumptre sums up what those critics of whom he is speaking seem to him to forget:—

“(1.) That this contemplation of many creeds, this power of dramatizing the inner life of each, is only possible when the poet is the heir of many ages, and has himself lived through a manifold experience. It belongs to the latest period of national culture. One might almost speak of it as a symptom of national decay. It comes, when firm faith and strong emotion, bounding joy and passionate hope, have died out; and it is not easy to strike the balance of what has been lost and gained since the earlier days, when men sang and wrote because ‘their heart was hot within them,’ and at last the ‘fire kindled,’ and so they ‘spake with their tongue.’ If there be in the history of most nations a still earlier period, when their literature is more simply objective, when, as yet, their minds are not vexed with questions, it must be remembered that the second stage is the fruit of a progress upwards, of thoughts widening with the years; and that, if there be a third and higher stage of excellence, it must be found in a combination of what was good in each, not by a mere return, or effort to return, to the first. (2.) They forget that many of the poems which have fixed themselves in men's hearts and memories—psalms, hymns, battle-songs—have been of the kind which they despise, the utterance of strong emotion having its root in very definite religious convictions. (3.) It is true that even of those who are most many-sided, and seem most creedless, that they preach a creed, that they are then at their highest point when they cease to bring before us the *dramatis personæ* of their ideal world, and utter something which they have felt intensely, and therefore speak strongly. Even of Goethe, Browning, and Tennyson, we may say that the words of theirs which dwell most with men are those which bring some message to them, offering, truly or falsely, some new apocalypse. If this is not true of the ‘*sovrano poeta*’ of Greece, it is because he lived in that earliest stage of progress when the problems of life are hardly more felt by men than they are by a vigorous and healthy child, when even the wildest sympathy could only bring him into contact with human passions, and could not draw within the range of his art, materials that were then non-existent. And of Shakspeare it is only true in part. If there is no utterance of religious conviction, there is, as has been often shown, a pervading reverence for the Christian life of England in the form which made it most conspicuously

national. And of some poets, whom no critic will venture to place on the lower level of the second class—of the unknown author of the Book of Job, Lucretius, and Dante, and Milton—it is conspicuously true, that their belief is part of their poetry; that they wrote poems to give utterance to it; that unless we understood it, the poems themselves are as a dead letter to us. Would those who bid us look only to the artistic perfection of the works of Sophocles and Æschylos, regard an inquiry into the teaching of the Book of Job as to the divine government of the world, as beyond the province of true criticism?"

I have already said, and I am sure the majority of critics would agree with me, that I do *not* think a man's religion can be separated from his work, or that any such "inquiry" as this would be idle or irrelevant. But, in dealing with such cases as those of Dante and Milton, it must be observed that, with respect to the first, most of his apparent breaches of the canons (I think not all) are taken out of the category of artistic sins by the word "consciously" which I have introduced. As to Milton, the same is partly true; but his faults in this respect are greater than Dante's, and no critic, to my knowledge, has ever condoned them. However, these poets, even when they violate or seem to violate the canon which I have ventured to call axiomatic, still do homage to it in the forms which they employ.

As to the reference to Shakspeare—we will read the three points backwards, having begun in that way—I do not see how it helps Mr. Plumptre. I agree with it, and that is all I can say. But as to the general bearing of the third head of comment here, it must be observed that it is not, as a rule, good poetry or good art of any kind that pleases most the majority of men and women—who are, undoubtedly, sententious in their literary appreciations. If the statement that those words of great poets "which bring some message or apocalypse dwell most with men," refers to men of distinct poetic sensibility, I should decidedly dispute the fact, in the sense in which I suppose it must be taken here. Taken baldly, it neither accords with my own experience nor with my own observation. Much, however, turns upon what might be inferable from specific instances. If, indeed, a "new message" be cast in high poetic form—that is, if we have presented to us a splendid suggestion in a splendid image—it may well be that such things should "dwell most" with us. Otherwise, though the words may dwell with us, and even pass into our common talk, it is not as poetry, but as high felicities of expression of the kind which may be found in both prose and verse, though they are more easily remembered in the latter.

To pass on to the second head. In hymns proper, we are, beforehand, asked to make an assumption, and we do it, believingly or not. Even under that condition, however, as I have said, and could abundantly

dantly prove by example, the best hymns conform to the canon, and contain a minimum of stated dogma. Nor is that all. For I think that the trunk, the chief weight of "strong emotion" in such hymns, psalms, and battle-songs as the Professor refers to, has *not* "its root in very definite religious convictions," but might exist and break into song apart from such "definite convictions." The customary terms to which such emotions have in these cases attached themselves have become, unconsciously to the men, rallying points of verbal symbol, whose place might be taken by other such symbols, or even, in the majority of cases, wholly emptied of "definiteness." In saying this, however, I am assuming that the words "very definite religious convictions" refer to creeds, in which something is added, on evidence, to the primary elements of religious faith; and what I mean is, that the "strong emotion" has not usually its *root* in any such addition. It might be urged, too, that hymns, psalms, and battle-songs, however beautiful, are not necessarily works of art, but poems in which we make an assumption to begin with; poems excluded from the category of pure Art by the fact that (if that be really so) there is something quite exceptional about them.

With regard to the first heading, what is said under it is met by the word "consciously" in the canon. In the second stage referred to by the learned Professor, beliefs are childlike, and their introduction into poetry or other art is innoxious. We make the necessary assumption, once for all, and there is an end. In what the Professor calls "the latest (?) period of national culture," we feel the need of a canon, because opinion is very much divaricated. The Professor's "third and higher stage" must, in the nature of things, either be (1) a stage in which all men shall hold precisely the same religious beliefs, with the same certainty of conviction as they hold that twice two are four; or (2) a stage in which the canon shall be universally obeyed, *i.e.*, a stage in which Art shall be able to express universal truth in its own language, without the remotest admixture of opinion in organic relation to the work itself.

MATTHEW BROWNE.



MATTHEW TINDAL.

THOMAS SHERLOCK, Dean of Chichester, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and finally Bishop of London, preached the annual sermon in behalf of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" in the year 1714. In that sermon he said: "The religion of the gospel is the true original religion of reason and nature, and its precepts declarative of that original religion, which was as old as the creation." This was a great commendation to the religion of the gospel, and if it really had its foundation in nature and reason, the occasion on which Sherlock preached was a proper one for mentioning so important a fact. But was it any gain for the gospel to be so rational? And if its reasonableness was that for which it was commendable, did it not follow that if there was anything in it beyond or above nature and reason, that part was less commendable, that is, less commendable to reason than what was rational? Was that which constituted the substance of the gospel nothing more than the religion of nature and reason? What Sherlock meant is a question into which we need not enter. Tindal understood him to mean that the gospel and the religion of reason were identical, and to prove this proposition he wrote a book which he called, in the words of Sherlock, "Christianity as old as Creation."

Matthew Tindal was the son of a clergyman in Devonshire. He was sent to Oxford as a youth, and entered at Lincoln College.

He afterwards obtained a fellowship at All Souls, which he held to the end of his life. If we reckon by the time of his appearing in the Deistical controversy, he was one of the last of the English Deists; but he was really an older man than either Toland, Collins, or Woolston. In his seventieth year he published, "*Christianity as old as Creation*," but for many years he had been known as a controversial writer, and had been long regarded as an enemy of the Church and the clergy. Tindal's history is brief and uneventful, as the history of a man whose life is spent as a Fellow of a College must be, almost of necessity; but it is not without its lessons. He came to Oxford about the time of the Restoration. His mind being, as he tells us, in every way unfurnished, he readily fell in with the prevailing High-Church notions of the time. When the Roman Catholic emissaries of James II. came to Oxford, he was one of the first to conform to the Church of Rome, reasoning that if High-Churchism had any solid foundation, separation from Rome could not be justified. Going out into the world, or, as his biographer expresses it, "by means of free conversation with gentlemen in public coffee-houses in London, he found the absurdities of Roman Catholicism to be greater than he had imagined." He re-examined the constitution of the Church of England, and was convinced that High-Churchism had no foundation there. "High Churchmen," he said, "mean some other *Church* than the Church of England," which, "being established by Acts of Parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil power." As Tindal returned to Protestantism about the time of the abdication of James, his enemies did not fail to find a reason for the change, but his biographer maintains that his re-conversion took place before that event.

The Church of England in Tindal's day was divisible into two leading parties. These were called High Church and Low Church. The former were the sincere defenders of the divine right of Episcopacy that they have been since the time of Laud. The latter consisted of the rational party, which included almost all the great English theologians of the last century. They are now called Latitudinarians. Against High-Churchism, Tindal wrote several books; and long before he appeared as a Deist, High Churchmen had consigned him to perdition. His old tutor, Dr. Hickes, called him "*Spinoza revived*," and Dr. Evans, another Oxford divine, sent him to banquet with the devil, in company with Hobbes, Spinoza, and Milton.

"But above all the hot-brained atheist crew
That ever Greece or Rome or Britain knew,
Wave all their laurels and their palms to you."

Spinoza smiles and cries, 'The work is done.
 Tindal shall finish (Satan's darling son)—
 Tindal shall finish what Spinoza first began. }
 Hobbes, Milton, Blount, Vanini with him join,—
 All equally admire the vast design."

The chief of Tindal's publications on the Church question was a book called, "The Rights of the Christian Church asserted against *Romish* and all other priests who claim an independent power over it." As a defence of the Erastian constitution of the Church of England, and as a refutation of the claims of Episcopacy, this was one of the ablest books ever written on the subject. The author had the honour of a presentment, along with the printer and publisher, by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. The book was written against and preached against by High Churchmen at home, and commended for its learning and moderation by eminent divines of the Reformed Churches abroad. Le Clerc, who had a great respect for the Church of England, and was partial to Episcopal government, made it the subject of a long review in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. The Lower House of Convocation,—that judicious, circumspect, and always orthodox body of men,—discovered that "Le Clerc had been paid for commending Tindal's book, and that *infidels* (Tindal and his friends) had procured abstracts and commendations of their profane writings, probably drawn up by themselves, to be inserted in foreign journals, and that they had translated them into the English tongue and published them here at home, in order to add the greater weight to their wicked opinions."

On the title-page of "Christianity as old as Creation" Tindal put several quotations as mottoes, expressing the scope of his argument. Some were from the New Testament, one from Grotius, one from Eusebius, and one from Samuel Clarke. After the passage mentioned from Bishop Sherlock, the most pointed was a sentence out of the "Retractations of St. Augustine:"—"The thing which is now called the Christian religion was also among the ancients, nor was it wanting from the beginning of the human race, until Christ Himself came in the flesh, when the true religion which then was began to be called Christian."

The question was not raised whether Christianity be true or false. The whole inquiry was in what sense Christianity is true. Are we to believe it because of its internal evidence, its reasonableness, or because it is delivered to us on authority? Tindal did not deny the truth of traditional religion, but he held that tradition was too uncertain a foundation for religion to rest on. The external evidence of Christianity did not amount to a demonstration of its truth, and so long as the question of evidence was at issue, so long there was

a question whether the essence of Christianity consisted in that which carries its own reason with it, or in that which depends merely on authority. The two parties into which the Church of England was divided, had already taken different sides on this question. The rational, or Low Churchmen, ever since the days of Hobbes, had been laying deep the foundations of natural religion. The High Churchmen attached great importance to the holy *rites*, and under the head of doctrines of the gospel they rather embraced the speculative dogmas of the Church than the moral teaching of Christianity. Whatever might be the value of positive rites or speculative doctrines, Tindal reasoned that they could not constitute the essence of Christianity, because they were not a part of natural religion, which did not, or rather could not, differ from revealed, except in the manner of its being communicated. They are both, he said, revelations of the same unchangeable will of a Being, who is alike at all times infinitely good and wise. On the belief that there is a God, this must be His character, and if men are responsible for their actions, they must have, to some extent, the means of knowing what is the Divine will. From the beginning all men must have had some law or rule, by observing which they are acceptable to God. As no external revelation could do more than make men acceptable to God, the first natural, original, or internal law must have been perfect, and in itself incapable either of addition or diminution. The name Christianity may be of later date, but the thing itself must be as old and as extensive as human nature. It may be objected that all men have not equal knowledge, and that though this law of nature may be perfect in itself, all men have not the means of knowing it perfectly. To this Tindal answers, that all men have sufficient knowledge for the circumstances in which they are placed. A sincere desire to know the Divine will must always make men acceptable to God. He cannot require more than that men should strive to the best of their ability to know what is right, and to follow it. We are to reach this knowledge by means of the faculties by which we are distinguished from the brutes. By these faculties we know that there is a God, what are His laws, and that we are to be accountable for them. Whatever He requires us to believe and practise must be in itself a reasonable service. As the eye is given to see what is visible, and the ear to hear what may be heard, so is reason given to know the rational. Since God has bestowed upon all men a knowledge of those things which are hurtful to their bodies, it is not to be supposed that He has had less regard to their immortal souls. There is a clear and distinct light in natural reason which enlightens all men. Let them but attend to this light, and they shall perceive those eternal truths which are the foundation of all knowledge. Archbishop Tillotson,

Bishop Wilkins, and other writers of that school had maintained as a certain truth that there must be a law independent of the Scriptures, and previous to all external revelation; that by this law all men shall be judged, and therefore it must be everywhere so plain as that no one can plead ignorance of it. Tindal takes it for granted that there is sufficient evidence that Jesus was sent from God to publish an external revelation, and he maintains that it is greatly to advance the honour of this revelation to be able to show that it is in perfect agreement with the reason and the conscience.

The religion of nature, he says, is plain. It arises out of our relations to God and to each other. By considering these relations, we learn our duty, which is the practical part of religion. As God before creation was completely happy in Himself, He could have no motive in framing His creatures and giving them laws, but to promote their good. It follows from this that nothing can be a part of the Divine law which is not conducive to the common interest and mutual happiness of all rational creatures. He has so connected our present actions with our future happiness, that to sin against Him is to sin against ourselves. It is to act contrary to our rational nature. Reason teaches us that we are not to indulge our senses to the prejudice of either mind or body; that we are to moderate all our passions; that as we have a rational nature it must govern us. By obeying it, we must be fulfilling the will of Him who, by thus connecting our happiness with reason, so plainly directs us to what is His will. There is implanted in man a love for his kind. The gratification of this leads to acts of benevolence, compassion, and good-will. These produce a pleasure which never satiates, while the contrary have for their natural fruits shame, confusion, and everlasting reproach. In no other way could God have more clearly revealed His will than by making everything within us and without us a declaration of it, and an argument for keeping it. In an external revelation it is impossible to lay down rules applicable to every particular case that may arise. There must be, on the supposition of our responsibility, some standing rule discernible by the eyes of reason. Religion must in its essence be always and everywhere the same. Being founded on our relations to God, and our duties to each other, it must be immutable. One jot or tittle of this eternal law can never be abrogated or changed.

To live up then to the dictates of our rational nature constitutes the only true and lasting well-being. We have only one principle which can properly be called *innate*, and that is the desire for happiness. God has given us reason to discern what actions do or do not lead to this. Our nature is most perfect when it is most rational. The felicity of the Divine Being consists in His moral goodness. He follows the infallible dictates of His own reason. In imitating His purity an

His rectitude we participate in His blessedness. *We live the life of God.* We become His children by a new birth, and are made perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect. It is our reason which constitutes the image of God within us. It is the bond which unites earth and heaven. Rational actions carry with them their own reward, and irrational their own punishment. There is no virtue which has not some good inseparably annexed to it, and no vice which does not necessarily carry with it some evil. It is true that in this life we are subject to diseases and disasters which often interfere with the natural results of well-doing. Yet even in this life to follow the dictates of right reason is to have an inward peace, and hereafter, when freed from the present imperfection, the happiness of rational, that is, of virtuous and righteous men, will be complete. It is not necessary to suppose that God, like a human lawgiver, has recourse to rewards and punishments. Good and evil having their foundations in the essential differences of things, joy or suffering follows as the natural and necessary result of our deeds. God has spoken plainly by the revelation in nature, which our reason can understand. It is impossible that He can tell us our duty by any book more plainly than He has done by natural reason. No book can give rules for every case that may arise in the ever-varying circumstances of our lives. Even the gospel precepts cannot be followed according to the letter. To find their proper meaning we must go back to what the law of nature antecedently teaches to be our duty. No commands can alter the nature of things, or make that *fit* which in itself is *unfit*. External revelation must attend the utterances of right reason. It can only speak what reason speaks. If revelation required less than reason it would be imperfect. If it required more it would be tyrannical. The precepts of the gospel Dr. Barrow truly says are no other than such as a physician prescribes for the health of our bodies, such as reason dictates. Tillotson says that "all the precepts of Christianity are reasonable and wise, requiring such duties as are suitable to the light of nature;" and St. Augustine says, "He that knows how to love God, and to regulate his life by that love, knows all that the Scripture propounds to be known."

The penalties annexed to the Divine laws, Tindal maintains, are for the good of mankind. They do good even to those who suffer. God does not punish men for their sins because He wants reparation. He cannot be injured, and, therefore, He can never require satisfaction. We make God in our own image when we think that He seeks worship and honour for His own sake. We cannot be profitable to God, nor is it any gain to Him that we are righteous. To represent Him as revengeful and wrathful is to clothe Him with human infirmity. If He could be made angry by the con-

duct of such wretched mortals as we are, He would never have a moment's peace; but He loves even when He punishes, for the object of punishment is not to leave the creature in a state of sin, which is inevitably a state of misery. With this view of punishment it is impossible that it can be never-ending, for endless punishment could not be for the good of the creature. Tillotson has well expressed himself on this subject where he says: "There is none can do a greater evil than the good he has done amounts to; and I think it next to madness to doubt whether extreme and eternal misery be not a greater evil than simple being is a good."

It is not, Tindal continues, for God's sake, but for our own, that we worship Him. This comes from what we know of the Divine nature. Prayer is properly a contemplation of God's attributes—an acknowledgment of His great and constant goodness. It serves to keep up a sense of our dependence on Him, and disposes us to imitate the perfections which we admire in Him. Le Clerc has said that "nothing is more contrary to the nature of the gospel than commands which have no relation to the good of mankind. Religion was revealed for us, and not for God." Even the Sabbath day was not for God, but for man. Tindal spoke of it as a great honour to the clergy of his time that they tried to teach the people humane and benevolent principles. Not long before, the only zeal which the people showed for religion was to hate every one that the priest hated. The end for which Christ came into the world was not to teach men new duties, but to teach them to repent of the breach of duties well known. There were the lost sheep, and those that were not lost; the sick, and those who did not require a physician. He came to save the lost, to heal the sick. His remedy was repentance and amendment. They that were whole had no need of repentance, and they that wrought righteousness in every nation were accepted of Him.

Natural and revealed religion having the same object, their precepts must be the same. Natural religion being perfect, what is revealed must be judged of by its agreement with natural religion. Whatever can be shown to tend to the natural good of the creature must be a superstructure that belongs to the law of nature. It is objected that the good of the creature and the honour of God may sometimes interfere with each other. Tindal answers that this is impossible. To glorify the Father is to let our light shine before men. The Father is glorified when the disciples of Jesus bear much fruit. We cannot love God and hate our brother. This identity of the human and the divine is one of the deepest lessons of cultivated reason. Marcus Aurelius has beautifully said, "Thou wilt never do anything purely human in a right manner unless thou knowest the relation it bears to things divine, nor anything divine unless thou

knowest all the ties it has to things human." Man gives glory to God by following that reason, which is God's light in his soul, and by fulfilling the duties of this life he serves the end for which he was created. Bishop Sherlock is quoted at length as showing the identity of the religion of nature and external revelation. The necessity of the latter arises from "the ignorance and superstition that had grown upon the world," and the religion of the gospel being "the true original religion of reason and nature, it has a claim to be received *independent* of those miracles which were wrought in its confirmation."

The cause of all superstition and all the evil that men have inflicted on each other in the name of religion is through neglecting what reason dictates concerning God. To prove this statement Tindal examines some of the practices of the ancient religions. Among those to be condemned he mentions circumcision. Had this been required by nature it would have been required always. He supposes that Abraham adopted it from the Egyptians, with a view to commend his posterity to their favour. It was not till God ordered Moses into Egypt that *the Lord met him by the way in the inn, and sought to kill him for not circumcising his son.* Circumcision was not practised in the wilderness. But when the Israelites were encamped at Gilgal then the Lord said to Joshua, "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." The custom of offering sacrifice is another evil enumerated among those that spring out of superstition. The heathen nations imagined that their deities were delighted with the butchering of animals, and that the *sweet-smelling savour* atoned for their crimes. At first sacrifices were probably on religious festivities, or the commemoration of some national benefit. As men became more wicked, and the power of superstition stronger, they sacrificed beasts, and at length they offered human victims. But, in spite of these instances, reason still had its followers, who knew that God did not delight in the fat of rams, and that the acceptable sacrifice was a broken spirit and a contrite heart. Ovid wrote—

"Nec bove mactato cœlestia numina gaudent,
Sed, quæ priestanda est et sine teste, fide."

Tindal maintains that human sacrifices were sanctioned by the Levitical law, that Abraham was commended for being ready to offer up Isaac, and that Jephthah sacrificed his daughter. For this reason Jephthah is reckoned among Jewish heroes by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and Bishop Smalridge says "that all the Fathers, as well as our own homilies, own that he sacrificed his daughter."

As God never acts arbitrarily or interferes unnecessarily, He leaves

human discretion to determine what means are most conducive to those things which are in their own nature obligatory. The means being changeable, in order to suit the different circumstances of different people and nations, they are not of that appointment in the same sense as are things eternal and immutable. It is not necessary that God should interpose with arbitrary commands. Every thing of this kind that has been introduced into religion has been made a burden to human nature. We have ample evidence of this in the history of the two sacraments instituted by Jesus. What could be more simple or more reasonable than these are? and yet there are men who think that to sprinkle an infant with water is to save it, and to eat bread and drink wine is mysteriously to eat the flesh and drink blood. No substitute for spiritual religion means and drinks, washings and sprinklings of blood and water is that in which the superstitious mind is always prone. The Pagans had their *Phrygia*, in which they beatified a man in a pot with the blood of a bull, which fell through the holes of a plank on which the beast was slain. And this was believed to wash away all his sins, and to make him beautiful for ever, provided that every twenty years he renewed this baptismal regeneration. The priests are always attached to ceremonies, and are generally the promoters of superstition, but there are always men of sense who follow reason. Augustine, a weak learned Father of the Church, might say: "Give us one that is unjust, foolish, and a sinner, and in one instant he shall be just, pious, and innocent: with one laver all his wickedness shall be washed away." But Christ, the Papian philosopher, who was much nearer the kingdom of God, said: "Vultus laboris non datur, nititur evanescere, non amittit uti est potest."

Pindar argues that to make religion consist in merely positive institutions is inconsistent both with the good of mankind and the honour of God. The happiness of society depends on the practice of morality. It is found that the more the mind is taken up with those religious observances which are not of a moral nature, the less it attends to those which are. The Italian banditti are the most scrupulous observers of the external ordinances of the Church. In most places the substance of religion has been destroyed to make room for superstition, immorality, and persecution. There are even now in the best reformed Churches people who persuade themselves that God is wonderfully concerned about small things, trifling opinions, trifling dogmatic notions, the rites, modes, and appendages of religion. It has been observed that in our dealings with men we are seldom satisfied with the fullest assurance given us of their soul for religion. If we are told that a man is religious, we still ask what are his morals. But if we hear that a man has honest principles, we seldom enter in

ask whether he be religious and devout. Tacitus observed in his time that "men extremely liable to superstition are at the same time as violently averse to religion." Tillotson says that "men are apt to take to pacifying God by some external piece of religion—such as were sacrifices among the Jews and heathens. The Jews pitched upon those that were most pompous and solemn, the richest and most costly. So that they might but keep their sins, they were well content to offer up anything else to God. They thought nothing too good for Him, provided He would not oblige them to become better. As to the Church of Rome, they are the most skilful people in the world to pacify God. Shall I go before a crucifix to bow myself to it as to the Most High God? To which of the saints or angels shall I go to mediate for me and intercede on my behalf? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Paternosters or Ave Marias? Shall the host travel in procession, or myself take a tedious pilgrimage? or shall I list myself a soldier for the Holy War? Shall I give my estate to a convent, or chastise and punish my body for the sin of my soul?" The heathen priests made the chief part of their religion to consist in gaudy shows and pompous ceremonies. The Mahometans make a pilgrimage to Mecca the highest act of their religion. To make void the moral law by vain tradition, and that under pretence of serving the temple, is an old error of men who sacrifice the substance of religion in clinging to the shadow.

"What vile things," says Tindal, "has not the abused name of the Church patronized? Nay, even in the best-constituted Church have we not lately heard mention of men fond of the name of *High Church*, whose religion chiefly consisted in drinking for the Church, cursing, and swearing, and lying for the Church, raising riots, tumults, and sedition, in favour of a Popish Pretender, and all for the security of the Protestant Church of England; or in believing that those who go to places with steeples can never be in the wrong, and that those who go to places without them can never be in the right?" "It is happy," Tindal adds, "for the laity that they can fall back upon reason and sense, and be independent of the traditional religion of the priests. To uphold their traditional religions in that which they are traditional, which is the positive or mutable parts, has been the temptation in all ages to depart from rectitude of heart and conduct. *Daille* says that the Holy Fathers in their controversial writings did not think themselves obliged to speak the truth, but that everything was lawful which served to gain the victory. *Scaliger* says that the primitive Christians put all things into their books which they thought would help Christianity. *St. Hilary* says that 'since the Council of Nice we have done nothing but make creeds—we make creeds every year, yea, every moon.' It is a just remark of *Uriel Acosta*, 'that when men depart ever so little from natural religion, it is the occasion of great strifes and divisions; but if they recede much from it, who can declare the calamities which ensue?' The heroes of old, instructed by the philosophers, learnt to look on the intrinsic loveliness of virtue, and the utter deformity of vice. They were taught in their actions to be guided by the common good. But now the good of the Church is set

up in opposition to the common good. It has even been maintained that vice is lovely, and virtue unlovely—that barring the consequence of a future state, they would act like fools who did not indulge themselves in a vicious course. Bishop Atterbury in a sermon has endeavoured to prove that *in this life the virtuous man is most miserable*. There are two ways which never fail to make superstition prevail—mysteries to amuse the enthusiasts, especially the pretenders to deep learning, and all that admire what they do not understand; and gaudy shows and pompous ceremonies to bewitch the vulgar."

The Church of Rome, Tindal says, has made the most of these, and by them has weakened the force of Christianity in the hearts and lives of men. The Quakers are most averse to ceremony, and among them religion seems to have made the deepest impression. To magnify revelation some men weaken the force of the religion of reason and nature. But this is to strike at the root of all religion. For the government of human actions there cannot be two independent rules. It may be objected that reason is fallible, and revelation infallible. To this the answer is, that whatever is true by reason can never be false by revelation. To suppose anything in revelation inconsistent with reason, is to destroy all rational proof for the truth of religion. If our reasoning faculties, duly attended to, deceive us, we have no certainty for anything, but can only float on a shoreless sea of scepticism. To weaken the force of reason in order to magnify tradition, is to sap the foundation in order to support the superstructure. So long as reason is against men, they will be against reason. We see men trying to reason men out of their reason, which is a demonstration that we really have nothing to trust to in the end but reason as the final judge or arbiter. It is the highest commendation that we can give to religion to say that it is a reasonable service. There are self-evident notions which are the foundation of all our reasonings. Without these there could be no intellectual communication between God and man. As we are constituted, God cannot assure us of any truth but by showing its agreement with these self-evident notions. Revelation in any other way besides the light of nature can only come under the head of probability; and the probability of facts depending on human testimony must gradually lessen in proportion to the distance of time when they were done. The internal excellency of the Scriptures is the main proof of their coming from God. "For my part," says Chillingworth, "I profess if the doctrine of the Scripture was not as good and as fit to come from God, the fountain of goodness, as the miracles by which it was confirmed were great, I should want one main pillar of my faith; and for want of it, I fear, should be much staggered in it." We cannot be governed both by reason and authority. The one must bend to the other. "It is," says

Tindal, "an odd jumble to prove the truth of a book by the truth of the doctrine it contains, and at the same time conclude these doctrines to be true because contained in that book." We can have no fuller evidence of the sovereignty of reason than this, that when there is anything in a traditional religion which cannot be defended by reason, we have recourse to any method of interpretation, however forced, to make it appear reasonable.

We can only judge of a religion by its internal marks, or by miracles wrought in evidence of its truth. But miracles may be false miracles as well as true, and they may be performed by evil beings as well as by good. It was a proverbial saying among the philosophers of Greece, that "miracles are for fools, and reason for wise men." The Bæotians were remarkable for their stupidity and the number of their oracles. In the Christian world, ignorance and the belief of daily miracles go hand in hand. Scripture everywhere asks for examination. It calls reason "the inspiration of the Almighty." Isaiah represents God as inviting the people of Israel to come and reason with Him. Job says, "I desire to reason with God." St. Paul "reasoned" in the synagogue; "reasoned with the Jews out of the Scripture;" "reasoned (before Felix) of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Had men kept to reason, there would never have been any occasion for external revelation; and its great use now is, to lead men to observe those laws which make for their happiness both in the present life and in that which is to come. Tindal never denies the necessity of an external revelation. He admits the deplorable condition of the heathen world, but he does not admit that they are without the means of recovery. They have the same eternal law of reason which Christians have. Let them follow it, and they will be saved. It is objected that reason could never make known to us that there are three persons in the Godhead. Tindal answers that he does not profess to understand the "orthodox paradoxes." He will only say that he does not disbelieve them. He cannot have any faith which does not bear the test of reason. A book cannot be a guide to override reason. If it is figurative, or difficult to understand, so far it requires reason to interpret it. Athanasius says of the Bible, should we understand a great part of it literally, we should fall into the most enormous blasphemies. St. Gregory says, "The Scriptures are not only dead, but deadly, for it is written, *the letter killeth*." To lay stress on reason is not to set aside revelation, but rather, if the revelation be reasonable, to establish it. Whichcot does justice to external revelation. He says, "The Scripture way of dealing with men in matters of religion is always by evidence of reason and argument." "He adds, very judiciously," says Tindal,

"I reckon that which has not reason in it, or for it, is man's superstition, and not religion of God's making." Bishop Hoadly calls authority the greatest and most irreconcilable enemy to truth and argument that the world ever furnished. "It was authority," says the Bishop, "which hindered the voice of the Son of God Himself from being heard, and which alone stood in opposition to His powerful arguments and His Divine doctrine." As to some things being above reason, Tindal answered nearly in the words of Collins, that if he does not understand the terms of a proposition—if they are inconsistent with each other, or so uncertain that he does not know what meaning to fix upon them,—there is nothing told, and consequently no room for belief.

There must be, Tindal declares, in the multitude of mankind, ability to distinguish between religion and superstition. If not, men can never extricate themselves from the errors in which they were born. External proofs are beyond the multitude. They will never be convinced of the true religion but by its internal evidence. There are many things in the historical parts of the Scripture which cannot be literally true, and, consequently, the truth of religion cannot depend upon them. The common people must judge of the truth of Scripture by its internal marks, for they have not the capacity to enter into the innumerable disputes that require time and learning. God is sometimes represented as falsifying, not only His word, but His oath. The Old Testament prophecies are very difficult of interpretation, and some in the New Testament were never fulfilled, proving that those who uttered them were in error. The only reasonable course left is to take all for Divine Scripture which tends to the honour of God and the good of man. And this was really what St. Paul did, as Grotius rightly interprets the passage, that no Scripture is divinely inspired unless profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness. The natural revelation is direct from God; a traditional is one which we have on testimony. When they are different, and we follow the traditional, to the neglect of the rational, we are like that prophet in the Book of Kings who was persuaded by an old prophet to disobey the voice of the Lord, and for his disobedience was slain by a lion, which met him in the way, as he departed from Bethel.

In the last chapter of "*Christianity as old as Creation*," Tindal opposed some of the propositions laid down by Samuel Clarke in his Boyle Lectures on the "*Truth and Certainty of the Christian Religion*." As Clarke was one of the divines who laid the foundations of religion and morality in the unchangeable relations of reason and the natural fitness of things, it is here that we come nearest to a correct understanding of Tindal's views of Christianity. On the

excellency of natural religion Clarke had spoken as decidedly as Tindal had done. He pronounced the law of nature a perfect law, and he said almost in the words of *Cudworth*, that "the eternal and unchangeable nature and reason of things themselves are the laws of God, not only to His creatures, but also to Himself, as being the rule of His own actions in the government of the world." And this unchangeable law must always be the will and command of God to all His rational creation. Bishop Cumberland, in a passage quoted by Clarke, calls it "that law of nature to which the reason of all men everywhere as naturally and necessarily assents, as all animals conspire in the pulse and motion of their hearts and arteries, or as all men agree in their judgment concerning the whiteness of snow or the brightness of the sun." After drawing out a consistent scheme of natural religion, Clarke says, "now that Christianity has come, what was once a consistent scheme of Deism is so no longer." Tindal answers, if it were a consistent scheme once, it cannot be made inconsistent by revelation. Either it is the same as revelation, and in that case it stands, or it is different from revelation, and then it must stand, for the certainty of natural religion is greater than that of any external revelation can be. If the doctrines of reason are as evidently the will of God as that the sun is bright, it is impossible for the Deists to believe in the less evidence when they have the greater. Faith is here swallowed up in knowledge, and probability is lost in certainty. It is not likely that Clarke would have objected to what Tindal says of the certainty of natural religion, and he might have admitted its advantage in this respect over an external revelation; but when Clarke said that there was not now a consistent scheme of Deism, he did not mean precisely what Tindal understood him to mean. The argument, as propounded in his first discourse, is that Christianity so accords with reason, that whoever believes in natural religion must also receive the gospel. It was the argument of Lactantius to the Pagan philosophers, that if they continued to follow reason and philosophy, they must become Christians. There is no alternative but absolute *Atheism*, for the same difficulties and objections that are in the way of believing the doctrines of the gospel, lie equally against the doctrines of Deism.

So far Tindal and Clarke, if the terms had been properly defined, would probably have agreed; but after Clarke has said that some doctrines are in their own nature necessarily and demonstrably true, and others necessarily false, he adds, "that other doctrines are in their own nature *indifferent* or *possible*, or perhaps *probable* to be true, and these could not have been known to be positively true but by the evidence of miracles which prove them to be certain." Here Tindal objects that as God never acts arbitrarily, on Clarke's own principles,

there can be no doctrines *indifferent*. Every one of the doctrines of the Christian religion, Clarke says, has a "natural tendency, and a direct powerful influence to reform men's lives, and correct their manners," and he pronounces it a great and fatal mistake to think that any doctrine or any belief whatever can be any otherwise of any benefit to man than as it is fitted to promote this end. Some of the doctrines of Jesus were possibly or very probably true, yet we could not be assured of them without a revelation confirmed by miracles. Tindal objects that to distinguish between the *moral* part of Christianity and that which tends to promote the honour of God and the practice of righteousness, is to make a distinction without a difference, and he endeavours to show that, to make room for external revelation, Clarke contradicts what he has already said of the certainty of natural religion. In the original uncorrupted state of human nature, right reason was a sufficient guide; but after mankind had fallen, they required supernatural assistance. Clarke expresses this strongly, saying that a Divine revelation was absolutely necessary for the recovery of mankind. Tindal takes this to mean that without an external revelation men were under an absolute impossibility of recovery from the universal corruption and degeneracy into which they had fallen. If this be the right interpretation, it is to suppose that for 4,000 years God left men without the means of knowing their duty, and yet expected them to do it. If the light of revelation did not come till a late age in the world, and it commanded things not commanded by the light of nature, we must conclude that until that time it was not necessary for God to command them, nor expected of men to do them. Yet Clarke, according to Tindal, makes the light of nature and right reason altogether insufficient to restore true piety, laying the fault not in man, but in the light of nature, which at one time, he says, "nowhere appeared," and at another time that it "has undeniable defects in it." In another place Clarke says, "Even those few extraordinary men of the philosophers who did sincerely endeavour to reform mankind, were themselves entirely ignorant of some doctrines absolutely necessary for bringing about the great end of the reformation and recovery of mankind. The whole attempt to discover the truth of things, and to instruct others therein, was like 'wandering in the wide sea, without knowing whither to go, or which way to take, or having any guide to conduct them.'" Tindal supposes this to mean that the heathen were left without the means of being saved, and pronounces Dr. Clarke's scheme as less merciful than that of the Predestinarians. In all ages the Predestinarian believed there were some elect, but here men are inextricably involved in depravity, corruption, and impiety. Against this conclusion Tindal urges that the Pagan world was under no

necessity of being in such darkness and ignorance, for that which may be known of God was manifest enough in all ages. No age indeed could know more of God than was knowable, but all men have had sufficient light to teach them their duty, and by that light shall be rewarded or condemned. They who followed the corruptions of the heathen world did not do it in perfect ignorance. They knew the judgment of God, that *they who did such things are worthy of death*. God has given every man a plain rule for his conduct. An ignorant man may not know so much as the learned Rector of St. James's, yet he may know what is sufficient for him. Clarke says that the philosophers were ignorant of the whole scheme, order, and state of things. Tindal assumes that we are in the same ignorance still. The things to which Clarke referred were the Bible accounts of the fall of man, and the scheme of restoration by means of a Redeemer. Tindal replies that the philosophers would scarcely have been satisfied with the stories of Adam and Eve, the serpent tempting them, and the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the evening; and as to knowing how to be restored to God's favour, Tindal answered with Locke, that all men know this is to be done by repentance and amendment.

The arguments of "Christianity as old as Creation" were really directed against Tindal's former friends, the High Churchmen. He calls himself a Christian Theist, and nowhere denies the supernatural character of external revelation. His adversaries attributed to him many indirect designs against religion, but the only ostensible and really tangible object of his book was to show that the essence of Christianity did not consist in any positive institutions or precepts. Whether or not there were any positive institutions of Divine appointment was a further question; but the multitude of ecclesiastical precepts, and the ceremonies which constituted the religion of most Christians, he declared to have no authority, but were the inventions of the clergy, and tended only to keep the people in superstition. Christianity is a reasonable service—the religion of a sound mind.

Tindal's opponents were very numerous, and, what is very remarkable, the ablest of them were of the rational or Latitudinarian school. Scarcely one High Churchman appeared against him. Dr. Stebbing wrote a defence of Clarke's Evidences. He reasoned keenly, but he was not above unworthy insinuations as to Tindal's ulterior object. When Tindal praised Clarke's lectures, Stebbing said it was only an artifice, meaning that Christianity was not capable of defence. He would confine himself to that part of the argument which concerned the use and advantages of the gospel revelation. He maintained that Clarke had followed the Apostles in laying the foundation of Christianity in natural religion, which is binding on the consciences

of all men antecedent to any revelation. St. Paul referred to the law of nature when he said that the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, appeared unto all men. We are to regard the gospel as a remedy for our apostacy. It is no disparagement to the gospel to consider it as an instrument to restore natural religion, nor is it any disparagement, as Tindal supposes, to natural religion that the gospel supports it, for the gospel offers a remedy which was not offered in natural religion. The main question at issue between Clarke and Tindal is to reconcile what Clarke says of the perfection of the law of nature with the defects he ascribes to it. Stebbing was to prove that revelation was indeed necessary. It is not evident that Tindal denied this in the sense in which Stebbing uses the word *necessary*. Stebbing's explanation of Clarke is that he reasoned of the necessity of revelation from the actual condition of mankind. Tindal ridiculed the Bible account of the fall, but he did not deny that men were in great ignorance, and that any means of instructing them how to rise out of it were useful, desirable, and so necessary. He admitted, too, that the gospel, being a reasonable religion, was well fitted for this object. Stebbing denies that Clarke laid the fault on the law, and not on mankind. He admitted right reason to be a sufficient guide before the mind of man was depraved; but it is not now sufficient for the bulk of mankind, because of the force of corruption, though, even in spite of this corruption, *some few in all ages* have discovered plain moral duties. Stebbing goes on to show that Clarke and Tindal do not differ on this subject—that Clarke's account of the light of nature is that it is clear and strong, but not irresistible, and that Tindal says the same thing. *No rational creature can be ignorant of natural religion who attends to the dictates of his own mind.* Stebbing denies that Clarke ever said the heathen were invincibly ignorant. His position is that the general wickedness and darkness of men were so great that they needed *further instruction*. Clarke's views are explained in a passage he quotes from Cicero, "As in physic, it matters nothing whether a disease be such as that no man *does*, or no man *can* recover from it; so in the present case there is no difference, whether men *cannot* reform themselves or whether they *will not*." With the adroitness of a controversialist Stebbing turns on Tindal's doctrine of *sincerity*, and charges him with making it equivalent to keeping the moral law, thus advancing the grossest Pagan errors to an equality with Christian faith and morality, and making a state of ignorance as good as a state of knowledge—a consequence which we cannot see was in any way implied by what Tindal said.

Clarke spoke of some doctrines unknown to the philosophers as absolutely necessary for the recovery of mankind. Tindal answered that these must either be doctrines of natural religion, or that they were not absolutely necessary for the recovery of mankind. Stebbing

mentions what these doctrines were. (1.) The manner in which God might be acceptably worshipped, and (2) the method by which such as have erred from the right way and have offended God may yet again restore themselves to His favour. Here the objection is plainly against the light of nature. It is not a sufficient guide for man in his present ignorance and corruption. But these doctrines concern man as a fallen being. They reveal a way of recovery. Difficulties arise which the original law is not able to explain. Revelation was an explanation of them. These doctrines, which had no relation to man as an innocent being, were important to him as a sinner. They may be said to be beyond or outside of the law of nature, yet their tendency was not to mend or perfect the original law, but to influence the behaviour of men for good, and to bring them back to the duties of natural religion. God has promised forgiveness on condition of repentance, and He has told us to perform acts of worship, the effect of which is to confirm faith, and be helps to virtue. This is Stebbing's explanation of the doctrines revealed in the gospel.

The question narrows itself to this—What is Christianity? Is it, as Tindal says, co-extensive with natural religion, neither more nor less; or does it, as Sherlock, Clarke, and Stebbing maintain, include doctrines peculiar to itself, which, though not different from the principles of reason and nature—that is, do not really contradict them—are yet distinct from them? Sherlock said, in explanation of the very words on which Tindal fastened, that there were some institutions in the gospel which in their own nature are no constituent parts of religion. Their object is to confirm and strengthen our hope in God, but not to supply the defects of natural religion. The positive institutions of Christianity are only instruments, but not, on that account, says Stebbing, to be called arbitrary commands. There are Christian institutions which, if Christianity were taken away, would have no meaning—such, for instance, as the commemoration of the Last Supper. The same is true of what are called the speculative truths of the gospel, such as the doctrine of reconciliation. It is true also of some practices which arise out of certain doctrines which show us duties that would not have been duties if the gospel had not commanded them. They are not *indifferent* doctrines as respects use, but they are without natural obligation. The one tangible doctrine which must be made the test of the controversy is that which concerns the method of the Divine forgiveness. Tindal concluded that as the Pagan world placed it in repentance and amendment, they were not ignorant of the way of salvation. Stebbing goes into a long argument to prove that we cannot conclude, on the mere ground of the Divine goodness, that God will forgive sin. He disputed the

truth of the statement of Locke, that God, who is rich in mercy, will forgive His frail offspring if they acknowledge their faults, and strive to conform their actions to the law of nature. Stebbing says there may be a scheme or order of things of which we are not competent judges. In this order it may be a necessity that justice require satisfaction, and that goodness be directed by wisdom. On this supposition a scheme of reconciliation must be *revealed*. Tindal argues that if the knowledge of this scheme is absolutely necessary to salvation, then it ought to be made known to all men. Stebbing answers that perhaps the reason for the want of universality cannot be given. Revelation being an act of mercy, not of justice, God is at liberty to give it to whom He will. This Tindal never denied, except on the understanding that these revealed doctrines were absolutely necessary to salvation. In that case the man who never had the means of recovery had a right to complain not only of the want of Divine mercy, but also of Divine justice.

Another writer of the rational school who replied to Tindal was Balguy. He had already written against Shaftesbury in a "Letter to a Deist." He now writes against Tindal, "A Second Letter to a Deist." He says the book should have been called "Christianity older than the Creation;" or rather, "Christianity before all Ages." The two main pillars of Tindal's scheme he finds to be (1), That the law of nature is perfect and unchangeable; (2), That all men are naturally capable of discovering it. The inference he supposes to be made is—that the gospel is needless, and all revelation superfluous. The second is not a very accurate expression of Tindal's doctrine, and the inference is Balguy's, not Tindal's. It is agreed that as man is in ignorance he requires instruction. Temperance and exercise constitute a good rule of health; but it does not follow that physic and the physicians are useless. The light of nature might give men hopes that repentance would produce some good effect; but what this effect might be was beyond the power of men to describe. They wanted deliverance from the penalty as well as from the power of sin. Moral and Divine truths are discoverable by our unassisted faculties, as the lights of heaven are seen by the naked eye. The gospel, like the telescope, brings them nearer. To Tindal's question, if God had not enabled all mankind, even those who never heard of the gospel, to obtain as much light and knowledge as are sufficient to the discharge of their duty, Balguy answers decidedly, without a scruple or hesitation, in the affirmative. It cannot possibly, he says, be any man's duty to do what is not in his power to know. Whoever improves his knowledge as much as he can, and practises accordingly, is sure to discharge his duty. In this sense and in this respect no one wants light. Balguy renounces what he calls the absurd doctrine

of *hereditary guilt*; but he acknowledges the actual fact of human corruption, and this in connection with original guilt. Whatever, he says, wounds or weakens the root must naturally hurt the branches. The light, however, was not extinguished. The chief lines of duty remain visible to all men unless they wilfully shut their eyes. Still the light of reason is not sufficient to bring men to that standard of duty which belongs to their nature, and that state of perfection of which they are capable. But even if it were, revelation, though less needful and less expedient, would still not be useless. And this, according to Balguy, is all for which Clarke contended—that the generality of men stood in need of more light and better instruction. Clarke never even by inference complained of the want of perfection in the light of nature. He was too wise to charge God *foolishly*. During the four thousand years that preceded the incarnation, the world, he said, had the benefits of the gospel, though ignorant of the name. It is no objection against the light of nature that so many were in darkness, any more than it is against the gospel that so many are still unenlightened by it. Clarke regarded all virtuous men in all ages as among God's elect, and not, as Tindal supposed he did, in a state of perdition because they were without external revelation.

Christianity, says Balguy, neither abrogates nor discountenances the least tittle of the law of nature; on the contrary, it sets the whole in the clearest light, and earnestly recommends and inculcates the observation of it. The Christian has many advantages over the Pagan. On the supposition that Tindal questioned the right of the Divine Being to give to some men greater favours than He gives to others, Balguy reasons that this is perfectly within the province of the Divine Will. Christians may have positive as well as natural advantages in the life to come over the heathen. There are many mansions in our Father's house, and in these many ranks and degrees may be as fitting as they are on earth. Such distinctions may contribute to the order and perfection of the heavenly state. The *body* of faithful believers may be distinguished from a regard to their meritorious *Head*. Balguy objects to Tindal's definitions both of Deism and Christianity. They do not, he says, consist in being governed by moral fitness. This is *moral virtue*, and may be the guide of an Atheist as well as of a Deist or a Christian. Deism is, to be governed by the obligations of *natural religion*, and *natural religion* consists in obedience to the will of God as made known by the light of nature and reason. Christianity is, obedience to the same will as made known in the revelation of Jesus Christ. Religion obliges men to do actions, not because of moral fitness, but because they are commanded. The primary idea of religion is obedience to the *will* of God.

John Conybeare, D.D., Rector of Exeter College, in Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Bristol, wrote "A Defence of Revealed Religion against the Exceptions of a late Writer in his Book entitled 'Christianity as old as Creation.'" This work was dedicated to Edmund, Bishop of London, who had also written against the Deists. Conybeare contrasted the spirit of the Bishop's writings with those of the Deists, pronouncing the latter "remarkable for an entire contempt of decency." Tindal's great design, he said, was to prove that there neither hath been, nor can possibly be, any revelation at all; and that the main principle on which he builds is, that the light of common reason is sufficient without it. According to Conybeare, Tindal concludes that all information this way must be entirely superfluous and unworthy of God, because useless and unprofitable to man. There is a distinction to be noticed between doctrines and precepts or duties. They are both, says Conybeare, to be included under religion; for, though distinct, they are connected, many of the duties arising from belief of the doctrines. Another distinction is to be made in what is meant by religion of nature. It may either be what is founded in the reason and nature of things, or it may be what is discernible by our faculties. In the former case, it is such a collection of moral doctrines and precepts as have a rational foundation; in the latter, only such a collection as *we have been able to discover* by the exercise of our faculties according to the means and opportunities we enjoy. Conybeare admits that Tindal was not ignorant of this distinction, yet he confounds it in his argument. Natural religion is *to us* only that which may be known by *our* reason. There are perfections belonging to God of which we have not complete or adequate ideas. Supposing it demonstrable that God is just and good, yet there may be occasions of which we are not judges in what way His justice and goodness are to be exercised. Again, there may be distinctions in the Divine nature analogous to personal distinctions among men. If so, each person may have different offices, and a different relation to mankind. This will be something in the Divine nature not discernible by human reason. This is what the Christian religion teaches. In consequence of this, there are things required in Christianity which our faculties could not have discovered by the light of reason.

Conybeare notices that Tindal sometimes speaks of the law of nature as the will of God, and at other times as the moral fitness of things. This was done by all the great writers on morals of that age, but Conybeare objects to speak of any obligation as antecedent to the will of God, and especially of God Himself as the subject of obligation. The notion of law, he argues, refers to some superior, as the author of law. It is only in the light of a command from God

that it is either a law or a religion. Though expressing his dissent from both Clarke and Tindal on this subject, Conybeare guards his remark with a declaration of his faith in the truth and certainty of the religion of nature. Referring to his former definition of the law of nature as embracing only what is discoverable by our faculties, Conybeare says that it will be in vain to reply that all men have means of knowledge sufficient for the circumstances in which they are placed. Yet he admits that if Tindal only means that a just and merciful God will judge men according to the opportunities they have had, in this sense every man has sufficient means of knowledge. But this, he maintained, was not the question at issue. The question, in Conybeare's judgment, was whether every man is capable of knowing all things that are of real moment to him, and he proceeds to show that, though in all ages men have hoped that a good and merciful God will forgive, yet hope is not certainty. We cannot conclude by mere human reason that pardon will certainly follow on repentance; there may be something in the constitution of things to us unknown which possibly may not admit of absolute pardon. But when God declares that pardon is offered in view of something accepted by Him as a satisfaction, then the point is clear. As the law of reason and nature can reach no further than human reason can carry us, this law or religion, Conybeare argues, must so far fail, and therefore it is not, as Tindal contends, absolutely perfect.

As to things indifferent, it is maintained that God may enjoin such, though neither relating to what is moral nor natural—that is, having no direct reason in themselves. Such was the command to Naaman to wash seven times in Jordan. For God to act from mere will or pleasure is not to act arbitrarily. He does not violate moral rules. There are things which He must do out of mere will, such as creating the world at a certain time. There are things in religion which are fit and proper for the occasion, such as the institution of the Last Supper. Positive precepts may be useful for a trial of our faith, patience, and obedience. It is, however, admitted that it is to positive precepts that superstition invariably clings. There is a natural tendency in the multitude of men to consider things merely positive as in themselves excellent, and in their own nature moral. The popular mind mistakes means for ends, and often takes mere human rites as of Divine institution, and, whether Divine or human, invariably gives them too much importance. This was substantially what Tindal said; but Conybeare, like all Tindal's adversaries, thought he meant more than he said. His real sentiments, says Conybeare, are, that there is no such thing as revealed religion, and that Christianity in particular is a gross imposture; that, on the one

hand, there is no occasion for a revelation; and, on the other, there is no sufficient proof that such a revelation has ever been made at all. Conybeare returns, towards the end, to his favourite distinction between the will of God and the nature of things, and declares that for his life he cannot see how the performance of what is right, without considering it as the will of God, can be obedience to God. He objects to the word *revelation* being applied to that knowledge which we have by reason. As well, he says, may we speak of mathematical or natural philosophy as a revelation. He maintains that only that is revealed which we have on the authority of a revealer. We may not *know* it, for it may not come under the cognizance of our self-evident notions, as Tindal called them, but we may have assurance of it. The proofs of revelation, he admits, may be only probabilities, but it is by probabilities that we are guided in life. Morality itself, though demonstrable, can only be reasoned out by a very few. The greater part of mankind must be moral on evidence which is only probable. And to Tindal's three objections that Christianity was not made known before the time of Tiberius, that it was not given all at once, and that it was not made to all persons, Conybeare answers that objections of the same kind, and as difficult to be answered, may be brought against natural religion as well as against revealed.

Dr. John Leland, the indefatigable opponent of the whole generation of the Deists, wrote "An Answer to a Book entitled '*Christianity as old as Creation*.'"

Leland undertook to prove that Tindal's scheme is inconsistent with reason and with itself, and that it was injurious to the interests of virtue and the good of mankind. By Christianity, he says, Tindal did not mean what any one else means, the whole of that revelation published by Christ and His Apostles, but simply what is called the religion of nature. His chief objections—those which formed the largest scope for declamation—are such as lie not so much against Scripture or external revelation as against Providence, and are therefore the same difficulties for which the Deist has to account in his scheme as those which meet the believer in revelation. Leland, like all Tindal's adversaries, found that though he pretended to believe both internal and external revelation, his belief in the latter was only feigned for the occasion. The title of the book ought to have been "*Christianity not as old as Creation, and therefore false*." Leland urged, as Stebbing and Conybeare had done, that the state of man as a creature fallen from God, required light and help beyond what were given by natural religion. And as to positive commands, he saw no difficulty in believing that God might enjoin many things the reason of which we do not at present see. Many of the positive institutions in the Levitical economy had a reason

in themselves which even now we can discover. Some of them were to keep the people separate from the surrounding nations, some were commemorative of past deliverances, and others figures of good things to come. The Christian sacraments need never be prejudicial to the end for which they were instituted, if men would but keep them as they were intended; and so with all symbolical representations, if they are limited to those appointed by God, they may be useful, and the danger of superstition avoided. Leland says the question between him and Tindal is—whether all men have by natural light or reason such knowledge as that no external revelation can make it clearer. Supposing this to be Tindal's position, Leland wishes to show the insufficiency of the light of reason. He rejects the test of moral actions drawn from their tendency to promote the general good, on the ground that men are not agreed as to what makes for the general good. Is it for the general good that one man should have only one wife? Plato recommended a community of wives. Is it for the general good to destroy weak and sickly children as the Spartans did? Is self-murder, under some circumstances, for the general good? Is it true, as has been maintained, that "private vices are public benefits?" The heathen guessed at a future life, but they were not assured of it. There was nothing to tell them that forgiveness followed on repentance. We do not know without revelation what is necessary for the vindication of Divine law. Locke's arguments for the connection between repentance and forgiveness are pronounced more ingenious than solid. As Tindal had connected all well being with well doing, Leland charges him with teaching the doctrine of selfish love, and contrasts this with the disinterested morality of the gospel. What Tindal calls speculative doctrines, and speaks of as useless, Leland makes the essence of Christianity, such as the mediation of Christ and His death as a sacrifice for sin. He includes among the doctrines of Christianity the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, and he asks how any man who rejects these can be said to believe the Scriptures on account of the doctrines. The facts of Christianity are connected with its doctrines, and must depend on testimony. Authority in such a case is the only kind of proof available.

There were many other replies to Tindal of various degrees of merit. John Jackson, Rector of Rossington, in Yorkshire, wrote "Remarks on 'Christianity as old as Creation.'" This author states the object of Tindal's book with more accuracy and fairness than any of Tindal's opponents. "The design," he says, "of this ingenious author, after showing the ground and principles of natural religion to be the eternal and immutable truth and reason of things which is the original will of God, and obligatory upon

all rational agents, is to prove from thence that true revealed religion can be no other than a re-establishment of rational religion by an immutable and express *Divine authority*." Thomas Cookman, Master of University College, Oxford, asserted and vindicated, in answer to Tindal, "salvation by Jesus Christ alone." He calls Tindal the head of those who lead young men into vice and irreligion. Cookman was eclipsed only by the anonymous author of "The Conduct of the late Matthew Tindal, LL.D.," where Tindal is designated "the grand apostate and corrupter of the principles and morals of the youth of the present age." He is called a wretch, an atheist, a renegade, and some other names too vile to be mentioned here. The replies to Tindal, taking them altogether, were unsatisfactory. This may have been owing to a want of definiteness as to the object of his book. It was diffuse in its style, abounding in long quotations, and many subjects were merely alluded to and left for future treatment. His opponents generally assumed that his object was to set aside the revelation in the Bible as useless, and then they proceeded to show the darkness and ignorance of mankind, and consequently the necessity of revelation. To prove that a revelation was needed was not proving that a revelation was given, nor was it proving that the Bible contained that revelation, much less that the revelation itself consisted in the speculative doctrines of the Church, or the positive institutions of the Christian religion.

Tindal left another volume of his book in manuscript, but it fell into the hands of the Bishop of London, who thought the best way to answer it was to destroy it. Bishop Gibson had made Tindal's work the subject of one of his "Pastoral Letters." He had said the same things against it as Tindal's other opponents, and he said them as well as any of them had done. Gibson was a liberal Churchman as well as an assiduous bishop, and had some of the best qualities of the rational divines of his time, but the world will scarcely forgive him for the sacrilege of destroying the work of one of the most thoughtful men of that age. On the monument erected to his memory in the vestibule of Fulham Church this is not recorded among his noble virtues and the great acts of his life. Could the deed speak, it would say—

"Non ego sum titulis surripienda tuis."

JOHN HUNT.



THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AGE,
IN ITS LITERARY ACTIVITY, HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, AND CRITICAL
SPIRIT.

IN endeavouring to form some estimate of the literary activity, historical consciousness, and critical spirit of the early Christian age, we limit ourselves to the Church of the first two centuries. When we enter upon the third century, the extraordinary and, even since his day, unparalleled labours of Origen are alone sufficient to vindicate for his time such a measure of literary and critical exertion as to preclude the possibility of the charge that it was a time of childishness, credulity, and superstition ; wanting the knowledge of all sound principles of historical investigation ; the easy prey either of imposture or self-delusion. It is otherwise, however, with the still more important era that preceded the days of that great Father. No name like that of Origen meets us there. No works like his, presenting in not a few aspects a model for all later students of Scripture, have come down to us from that earliest period of Christian history. The fragments of its writings that survive bear too often, and to an extent in the highest degree disappointing, the marks of ignorance, misapprehension of important truths of the Christian faith, childish curiosity, openness to deception, and sometimes even readiness to deceive. When we compare them either with the works of apostles and holy men who went before, or with

those of the Fathers of the Church who followed, the contrast is so great that it is difficult to resist the temptation to throw them altogether aside, and to occupy ourselves only with the inexhaustible treasures of earlier and later times. We think of the period extending from the fall of Jerusalem to the close of the second century as we think of the Dark Ages that preceded the Reformation; and we would fain avoid the weary paths that lie between the magnificent lakes in which, like the Nile, Christianity had its rise, and the broad valleys which it has covered with fruitfulness and beauty in the lower reaches of its course. Of this feeling the opponents of the received canon of the New Testament have not been slow to take advantage. It was in the middle space of which we have spoken that nearly all the books of the New Testament were accepted and recognised as the canon of the Church's faith. If, therefore, that period was only such as has been described; if it exhibited no higher characteristics; if the Christian Church possessed no sound principles by which to distinguish the authentic from the non-authentic; if what was forged, supposing only that it pleased, was as welcome to her as what was genuine; if, in short, the Church was guided in the reception of her sacred books by feeling rather than by historical and critical considerations, it is obvious that no small opportunity will be given for setting aside her verdict as to the canon of the New Testament. The value of her judgment will be reduced to a minimum; and the subjective spirit of modern criticism will have full room to play. It may be well, therefore, to examine the point with as much care as our space will permit.

First, let us hear what is actually said by one or two modern inquirers into the subject.

It is thus that Baur speaks, when referring to arguments of Lücke for the authenticity of the Gospel of St. John:—

“In one word, the argument is drawn from the historical consciousness of the Church, but what a vague conception is that of the consciousness thus spoken of! If it be the same thing as Church tradition, it is well known how uncritical that was. What right have we to ascribe to the Fathers of the Church of the second century such an historical consciousness as must have rendered it impossible for them to accept a Gospel without well-grounded testimony as to its origin?”*

Again, referring to a famous passage in Irenæus, which we shall afterwards have to consider, he contemptuously exclaims:—

“With such grounds as these, then, men convinced themselves of the canonicity of the Gospels, a ready proof to us how much it is possible to build upon the historical consciousness of that time.”†

And once more, when meeting the difficulty, which most readers will readily enough acknowledge to be a great one, that the authority

* *Die Kanon. Evang.* p. 358.

† *Do.* p. 360.

of the fourth Gospel is seriously diminished if it was written by one who falsely claimed to be the Apostle John, Baur's view of the spirit of the second century leads him to protest with all earnestness that such a difficulty is absurd. The ideas of the time with regard to literary property were wholly unlike ours, and the assumption of the false name is rather to be regarded as a genuinely evangelical proof of the author's self-denial in concealing his own.*

To the same effect Strauss:—

“We see then how everything was determined by these old Fathers of the Church upon dogmatic grounds. Did the substance, the spirit, of a tale, or a writing, attract them, imperfect outward testimony to it was accepted as complete. Were they, on the contrary, repelled, the most satisfactory evidence was regarded as a misapprehension.”†

Opinions of the same kind have been still more recently repeated by Volkmar:—

“But all these Fathers (Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen) simply depend upon the Catholic Episcopal Church, and accept that New-Testament Canon which it had selected on dogmatic grounds, as against the Gnostic de-humanizing of Christ on the one hand, and the Ebionite Judaizing of Him on the other.”‡

As usual, the sentiments thus expressed on the Continent have not been long in finding an echo in England. Thus we find Tayler, in his work on the Fourth Gospel, giving expression to them as follows:—

“In adjudicating between them (the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse), the strong subjective feeling of what is and must be Christian truth—which in those days mainly decided, in the last instance, the question of apostolic authorship—gave the preference to the Gospel.” And again:—“We of the present day hardly familiarize to ourselves sufficiently the loose way of thinking on such subjects which prevailed in ancient times, and more particularly among the ancient Christians.”§

While Dr. Davidson says, when speaking of the forgeries of the time:—

“There is a way of looking at these conscious fictions which does great injustice to their authors, and is equally foreign to the Oriental mind. They were usual both before and after Christ's coming. . . . The motives of the writers were good. No deliberate fraud was meditated; at least in our sense of the word. It was a common practice to put forth a work under the cover of a well-known name, to procure its readier acceptance. Such was the method in which good men often conveyed their sentiments and taught the public. It is not our Western one, nor does it fall in with modern notions of rigid morality. Being theirs, however, it is but fair to judge them from their own point of view. The end was unexceptionable; the means adopted were in harmony with the prevailing notions of the time. Had the parties believed these means to be wrong or immoral, they would not have adopted them. In their eyes they were right and pertinent.”||

* Die Kanon. Evang. p. 388.

† Das Leben Jesu, 1864, p. 71.

‡ Der Ursprung uns. Evang. p. 24.

§ Pp. 145, 153.

|| Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, ii. 448.

Baur, indeed, is hardly consistent with himself upon the point, for he allows to the poor sect of the Alogi a critical skill which he denies altogether to the Church:—

“They rested,” he says, “their opposition to the Gospel of John, not only on dogmatic, but also on critical grounds. They supported their charges by the fact that the history, as delineated in that Gospel, differed so widely from that presented to us in the synoptic Gospels. This Gospel that bears the name of John, they said, is false. The untruthfulness of its representation proves that it is no true Gospel.” *

It is of little moment to dwell upon this last statement. We have seen what is the general estimate formed of the early Christian age by an important school of modern criticism. The question before us is simply, Is it true? Was that age so illiterate, so ignorant of the principles of historical and critical investigation, so careless about the inquiry whether books professing to be authoritative standards of its faith were ascribed to their real authors or were forgeries, so ready to welcome as apostolic whatever writings commended themselves to its taste? Such are the questions to which we seek an answer, and to which, as far as possible, the early age of Christianity itself must give one.

That that age showed in various respects a deficiency at least of acquired knowledge, and even of correct observation, on the part of many of its leading theologians, is not to be denied. Clement's story of the Phœnix, and the extraordinary accounts of the habits of different animals given us in the Epistle of Barnabas, are sufficient illustrations of the fact. A great deal too much, however, is made of them. Clement had had no opportunity of observing the habits of the Phœnix. It was a bird, he tells us, of Arabia, not of Rome. And as for the wild impressions of Barnabas, it may be questioned whether they were further from the truth than would be the impressions of many a learned and excellent divine of the present day upon other points of natural history. Besides which, as has been often pointed out, both Herodotus and Tacitus record, although with some hesitation as to particulars, different appearances of the Phœnix, and evidently had no doubt that much related of it was true.† In like manner it may also be at once allowed that there were some in those times who made too free use of distinguished names in introducing their own lucubrations to the world; but it will, we trust, afterwards appear that those who did so were, with little exception, members of heretical sects, and that their conduct was reprobated by the whole Christian world. To admit thus much is, however, something very different from admitting that the whole historical and critical

* Die Kanon. Evang. p. 361.

† Herod. ii. 73. Tacit. Ann. vi. 28.

method of the first two centuries was vicious to the core. There is a great deal to lead us to an opposite conclusion.

The literary activity of the age was much greater, and books were both much cheaper and more widely diffused, than is generally supposed. The slow and expensive multiplication of books in the Middle Ages conveys to us a most incorrect idea of the speed with which they were produced, and of the style in which they were issued, about the beginning of the Christian era. We are apt to think that the precious MSS. of sacred or classical literature which now adorn the great libraries of Europe, with all their elaborate ornamentation, bearing on every line those marks which almost compel us to believe that each of them had been the labour of a life, are but specimens of all ordinary book-making previous to the date at which the art of printing was invented. We forget that not one common copy of even far later times than those of our oldest MSS. survives. All have perished — perished from the frailty of the material on which they were written, from their very slowness, their cheapness, their adaptation to the multitude. The great Codices, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrine, and others more or less like them, do not give us the slightest idea of the character of a MS. designed for the mass of men. They were for the princes and potentates of the day, whether in Church or State. The common MS. was written with the utmost speed, on the cheapest possible material; and, when written, it was published at a rate with which, even after making allowance for the difference in the value of money, the cheapest issues of our publishers for the million will hardly compare. There can be no greater mistake than to think that the invention of the printing press first made it possible to increase copies of a book with rapidity and at a moderate price. On the contrary, numerous allusions in the Roman writers about the beginning of the Christian era leave no doubt that books were then multiplied with a speed, sold at a cheapness, purchased with an avidity, and circulated throughout the whole Roman world to an extent, at first mention almost incredible. It would lead us away from the point immediately before us to enter upon this subject at any length;* but we cannot forbear reminding our readers for a moment, in passing, that the great means by which these ends were effected were the use of slaves and the habit of dictation. Enter one of the large halls of a Roman publisher, and you find probably not fewer than a hundred slaves at work. They have all been educated, trained, for the purpose. They write a swift, clear hand; and, while one dictates, a hundred copies are springing at once into existence for the great public. No sooner are the copies written than they are

* Those who would wish to pursue the subject will find an admirable essay on it in the "*Geschichte der Denk- und Glaubens Freiheit*," by Dr. W. Adolf Schmidt, p. 109.

passed on to other workmen ready to receive them ; and, with a speed not less astonishing than that with which they have been written, are revised, corrected, rolled up, bound, titled, and, when thought desirable, adorned for the market. Let us add to these circumstances that the workmen, being slaves, require only maintenance from their master, and we shall be better prepared to accept what seems the well-established though remarkable result, that a single bookselling firm at Rome could produce without difficulty, in a day of ten working hours, an edition of the second book of Martial, consisting of a thousand copies ; and that a somewhat similar work, plainly bound, if sold for sixpence, left the bookseller a profit of 100 per cent.*

It is true that this applies to classical literature and to Rome, and it may be said that it has no application to sacred literature and to Palestine. A difference, no doubt, there would be ; but not to such an extent as is implied in the objection, or as would deprive the facts of their value for our present argument. For there is evidence that the circulation of books of which we have spoken extended to the most distant parts of the Empire, and Palestine was one of these. Roman armies trod its soil. Roman proconsuls administered the affairs of its provinces. There was a constant intercourse between it and the capital. It was hardly in the nature of things, therefore, that some portion of this literary activity and spirit should not penetrate to it. It is more than probable, indeed, that our ideas of the mental stagnation of the Holy Land in the first century are greatly exaggerated. Certainly there was nothing of that kind in Galilee in the days of our Lord. What a power in stirring up thought must the single institution of the Synagogue, with its liberty of free speech, have exercised ; and does not St. Luke himself tell us that before he began to write, "many," who must certainly have lived in Palestine, "had undertaken to set forth in order a declaration of those things which were most surely believed" amongst Christians ? Still further, we have to remember that, in examining the evidence for the authenticity of our canonical books, we have comparatively little to do either with Palestine or with Jews. The larger number of these books were both written from the great Gentile cities of the time, and were addressed to Christians of Gentile origin in such cities. We come in contact with them at Rome, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, the very centres of the chief mental activity of the day. They were circulated in those parts of the world where the spirit of inquiry most prevailed, where literary effort was at its height, and where the means of multiplying copies were most readily found. Let what will be said of the Jews of Palestine, and of their want o

* Schmidt, u. s., pp. 131, 137.

a literary and critical spirit, it is not with them that, in this inquiry, we have mainly to concern ourselves; it is with Churches composed for the most part of converts from heathenism, and to which a fair share of the best, as well as of the worst, influences of heathenism must be attributed. Nor can we forget how much we are entitled to protest against the idea that the simple fact of a man's becoming a Christian either proved him to be a fool or made him one, destroyed his principles of judgment, and rendered him the easy prey of every charlatan. The natural conclusion rather is, that the very making such a change, the braving the trials which accompanied it, and the coming under the elevating power of the Christian faith, must both have strengthened the judgment, and led men to examine more carefully than they would otherwise have done the grounds upon which they acted.

We are entitled, therefore, to plead that, if the literary exertions of heathenism were so great as we have seen they were, if a circulation of classical literature was carried on by the great bookselling firms of the Roman capital to an extent not surpassed by the most energetic firms of our own day, the general character of the age must have been literary in a high degree. More especially must cities such as those already named have breathed a literary atmosphere; and, even if thousands of their inhabitants knew as little of what was passing in the upper circles of thought as thousands in our own large towns do now, it was not by these undistinguished crowds that principles of literary and critical judgment were either formed or applied, any more than it is by them that this is done among ourselves. We urge, only, that the wonderful provision then existing for the multiplication and circulation of the classical writers, one of the most striking characteristics of the age, must have influenced Christian as well as heathen modes of thinking about books. We are not, in short, when we visit Rome, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, in the midst of an ignorant, unlettered population—of a population which neither understands nor cares for books; we are in the midst of scenes where literary effort and bookselling enterprise afford no unworthy parallel to our own London, or Paris, or New York.

We are not, however, left to pure conjecture upon the point, for we have positive evidence that Christian literature, or literature which had some connection with Christianity, was, especially in the second century, abundant to an extraordinary degree. To the statement of St. Luke, which refers to the middle of the first century, we have already alluded. In addition to the "many" writers mentioned by him, we have the large number of apocryphal works, chiefly Gospels, more or less mentioned by the early Fathers of the

Church, although without intimation of their authorship. Nor were these Fathers of the Church themselves less active. Eusebius, iv. 26, gives us a list of works of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, about the middle of the second century, remarkable both for its length and for the variety of the subjects treated of:—"On the Passover," "On the Conduct of Life, and the Prophets," "On the Church," "On the Lord's Day," "On the Nature of Man," "On the Creation," "On the Subjection of the Senses to Faith," "On the Soul, the Body, and the Mind," "On Baptism," "On Truth, Faith, and the Generation of Christ," "On Prophecy," "On Hospitality;" a treatise entitled "The Key," "On the Devil," "On the Revelation of John," "On the Incarnate God," "A Discourse addressed to the Emperor Antoninus," besides others that had not come to the historian's knowledge. But Melito stood by no means alone in activity of brain and pen. Apollinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis, would seem to have been hardly less active. He, too, wrote an "An Apology addressed to Antoninus," and, in addition, "Five Books against the Greeks," "On Truth," "Against the Jews," "Against the Heresy of the Phrygians," besides "many works preserved by many," which Eusebius had not seen.* Tatian, who belonged at least for a time to the orthodox party, "left behind him a great multitude of writings."† Other writers of the second century, either mentioned by Eusebius, or known from other sources to have borne an active part in the literary exertions of their time, were Quadratus, Bishop at Athens in the reign of Hadrian, author of an apology for the Christians, written during a time of persecution, and said to have been of such weight of character that he succeeded in allaying the persecution; Aristides, Agrippa, and Aristo, in the same reign; Soter, Abercius, Philip of Gortyna, Musanus, Modestus, somewhat later in the century; and, still later in it, Pantæus, Rhodon, Bacchylus, Palma, Theophilus of Cæsarea, Theophilus of Antioch, Heraclitus, Candidus, Apion, Sextus, Arabianus, Budas, the two Apolloniuses, Serapion, Athenagoras; besides such better known authors as Papias, Hege-sippus, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and the unknown "many others," of whom Eusebius says that "they also have written, and their labours are carefully preserved by the brethren even to this day."‡ The literary activity of the age extended also to Syria; and we are told of Bardesanes the Syrian who composed dialogues against Marcion, "together with many other works," in his native tongue, which were afterwards translated by his friends into Greek.§ Surely the multitude of writers thus referred to indicates a much greater degree of literary

* E. H. iv. 27.

† Do. iv. 29.

‡ Do. iv. *passim*.

§ Do. iv. 30.

activity in the Church of the second century than we commonly imagine. Nor is there the least reason to think that their works were trifling in their character or limited in their circulation. As to the latter point, even if the great bulk of the Christian community was too poor to buy much, the practice of reading the writings of distinguished men aloud in the congregation, a practice of which we have the clearest traces in the early part of the second century, must have done quite as much to interest that community in books and authors as the cheapness of publications in our own day. As to the former point, again, we can form a judgment, in part at least, from what of the early Christian literature has survived; and that judgment, when we strive to free ourselves from prejudice, and to enter into the thoughts and work of the age, can only bear out the strong language of commendation constantly employed by such writers as Eusebius and Jerome,* when they speak of those who then defended the Church's faith. Surely, also, it is a legitimate conclusion that, where such a state of matters existed, definite principles of judgment as to authorship can hardly have been unknown.

We shall form, however, a very imperfect idea of the literary activity of the early Christian age, and of those tendencies which aided in the development alike of its historical consciousness and of its principles of criticism, if we confine our attention to the Fathers of the Catholic Church. It is the heretical sects, indeed, that constitute the most remarkable phenomenon of the period with which we deal. Almost the whole of the second century rang with their efforts. Their very number is astonishing: followers of Thebuthis, Simonians, Cleobians, Dositheans, Gorthœonians, Masbothœans, Menandrians, Marcionites, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Basilidians, Saturnilians, were treated of by Hegesippus in his "Commentaries;"† while the principles of upwards of thirty different sects are discussed by Hippolytus in his "Refutatio omnium Hæresium." Most, if not all, of these sects appear to have published their opinions to the world. Some of their leaders, such as Valentinus, Basilides, Heraclion, Marcion, were even voluminous writers. Irenæus speaks of the "unspeakable number of apocryphal and spurious writings which they adduce,"‡ and all the records of the time lead at least to the conclusion that the number was exceedingly great.

The effect was what might have been expected. Most, if not all, of them were immediately met in works written by defenders of the faith.

"And as the heretics," says Eusebius in a highly important passage, "then (the time of Theophilus of Antioch, long before the end of the second century), no less than at other times, were like hares destroying the pure

* De Script. Eccles.

† Euseb. E. H. iv. 22.

‡ Contr. Hæc. i. 20. Clark's translation.

seed of the Apostolical doctrines, the pastors of the Churches everywhere hastened to restrain them as wild beasts from the fold of Christ. Sometimes they did it by their exhortations and admonitions to the brethren; sometimes more openly contending with the heretics themselves by oral discussions; and then again confuting their opinions by the most rigid proofs in their written books."*

The whole second century was indeed a period of struggle, of contest for the faith, such as has probably not been witnessed since. It was in every respect the very opposite of an age that was quietly living in the traditions of the past, receiving without question the opinions and the books that had been handed down to it by Apostles and companions of Apostles, ignorant of all literary warfare, settled on its lees, and allowing a few eminent Churchmen to bind its free thought in the chains of ecclesiastical authority. It was rather an age whose leading characteristic was war to the death. Never since has Christian truth been more earnestly contended against, or more seriously threatened. The Gnostic sects seemed too often to be on the very eve of triumph. When we read their theories now, so wild, so fantastic, often so unintelligible, we are apt to under-estimate their influence, and to wonder if it be possible that they should not at once have been rejected as absurd. But history tells us a different tale; for, in reality, these theories sprang from the very bosom of the time. They sought to unite the various philosophies of the East and of the West, sometimes to gather up the elements which had made Judaism powerful, at other times to reject those that made it weak. They were shaped in all the fermenting and seething thoughts and speculations of an unsettled age, and thus obtained an influence before which it seemed as if the Church could hardly maintain her ground. Against them, therefore, she had to keep up a contest which demanded all her vigour, trained and disciplined all her principles of judgment, and called forth those great defenders of the truth who, like Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, united a clear judgment to lofty eloquence, and would have adorned her annals at whatever time they had appeared.

It may, however, perhaps be said that the contests thus referred to were dogmatic, not historical, and that the inferences we would draw from the fact of their existence are unfounded. Let us examine this point. It is not the case, then, that these contests were, on the side of the Church at least, either solely or mainly of a dogmatic character. Nothing is better ascertained than that the Gnostic sects sought most of all to defend their opinions by means of books connected with Apostolic names, especially Gospels, although they hardly seem to have been Gospels in the ordinary meaning of the word, entitled to rank along with our Canonical Gospels as authoritative histories or

* E. H. iv. 24.

expositions of the life of Christ. Christian antiquity is so full of references to this that it is scarcely necessary to do more than to remind our readers of their existence. It is thus that Irenæus, in the passage already quoted, where that Father mentions the unspeakable number of writings adduced by heretics, characterizes them as "spurious and apocryphal;" thus that in the "Apostolical Constitutions" Simon, Cleobius, and their followers are described as "compiling poisonous books in the name of Christ and his disciples in order to deceive those who love Christ, and who are his servants;"* thus that Origen speaks of "the Church having four Gospels, the heretics many;"† thus that Jerome tells us of "the many who had written Gospels that continued in existence down to his time, and had been the fountains of different heresies."‡ Thus also it was that Cerinthus published revelations which he pretended were written by a great Apostle, and in which wonderful things had been shown him by angels;§ that Basilides appealed for the sources of his writings to Glaucias, said to have been an "Interpreter of St. Peter," made use of "Traditions of Matthias," which had been taught privately by the Saviour,|| and affirmed that some of the Apostolic writings were supposititious, others written in ignorance or bad faith.¶ Thus also it was that this heresiarch, Valentinus, Marcion, and others had also their Gospels. It seems, indeed, to have been the universal practice of these heretics to publish false and supposititious works under Apostolic names in order to obtain currency for their opinions. There is no good ground to think that this practice was imitated by the orthodox. The assertion so often made to that effect must be regarded as one of those bold assertions so common in the ranks of the negative school when dealing with the obscure period of Church history of which we speak. There is much evidence that it was not so; and, if it would not lead us too much out of our way, we should be willing to try at least to show that there is not a single book come down to us under the name of an Apostle or a companion of Apostles, and now justly considered spurious, which was not first proclaimed doubtful in the very age that is pronounced so unhistoric and uncritical. The practice of forging books was an heretical, not a Catholic device.

Not only, however, was it so. These sects had to take up a position adverse to various books acknowledged by the Church, and *they* did so mainly upon dogmatic grounds. Thus it was that, according to Dionysius of Alexandria, the Apocalypse had been rejected by many "because it was covered with such a dense and thick veil of ignorance

* vi. 16.

† Hom. i. in Luc.

‡ Praef. in Matth.

§ Euseb. E. H. iii. 28.

|| Clem. Alex. Str. vii. 17, 106. Hippol. vii. 20.

¶ Mather, "Histoire du Gnosticisme," i. 405.

that not one of the Apostles, and not one of the holy men, or those of the Church, could be its author ;”* that the Alogi rejected the Gospel of St. John, not simply because of its apparent discrepancies with the other Evangelists, but upon internal grounds. “Their opposition,” says Davidson, “must have been mainly doctrinal . . . prompted by a dogmatic bias. It would be valid had they produced historical testimony against the Apostolic authorship.”† It was thus that Marcion opposed the Gospels set aside by him, not by endeavouring to show that they had not been authentically handed down, but by dwelling on the fact that those Apostles with whom some of them at least were connected had been reprov’d by St. Paul at Antioch, thus showing that they were still involved in Judaistic error ;‡ and it is thus that Irenæus distinctly charges the different sects mentioned by him as receiving one only of our four Gospels with doing so upon internal and dogmatic grounds.§ It is unnecessary to bring forward further illustration of the fact. What, let us ask rather, was its effect? It drove the Church to history. Not, indeed, wholly so; because it was also necessary to meet these heretics with weapons such as they themselves employed. They urged false views on many of the most fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. The Church met them, as she could not in the circumstances avoid meeting them, with that traditional faith which she was as yet conscious that she possessed in full clearness and strength. But she did not confine herself to this. The claims of the pretended Apostolical writings called her closer attention to the true writings which she knew were in her hands; and thus, in the first half of the second century, she gradually wrought her way to the distinct conception of a New Testament Canon, in addition to that Canon of the Old Testament which in her earlier course had been her record of immediate revelation from God to man. We shall afterwards more particularly inquire into the grounds upon which this great progress rested, and into the ample justification which they find in the then condition of the Church and of the world. It is enough at present to say that there is no foundation whatever for the charge that Christians then looked at forgeries with indifference, and pardoned the means in approbation of the end. And there is quite as little foundation for the other charge, hardly less frequently repeated, that in determining whether books ought to be received as Apostolic they had regard only to feeling, and not to evidence. Had there been no heresies, a state of things might easily have come to exist in respect of which both charges would have been true. But the Gnostic sects prevented such a result. They forged extensively and systematically. The Church was driven to recoil,

* Euseb. E. H. vii. 25.

† Intr. to the Study of the New Test. ii. 422.

‡ Tertull. Adv. Marc. iv. 3.

§ Contr. Haer. iii. 11. 7.

even if she would not otherwise have recoiled, from forgery, and, as in the case of the well-known story of the Presbyter deposed from his office for forging the Acts of Paul and Thecla, although he pled that he had done so from the love of Paul, punished the forger with extreme severity; while at the same time she was led to draw a distinct line between books whose Apostolic origin could be proved, and books of which an Apostolic origin was only asserted without proof. The same sects also first perverted Christian truth, and then appealed to their books in support of their perversions. The Church learned to see that certain books must come first, and that even her own traditions must be tried by them. The principle expressed in the language of Tertullian "was a catholic fundamental principle, *etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est auctoritas scripta.*"*

We are entitled to conclude, therefore, that the warfare waged between the Church of the second century and the numberless heretical sects around her was not simply dogmatical, but in a large degree historical; that it involved on the Church's part, whatever may have been the case with her adversaries, historical considerations, opened up historical questions, deepened an historical consciousness. Historical arguments may not, indeed, have been conducted then exactly as they are now. The times were very different from ours, and the demands made upon the orthodox very different from those of the present day. Enough that we see in the Church of that age historical principles beginning to play a distinct part; that, if they are not more decidedly expressed, the want of such expression is not once found fault with by opponents; that they accomplished their work, and established those threads of argument of which the admitted historical spirit of the third and fourth centuries was only the more complete unrolling. Surely a period which struggled with such questions and reached such results could hardly be so weak, uncritical, and submissive to mere outward authority as it is often represented to have been.

But this is not all. Many circumstances, trifling perhaps separately, although not without weight when combined, contributed to promote the growth of sound principles of judgment, and to present a barrier both to the success of forgeries and to the dominion of an uninquiring credulity.

Among these may be first mentioned the deep interest taken in the writings of persons of authority in the Church, the anxiety to receive them, and the care with which they were preserved. Thus it is that we find Polycarp, in a passage of his Epistle to the Philippians, whose genuineness, though questioned, has not yet been disproved, intimating to that Church that he has sent to it, *as requested*,

* Geseler's Ch. Hist., Clark's transl. i. 161.

the epistles of Ignatius, by which it might be greatly profited, and at the same time asking that any more certain information which it was able to afford respecting Ignatius and his companions might be sent him in return.* Thus it is that we find Pinytus, Bishop of the Gnosians, writing to Dionysius of Corinth upon receipt of a letter addressed by the latter to his Church, and exhorting him to impart other and stronger food when he wrote again, that his people might not remain constantly nurtured with milk, or be left to grow old under a discipline fitted only for children.† And thus it is that we find Dionysius himself not only writing letters to different Churches—the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, the Gnosians, the Nicomedians, the Church of Gortyna and the other Churches in Crete, the Churches at Amastris and at Rome—but in his epistle to the last-mentioned city expressing the pleasure which his own Church had received from the letter of Soter, its bishop, and telling that it had been read in public worship on the Lord's day, and that, like the letter of Clement, it had stored their minds with admonition.‡ Surely, if an interest such as this was taken in the letters of mere bishops of the Church, we are entitled to infer that at least an equal interest would be taken in the letters of Apostles; and, apart from the express statement of Tertullian as to the importance of what he calls the *authenticæ literæ* of the latter, and his mentioning that these epistles were still read in the Churches to which they had been first sent *sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem unius cujusque*,§ the fact may be accepted as a proof that the authorship of writings claiming to be Apostolic could not possibly be considered a matter of indifference.|| It was not the dogmatic contents of the epistles of which we have been speaking that rendered them so attractive to those Churches to which they were addressed; it was the position and character of the writers. The interest taken in them, in short, was first historical, then dogmatic, and not *vice versâ*.

A second circumstance worthy of notice in connection with the point before us is the lively intercourse kept up in early Christian times between Churches very distant, and in many respects very different, from one another. This intercourse, alluded to so early as St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, iv. 16, meets us everywhere in later times. We see it going on between the Churches at Rome and Corinth, between Smyrna and Philippi, between Vienne and Lyons on the one hand, and Asia and Phrygia on the other; and the fruits of it still survive in some of the most precious remains of Christian antiquity. It was impossible that such intercourse should be in vain.

* C. xiii.

† Euseb. E. H. iv. 23.

‡ Do. iv. 23.

§ De Præscr. Hæret. 36.

|| Comp. Westcott, "On the Canon," p. 208.

It must have drawn the attention of the different Christian communities not only to their common faith, but to its grounds, to the writings which bore witness and gave expression to it, to the sources in which it found strength and confirmation. It must have widened the apprehension of the Churches, deepened their spirit of inquiry, and made them more careful than they might otherwise have been in ascertaining that they themselves received the same sacred books as those which were elsewhere honoured, and whose tone of thought, whose very language in many cases, formed the staple of almost every line in the communications that were made to them.

A third circumstance, interesting in the same point of view, is the frequent personal intercourse which we know took place between leading members of different Churches, the love of travel which marked many of the most distinguished of the early Fathers, and the delight taken by them, when they met, in comparing notes upon all matters affecting the common faith. In the whole history of the Church there is probably nothing, in this respect, more instructive or beautiful than the account given us by Eusebius, from Irenæus, of the intercourse between Polycarp and Anicetus at Rome, in the middle of the second century, when the already venerable Bishop of Smyrna and the Bishop of the capital had some difference between themselves regarding the celebration of Easter and "other matters," and when, after having in vain striven to come to common views, "they were immediately reconciled, and separated from each other in peace—all the Church being at peace."* Again, the words of Hegesippus, quoted by the same historian, set before us a perfect picture of the spirit in which such journeys were conducted. "I passed many days at Corinth," says Hegesippus, "when I was on the point of sailing to Rome, and had familiar intercourse with Primus, Bishop there. We were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine. After coming to Rome, I made my stay with Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. After Anicetus, Soter succeeded, and after him Eleutherus. In every succession, however, and in every city, the doctrine prevails according to what is declared by the law and the prophets and the Lord." At the same time Eusebius further informs us that he had found in the commentaries of Hegesippus that that Father had conversed with most of the bishops when he travelled to Rome, and had received the same doctrine from them all.† Melito, too, Bishop of Sardis, tells us that, having been asked by his brother Onesimus, "in his zeal for the Scriptures," to make selections for him both from the law and the prophets respecting the Saviour and our whole faith, and also to give him an exact statement of the books of the Old Testament, how many in number, and in what order written, he had endeavoured

* Euseb. E. H. v. 24.

† Do. iv. 22.

to perform this. "When, therefore," he adds, "I went to the East, and came as far as the place where these things were proclaimed and done, I ascertained with accuracy what the books of the Old Testament are, and now send to you the names."* Surely this was historical inquiry. It related, it is true, to the books of the Old Testament, which even Christians were as yet accustomed to consider a chief, if not the chief, record of their faith. It is true also that the "other matters" which Polycarp discussed with Anicetus may have related to the substance of Christian doctrine and to worship rather than to books. We urge only that all these incidents prove that there existed at this time a deep interest in historical investigation properly so called; and that when questions arose about books, that general spirit of investigation could not fail to affect the grounds upon which such questions would be decided, and to make them historical as well as dogmatic.

A fourth circumstance, and the last we shall notice, bearing upon the general character of the early Christian age in its relation to the point before us, is the curiosity which was felt by the Christian community to know something of the history of the books acknowledged by it as sacred, and of the circumstances in which they had been written or published. Papias's statements, made upon the authority of the presbyter John, will at once occur to the reader as an illustration of the fact. The correctness or incorrectness of these statements is not now in question. It is enough for our purpose that they were made; for the very making of them evidently presupposes, on the part both of the writer and those for whom he wrote, an interest in such information as he communicates. We are not, however, confined to Papias for illustration of this fact. Irenæus† and Clement of Alexandria‡ are equally explicit, both of these writers giving not only the names of our Gospels, but stating also the circumstances under, and the order in, which they believed them to have been written. That the two last mentioned do not altogether agree in what they record is nothing to the purpose. The difficulty thus occasioned may or may not be capable of explanation. What we have at present to consider is, simply, that traditions upon the points there noticed existed. That fact is enough to prove that Christians did feel an interest in such matters; and it was an interest that did not mark the time of these writers alone. Clement expressly gives his account as one that rested upon the authority of "the presbyters of old time," τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων. The same conclusion may be drawn from the Canon known as that of Muratori.

Putting together, then, all the circumstances that have now been mentioned, it is obvious that the early Christian age was by no means

* Euseb. E. H. iv. 26. † Contra Omn. Haer. iii. 1. 1.

‡ Quoted in Euseb. E. H. vi. 14.

in a position so unmarked by literary activity, so unfavourable to sound principles by which to determine the authority of its sacred books, as is too often supposed. It was, on the contrary, a time when the minds of men were stirred by the greatest questions that could occupy them; when the keenest controversy was animating their zeal and sharpening their spirit of investigation; when books were everywhere written in vast numbers, and published with remarkable ease; when the liveliest intercourse was maintained between distant Churches; when it was the custom not only for inquirers like Justin Martyr, but for bishops who had been already ordained to particular fields of labour, to travel from city to city, and from see to see, conversing, inquiring, gathering information about all that concerned the early history of their faith and of their Scriptures; and when the members of their Churches were eagerly waiting for all the traditions which their pastors could collect. That in a time like that a number of unfounded, sometimes foolish and false, stories should get into circulation, is nothing more than we might naturally expect. But let us take the character of the age as a whole, and it seems impossible not to come to the conclusion that it was one to which mental activity and historical inquiry cannot have been strange.

Hitherto we have spoken mainly of the general literary activity of the time to which our inquiries relate, and of those general principles of criticism which that activity, combined with the circumstances amidst which it was displayed, would naturally call forth. It may be well, however, to remember for a moment that we are not without evidence of an amount of special critical skill having been displayed by many of the Fathers which shows both that inquiries of this nature were familiar to them, and that they were in a high degree competent to carry them on. We have already found Baur commending the critical skill of the Alogi; and we may at least take it for granted that if they detected discrepancies in the four Gospels, the orthodox would find it necessary to offer some explanation upon the point, and that thus a critical study of the Gospels would be promoted. In point of fact, the notice of these discrepancies was not confined to heretics. Apollinarius, about A.D. 170, distinctly refers in the Paschal Controversy to the possibility of their being urged. He himself, it is true, denied that they could really exist. How many Fathers of the Church at the present day are prepared to take different ground? Other discrepancies would seem also to have been a source of perplexity besides those alleged to exist in the Gospel narratives;* and, although it is not easy to say exactly what they were, it is plain from the whole passage in Irenæus where they are brought under our notice, that that Father felt the necessity of confuting the charge from

* Irenæus Contr. Haer. iii. 2. 1.

Scripture itself; "*evenit itaque*," he says, referring to his opponents, "*neque Scripturis jam neque traditioni consentire eos.*"* It was not enough to appeal to tradition; there was an appeal to Scripture also—an appeal which implied study of the text. And Irenæus was a student of the text. He would even seem to have written a work upon the peculiar style of the Apostle Paul. "*Quemadmodum*," he says, "*in multis et alibi ostendimus.*"† The observations which he makes upon that style, in the chapter from which we take these words, are in a high degree judicious; and although we may not be able to agree with his remarks upon the texts quoted and commented on by him, it is impossible to deny to the man who could so comment an acquaintance with the principles of criticism and interpretation altogether at variance with the idea that he was merely a blind follower of traditionary opinion. Illustrations of a similar kind might be drawn from the writings of other Fathers of the time.

Here, again, it is well worthy of notice that the Gnostic sects exercised a most important influence over the Church. We have already seen how much they contributed to unfold and deepen her historical consciousness. They contributed hardly less to enlarge her critical skill. The fact is a very remarkable one, account for it how we may, that these sects appealed to our canonical New Testament Scriptures, although they perverted the meaning of what they quoted, more frequently even than was done by the orthodox. Mr. Westcott, in his "*History of the Canon*," has called attention to this fact;‡ and Dr. Donaldson, in his "*History of Christian Literature and Doctrine*," notices the same thing, making the statement that—

"The Gnostics are before the Christians in appealing to the books of the New Testament as authorities. They are the first who employ the New Testament in the same way as the early Christians use the Old. And far more evidence of the existence of the books of the New Testament is to be got from the fragments of these heretical writers, few though they be, than from all the Christian writings of the Apostolic age." §

Strong as these words are, they are perhaps hardly too strong, if, at least, we refer them only to the most important of our disputed books. So limited, the writings of Hippolytus alone would bear irresistible testimony to the fact, to say nothing of those of Tertullian at a later date. It is with the effect, not with the explanation, that we have to do; and the effect was to turn the attention of the orthodox Fathers to the investigation of the real meaning of Scripture in a way which, but for this, might have been much longer of being exhibited. It was necessary to show that the interpretations of heretics were wrong; and it is no slight proof of the firm hold which the idea of the canonicity of her books had upon the Church that she

* Irenæus Contr. Hæc. iii. 2. 2. comp. iii. 4. 1.

† Do. iii. 7. 1.

‡ P. 319.

§ II. Introd. p. 36.

at once applied herself to the task. Had her principles of judgment been as loose as they are alleged to have been, she might, in the circumstances, have abandoned them, and clung only either to her traditions or to those books which were not thus perverted. But she did nothing of the kind; and the pages of Irenæus and Hippolytus bear ample witness that the middle of the second century could not have passed before she had fully entered on the defence both of the true text and its correct interpretation. Her critical skill was, no doubt, very different from that of the present century. But again, as before, she silenced her adversaries, and banished their interpretations with as much practical effect as would follow from the criticism of modern times.

Upon the whole, therefore, we are entitled to conclude that the complaints made against the Church of the second century of having been unhistorical, uncritical, careless as to forgery, influenced only by subjective likings and dislikings, and loose in her principles of judgment both as to books and their interpretation, are, to say the least, greatly exaggerated. The whole character of the age condemns the charge; and the positive estimate we are able to form of the work given the Church to do, and of the success with which she did it, completes its condemnation. How far we may rely on the soundness of the actual principles upon which the Church then proceeded, and to what extent she can be vindicated from certain other charges brought against her in connection with these matters, are questions that must be reserved for another and concluding article.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

The History of the Life and Times of Edward the Third. By WILLIAM LONGMAN. In Two Volumes. London: Longmans.

WE sincerely welcome another instalment of Mr. Longman's historical labours, which have now left the form of popular lectures and are prepared for readers alone. He indicates a careful desire to make the events of the past attractive and intelligible by engravings and maps, as well as by a judicious selection and treatment of the materials at his disposal. The present age makes great demands upon its historians as the price of its attention: the critics will have solid work and the reader will have an interesting style; and therefore the historian that will please his generation and live into the next must have something of the poet in addition to the investigator. Mr. Longman, like every one else who has tried, confesses the difficulty of delineating history "fully and satisfactorily on the one hand without exaggeration and unwarranted assumptions on the other." Our opinion is that though he does not take the first rank among historical narrators, the success he has achieved is very creditable to him, and we heartily hope the public may encourage him to pursue his studies, and liberally recognise the great expense he has not shrunk from to make his instruction tell to the utmost by means of the engraver's art. In the hope of contributing somewhat to his further success and of assisting him to improve the present volumes in a future edition, we venture to acquaint him with the critical observations we have made in the agreeable task of reviewing him.

First in regard to the maps,—and how few writers ever seem to be aware of the absolute necessity of historical geography for the comprehension of history! We have to thank Mr. Longman for no less than nine coloured maps admirably executed, besides two battle plans, a river ford, and some town localities. Some of the maps however require further descriptive accounts before they will tell their true tale to the eye. For instance, in France before and after the Peace of Bretigni, the French territory appears far too consolidated and compact. How much allowance has to be made for the almost independent provinces of Brittany, Burgundy, and Flanders! And very inadequate is the idea we get of the Papal seat "at Avignon in France" (i. 66). The map however does not exhibit that city "in France" at all. Was the Pope a subject of France during

the "Babylonish Captivity?" In fact the territorial relation of that little ecclesiastical state to the French monarchy, so important to be understood throughout the reign of Edward III., is one well worthy of a careful description. Again in English France, Aquitaine for instance with its ever-shifting outline, to what precise period do the boundaries there delineated ("before the Peace of Bretigni") belong? How much of it, *de jure* and *de facto*, belonged to Edward at his accession? Which of its fine provinces, "after the Peace," were held by powerful Counts and connected with the English Suzerain only by the slender tie of homage? What did that English territory around Calais consist of? Speaking of this, we suspect that the spelling of "Sandgatte," if authorised at all, is of less authenticity than "Sangatte." Does not that Newtown the Bold "round Calais" want a few words, considering all the marshes—in winter too?

At some other points also our historian wants, we think, a somewhat fuller pen. Edward's assumption of the French arms and title, so momentous an event in this reign and bearing such fruits for centuries after, is given in some half dozen meagre lines (i. 156). What did England say to this? What ought they to have said at home when they saw their proud lions only in the inferior quarters of the shield? The Prince of Wales' Feathers are perhaps too summarily disposed of (i. 261); the tradition is so indelibly written on the popular imagination (the latest English work on heraldry, dated this present year, shewing no suspicion of its having to be surrendered) that something more is required than a note without reasons or references. More about English archery would have been welcome, seeing that Crecy and Poitiers were both the Archers' Battles. What made them so? was it the archer, or the weapon—or both? What was there in the yeoman archer of England which the continental crossbowman had not? We should imagine from the interpretation he suggests (ii. 85) of the royal injunctions on archery seven years after the battle of Poitiers—and Agincourt to come—that Mr. Longman might look further into this subject than he has done.

We miss an account of Edward's issue. If we want to know (and we often do want very much to know) when and where the sons and daughters were born and died and were buried; whom, when, where they married; where shall we turn to if not to a professed "Life"? Yet as to some of Edward's children both male and female, we do not find even a hint of their existence. We are not told whose all those effigies are around his tomb in the Abbey and what were their several lots in life. A fine opportunity of touching on details of this kind with some impressive effect was lost when the King was holding the jubilee of his age, bestowing on his youthful sons their knightly rank and titles and dismissing the eldest hero of them all to his distant principality; or when fourteen years afterwards he kept the jubilee of his reign, with the hope of his crown dying at Westminster after disasters in the great Duchy and errors worse than disasters, and the lordly Aquitaine of Eleanora and of Bretigni cut down to two or three towns. We know not where Edward himself was born, though this had something to do with the after fortunes of the place, nor the days on which he and the Prince were buried. Some description of the funeral at Canterbury would have suggested perhaps hints of the reason of the popular historic title of this famous Prince of Wales. The closing scenes of both him and his father are penned in a few matter-of-course sentences as though the historian were nearly tired of his task. We might ask also the reason of that popular division in our royal genealogy which makes the "Plantagenets" end with Richard the Second (i. 1). If we use that word, as the moderns have learnt to use it, and very conveniently too, as a surname of each member of the race never lost except to females on their marriage, we must not stop at Richard the Second, nor forget that if two familiar branches of the stock have come to be generally called, through a famous contest, only by their titles in the Peerage, their members are yet just as much (except the last Lancastrian) in the unbroken male descent from Henry the Second. We only notice more that "Arthur, the second Duke of Brittany" (i. 194) is a lapsus for "Arthur the Second, Duke of Brittany." Though our questions and criticisms have occupied, we find, more room in their expression than our commendations, yet we beg to assure the author and the public that the latter are desired and intended to have, by a considerable deal, the most weight.

C. H.

Vicissitudes of Families. By Sir BERNARD BURKE, C.B., LL.D., Ulster King of Arms, Author of "The Peerage and Baronetage," &c., &c. Remodelled Edition, in Two Volumes. London: Longmans.

THE former edition of this excellent work is so widely known and so fully appreciated that it will not be necessary for us to enter very fully upon the revision now issued. We cordially wish the learned author a large addition to his already numerous readers. Some of the old matter has been dropped, and new introduced, among the former being the "Kirkpatricks of Closeburn," interesting in connexion with the Empress Eugenie, "Austruther of Austruther," "Landmarks of Genealogy," the "Double Sojourn of Genius at Beaconsfield," "Recollections of English Counties," "Heraldry," "The Geraldines," &c. Sir Bernard writes from so full a store and with so genial a pen that we could generally pardon his irrelevancies, and therefore rather grudge some of the omitted chapters. At any rate we could have better spared "King Tom," which is only the vicissitude of an individual, or "The House that Jack built," an anecdote of a similar nature. The "Smyths of Ashton Court" furnish no vicissitude, but only a villanous attempt to produce one. "The Oglanders of Nunwell and of Normandy" again are an example not of vicissitude, but eminently of the duration, of families. Where else can we find a family still settled on the very spot it occupied at the Conquest, its elder branch still flourishing in its native Normandy, and the Norman cradle-home of the houses still (we believe) in existence, bearing the same family name under slightly different spelling? And what Englishman, especially what Isle of Wight man, would not be concerned to know that one line of this distinguished race must in the course of nature and ere many more years have passed, cease in the lineal male succession and by entering a female branch be known under another name! We have reason to believe this is in expectation. C. H.

Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba; being a Journal of Occurrences in 1814—1815. With Notes of Conversations. By the late Major-General Sir NEIL CAMPBELL, C.B., British Commissioner, &c. With a Memoir of the Life and Services of that Officer by his Nephew, ARCHIBALD NEIL CAMPBELL MACLACHLAN, M.A., Vicar of Newton Valence, Hants. With a Portrait. London: John Murray.

THE two heroes of this volume will not fail to secure it abundant attention. Napoleon, Elba, and Neil Campbell will go down to posterity with Napoleon, St. Helena, and Hudson Lowe, only on a lower level of interest and importance. The MS. journal has the merit of being an original and contemporary authority for these ten months of little Elba's history and the great Bonaparte's littleness and daring, and we only wonder that the reverend owner of the documents was not at a much earlier date stricken in conscience as he witnessed the fragile leaves and reflected on the reality of worms and the wasting tooth of time. We presume that historical inquirers have already had access to these materials, although we are not informed of the fact, and that it is this document Sir Archibald Alison's margins refer to as "Sir Neil Campbell's MS. Journal."

The absence of an index to this work is all the more unfortunate that the chapter headings are very meagre. As an illustration of this we will describe our fate when we wanted to test the accuracy of the historian just mentioned in implying the presence of Sir Neil's fellow Commissioners on the island; as in reading the volume straight through at first we were sure we had been made aware to the contrary. Four Commissioners, of the four great Powers, had been deputed to convey the ex-Emperor from Fontainebleau to his little insular state: so turning to Chapter iii. which brought the travellers to Elba, we saw the Austrian Commissioner's movements indicated in the heading, but not the Prussian or the Russian. Commencing the chapter however we were lucky enough to overtake these latter two on the second page, and found that they never went to the island at all, but turned back as soon as the vessel with Napoleon on board got under weigh, April 28. The heading then assured us that the Austrian Commissioner, Köller, would be found departing before "Drawing-Room," and "Drawing-Room" preceded "Statistics." Having reached "Statistics" which was the finale of the chapter, "Drawing-Room" was not apparent;

but by turning the pages backwards—a very unedifying motion in reading history—and running the eye down each, after some twenty we discovered “Drawing-Room”—one paragraph. But still no Köller in the back neighbourhood, not on the next page, nor the next, nor the next. Changing our tactics, we then resolved to recommence the chapter, for we had already got back to about the middle. After twenty pages then from the beginning, on arriving at May 9 we find Köller purposing to embark for France, and apparently soon. We take courage and proceed, but slower and more warily, hardly venturing to skip anything. Eight pages of this unnourishing food bring us to May 11, on which day Köller is evidently no longer in the island. He has simply vanished, as through a trap-door. Perhaps he went on the 9th; but we know all we wanted, that he was gone, gone within a week after his arrival, and Alison who saw this journal (as it seems) is inexact. But perhaps Köller’s absence was only temporary, and he came back, and Sir Archibald is less inexact? But we have had enough of this sort of hunting and we must leave the interesting problem unsolved till Mr. Maclachlan has finished his index and a second edition comes out. A thick volume like this, crammed with matter, after having been once read through for pleasure from beginning to end just as we read a story-book, is subsequently referred to a hundred times for facts, dates, and names, in the *business* of literature; and if there is no guide, three-fourths of the value of it are lost, and the searcher is left to vanity and vexation of spirit—we will not acknowledge diminution of charity. We will revenge ourselves on the author by telling him that we have now exhausted the space allotted to his work and have no room left to inform the reader on what grounds we have much enjoyed a perusal of this gallant officer’s life and of the record he has left us of the fallen potentate so absurdly consigned by the united statesmanship of Europe—Castlereagh’s dissenting—to such a tempting retreat at so dangerous a juncture.

C. H.

Reminiscences of Mendelssohn. By E. POLKO. Translated by LADY WALLACE. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

THE English people have learnt to regard with affection any traces of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy; and we are not surprised to find this volume, so lately noticed by us in the German original, presented in an English dress. The English volume contains a few additional letters. The whole volume is suffused by an essentially Mendelssohnian atmosphere, by which we mean that we seem in reading it to breathe an air of warm sunny happiness, of enthusiasm, and of transparent purity. Mendelssohn not only lived in such an atmosphere himself, but had the power of attracting all his friends into it; and if we can manage to see him through the eyes of Elise Polko, we shall find her descriptions always pleasant—sometimes deeply affecting. It is Mendelssohn as he appeared in jackets and trousers, listening with admiration to the great Hummel; Mendelssohn conducting his boyish compositions in the midst of a delighted circle; Mendelssohn smiling down petty jealousies and mean rivalries, adoring his old masters, encouraging young performers, the idol of the rising generation, beloved of all, courted by the world, but ever unspoiled, and faithful to the highest that was in him. Such is the general tone of the picture, and as such Mendelssohn lives in the memories of those who knew him best, and loved him most.

In the sketches of his life that have appeared, there is a silence, which to some has seemed ominous, concerning his wife and his married life. We learn from this book that his marriage with a most beautiful girl, Cecile Jeanrenand, was a happy one. The reason why we have so few written details about her is that neither she nor Mendelssohn were in the habit of writing much about themselves to other people, and before her death she destroyed with her own hands all Mendelssohn’s letters to herself.

It is impossible to speak of Mendelssohn without alluding to his friends—he who lived for others so much more than for himself! We catch charming glimpses of those illustrious circles, of which he seems to have been so often the centre, and at each glimpse some little trait—a turn of the head, a laugh, a kind word, or wise characteristic saying—is sure to be recorded, which, more than pages of description, brings the dear master before us. Those must have been royal evenings when Humboldt, Bunsen, Meyerbeer, and Geibel sat round the piano,

or roved in profound and brilliant conversation over all things in heaven and earth—Felix holding his own with the easy modesty and happy repose of one to whom history, philosophy, and poetry were almost as familiar as the “Divine art.” They must have been golden hours when he strayed in the summer woods with a joyous company of friends, and losing himself in the leafy solitudes, was summoned back at last to picnic in the valley by the fresh voices of the girls and their comrades, who roamed about, singing his own woodland music to the words

“Thou balmy, balmy wind.”

How soon were those voices to sing his requiem—their utterance choked with tears—their lips trembling with heavy sorrow as they strove to render that grandest of all choral melodies in the Passion music of Bach,—

“O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden!”

The emotion with which the last sad days of Mendelssohn's life are described will bring tears to the eyes of many who remember him. The pitiless hand of death strikes down his beloved sister Fanny, just as his own health begins to fail. Then follows the silent and terrible grief for her loss, which seems to have visited him at intervals to the end of his life. But sorrow drives him to a redoubled activity, unhappily, at a time when he most needed rest. He often worked till the daylight fled, and day would sometimes dawn before he could be induced to relinquish his pen. When not thus engaged, he would be actively superintending the education of his children. Nothing can be more touching than the tone of subdued sweetness and complete unselfishness which shines more brightly than ever towards the close. The hand of disease was upon him—the world was clamouring for the completion of those masterpieces with which we are all familiar—but Mendelssohn had time to smile encouragement to others; he could feel for their failures, and rejoice in their triumphs; he could give pleasure to poor blind people at an infirmary when he was absolutely forbidden to accept any professional engagements; he had a kind word or a charitable deed for every one who came near him—for his heart was broad and tender as his genius was high and pure. Then comes the *Elijah*, and then the end. Many of us may recollect the thrill of grief which ran through the musical world when it was first whispered in London that Mendelssohn was dying—how, when the last news came, many would not believe it, and hoped against hope—and how, when the news was confirmed beyond a doubt, some who had never seen his face went about mourning as for the loss of a dear friend or relative.

The following details are extracted from the very touching letter at the end of this volume, from David to Professor Sterndale Bennett:—

“I saw him some days afterwards, and found him again in good spirits, although he said to me, ‘I feel as if some one were lying on the watch for me, and saying: “Stop—no further.”’

“Never can I forget Gade coming to me at the ‘Conservatorium’ to say Mendelssohn had been seized afresh with illness, and that it was now a question of life and death. I instantly rushed off, and was received by the intelligence that all hope was over. I was obliged to wait for a quarter of an hour before being sufficiently composed to go into his room. He was quite unconscious, and cried out terribly till about ten o'clock. He then began to make sounds of instruments with his lips, as if music were haunting his brain. When exhausted by this he again uttered a cry of anguish, and remained in the same state all through the night. The pain seemed to diminish during the course of the day, but his face was already that of a dying man. About a quarter after nine in the evening he died. The most gentle and placid smile overspread his features.”

The volume before us is a most valuable addition to the biographical materials which have been already brought to light for a life of Mendelssohn, and such a life ought to be written before those friends who could supply so many valuable links have passed away. The English edition of these “Reminiscences” contains one of the less-known portraits of Mendelssohn, and a charming little sketch in water-colours by him of the Thomas-Schule at Leipsic, from an album in the possession of Professor Sterndale Bennett.

H. R. H.

The Life of Franz Schubert. KREISSLE. Translated by ARTHUR DUKE COLERIDGE, M.A., with an Appendix by George Grove, Esq. Two Vols. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

POOR Dr. Kreissle, with his big book about Franz Schubert, has indeed got among the Philistines. In 1866 Mr. Wilberforce published a sort of translation of it, leaving out a great deal of the original; and now in 1869 we have a version from another hand, full of mistakes and quite unreadable. Having escaped by some miracle the *Scylla* of a translation by Lady Wallace, it remained for "Schubert's Life" to fall into the *Charybdis* prepared by Mr. Coleridge. Equipped apparently with a slender knowledge of the English and German languages, this gentleman has, with great perseverance and without much abridgment, at length completed his task. A few notes are omitted which ought to have been put in, and a good many are inserted which might have been left out. Of Schubert personally there was not much to be said; but the book is a perfect biographical dictionary of his friends. Nor is this the only padding which intervenes between the impatient reader and his hero. The frivolous and fatiguing opera librettos are spun out to an intolerable length. Surely the translator, without impertinent violence, might have omitted or curtailed many more of the lives and the librettos, and thus brought his ponderous German adversary within the compass of one volume for the benefit of an English public. It is unnecessary to retrace here the biography of Schubert, which was treated in our number for May, 1866. Of course it is a good thing to get any sort of translation *in extenso* of his life; but it is surely a bad thing to get anything so careless and dull as the one before us. The following ingeniously awkward sentence, which is really a fair specimen of the translation, will give the reader some idea of Mr. Coleridge's English. The italics are our own, and do not always denote grammatical error—sometimes only slovenliness.

"The narrow, one-sided taste of the great public all tending to this one direction, and the increasing mania for Italian operas at Vienna which reached its highest point under the management of Barbeja and Duport but culminated in 1822 when Rossini himself conveyed his own troupe of singers to the capital, was [were?] as a natural consequence destructive to Schubert's dramatic effects as a composer, and finally disappointed a long cherished hope he had entertained of seeing one of his grand operas (*Fierrabras* was already licensed for representation) represented on the stage" (vol. i. 153).

It would require considerable study to put this sentence, and scores of others like it, to rights. We quote it because it contains three salient characteristics of Mr. Coleridge's style. First, the sentence is difficult to read at a breath; secondly, its construction is impossible to discover; and thirdly, its meaning is obscure. On almost every page we have one or more confusing parentheses, sentences of intolerable length, and verbs which have completely forgotten their nominative cases. However, with the catalogue and Appendix we arrive at some useful and interesting matter. Mr. George Grove, who has lately been to Vienna, has brought back a good deal of Schubert's music, and gives us an amusing account of his adventures. It appears that Dr. Schneider has a great many of Schubert's manuscripts shut up in his cupboard. Into this cupboard, full of half a century's dust, Mr. Grove penetrated. Here he found what some of Schubert's admirers consider the greatest treasure of all, the whole of the "Rosamunde" music. At the library of the *Musik-verein* he saw the autograph of the *Ninth Symphony*, a copy of a *sonata*, and the "Song of Miriam." The Appendix contains a theoretic catalogue of the nine symphonies. Of these the Fourth, the Sixth, the Seventh, the Eighth, and the Ninth have been produced at the Crystal Palace; and we have hints that in that same dusty cupboard of Dr. Schneider's there are other treasures, which for some reason have not yet been permitted to see the light. Whatever can be said of Schubert, we must admit that he inspires enthusiasm. It is this which has lured on Mr. Coleridge to print the most unreadable of books, and Mr. Grove to write an Appendix which may possibly sell it.

H. R. H.

II.—CLASSICAL.

The Satires of Juvenal, with Prolegomena and English Notes. By T. S. H. ESCOTT, M.A., Professor of Logic at King's College, London, and late Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford. London: Virtue & Co.

To their classical series, which already numbered many ancient authors well edited and annotated by practical and experienced scholars, Messrs. Virtue have recently added the "*Satires of Juvenal*," well and ably handled by the ripe scholarship of Mr. Escott. We really believe that we confer a service on that portion of the student class which has to consider the cost of books, and in a great measure to educate itself, by recommending to its notice *generally* the useful, handy, and exceedingly cheap series of which this "*Juvenal*" is the latest issue, and *particularly*, as a specimen volume, Mr. Escott's contribution to the editorial work of the series. It is turned out in a remarkably handy form, and the annotated text has the just modicum of introductory matter prefixed to it. The big word "*Prolegomena*," indeed, prepares us for a less simple and unpretentious grouping of the matter needful to beginners of the study of Juvenal than we really find; but there is nothing omitted either in the short life of the satirist, or in the survey of Roman satire, which a novice ought to know, and which is calculated to help the due understanding of the text. If there is no new fact contributed to the Life, it is because Mr. Escott prefers safe ground to conjectural structures, and aims rather at providing substantial data than at giving an impetus to unprofitable guess-work. In the Survey much use has been made, we are glad to see, of Mr. Charles Merivale's remarks at the close of his "*History of the Romans under the Empire*," a fairer estimate, be it observed, of the tone and genius of Juvenal than is to be found of them elsewhere. Particularly is justice done in it to the calmer and kindlier views of life which are exhibited in his latter satires, and which prove him to have experienced the contrary change, in ripe authorship, to that which generally takes place. The common-place assailant of vice and of the evils of his time would find it hard to give up his scourge when he had learnt to handle it; but he, whose satires are after all the best ancient model of a class of poetry indigenous to Rome, as the Epic, or the Comic drama, was to Athens, finishes his mission "by exalting virtue and expounding the true dignity of human nature." It is, of course, a drawback to the enjoyment of his peculiar muse, that his poems are not unsullied by the indelicacy and impurity which disfigure so much of ancient and Pagan literature; but we may venture to say this for Mr. Escott's edition, that it minimizes the evils of this inevitable admixture by the excision of the worst passages, and by the omission of aught that approaches a note, comment, or allusion even, to objectionable matter, in the annotations.

Turning to these, we have found by careful perusal of several satires that he has judiciously availed himself of the collected information of his predecessors, weeded whatever was *de trop*, and concentrated his editorial diligence on the expression of the most needful light in the clearest and most succinct form. On "*Lugdunensem ad aram*," i. 44, his note is more to the purpose than those of his compeers. After saying that the allusion is to the rhetorical contests instituted by Caligula at Lyons, he adds, "The speakers might well grow pale before undergoing the ordeal: those whose speeches the emperor disapproved were compelled to lick out what they had written, or take their chance of drowning in the river." In the 116th line of the same satire he takes a sounder and safer view of the meaning of

"*Quæque salutato crepitat concordia nido*,"

viz., "that the goddess (*i.e.*, her storks in the temple) twitters when votaries salute her nest," than Prior and Maclean, who make "*nido salutato*" refer to the greetings-to-the-nest of the old birds returning to their young. On "*Jam quartanam sperantibus ægris*" (iv. 57), too, Mr. Escott has seen the right interpretation, and not suffered himself to be added to the list of those who take "*spero*" in the sense of *ἡλπίζω*, holding rather that it has the full sense of hope, and that the verse means "hoping that they will escape with a fever which comes but once in four days." Rightly, too, does he discern the mean-

ing of "quadra," as it forms the basis of the phrase "aliena vivere quadra" in Sat. v. 2; and at Sat. x. 55 he smooths the difficulty of the line, "Propter quod fas est genua incutere deorum" by dismissing several alternative explanations, and adopting the simple process of taking "est" in the sense of "habetur." It should be stated, however, that here and there he is, like other editors, liable to error. "Expende Hannibalem," for example, in x. 147, is surely not "weigh the case of Hannibal," but literally "weigh out Hannibal," "weigh his dust;" but this is not a grave slip, and the few we have found are of no greater magnitude. In any notes upon Roman manners and customs Mr. Escott is especially painstaking and trustworthy; for instance, he puts the student in possession of all needful knowledge about Roman bail in his note on "Differt vadimonia prætor," iii. 213, and about a Roman banquet upon Sat. v. 17. This is as it should be, in the interest of those who have not the Dictionary of Antiquities, or Bekker's Gallus always ready to their hand, and to whose pockets a "self-sufficient" edition (in a good sense) is a real gain.

The only word of fault-finding we have to say relates to the correction of the press, which strikes us in this case as having been hardly vigilant enough. False stops, omission of important words in the notes, and discrepancies between the text and the citation of it in the annotations, though minor defects, detract from the usefulness of an edition. We strongly counsel a supplementary table of "errata."

J. D.

Aristophanes: The Wasps. Edited by W. C. GREEN, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Classical Lecturer at Queen's College, Rivingtons.

THERE is little new to say of this third instalment of Mr. Green's Aristophanes, a very useful and promising link of the Catena Classicorum. In its features it naturally "favours" its predecessors, and to say this of it is no small general praise. Mr. Green has plainly a keen appreciation of his author, and as he advances in his editorial work grows more and more cognizant of his peculiarities, and is able to illustrate them from plays already edited. He seems, in this volume, to have studied Dindorf's latest text, and to have here and there availed himself of its improvements; but indeed, whatever reading he adopts in a case of doubt or difficulty, is sure to be well substantiated in his critical notes. For example, at v. 160, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς—μοῦ χρησεν ἐν Δελφοῖς—ἀποσκληῖναι πότι, he deems it unnecessary to adopt Meineke's correction, ἀποσκληῖν' αὖν, which Dr. H. A. Holden, we observe, has accepted, and several other editors. And in justification of his letting the text alone, in this case, he urges such cases of an infinitive after χρῆσαι, as ἐχρησα πύμψαι (Æsch. Eum. 203), observing that "though this may be rather a telling of 'what shall be' than an ordaining of a thing 'to be,' yet an oracle is always a sort of decree or command." In v. 259, note, too, he differs from Meineke and Holden, who, after Hermann, read μάρμαρος for βόρβορος; and we confess we think he has reason for taking vv. 261, 262, of past rain, and coupling τὸ πλεῖστον with ἔδωρ, though Dr. Holden would explain ἡμερῶν τεττάρων τὸ πλεῖστον as equivalent to "quatruiduo ad summum." The passage is one which exercises the ingenuity of commentators to make it coherent; but Mr. Green makes the old men's talk hang together as consistently and consecutively as one can expect, and justly remarks upon it that "their first inferring from the mud how much rain there has been, and then passing on to the consideration of rain to come, may be a little rambling, but is not out of character with old men."—(p. 34.)

But a not less value attaches to the well-selected illustrative matter of Mr. Green's notes. Sometimes, indeed, we could spare such an obvious grammatical note as the explanation on v. 170, αὐτοῖσι τοῖς κανθηλίοις, of the phrase αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, αὐτοῖσι συμμαχοῖσι, "men and all," "allies and all," which would surely be needless to students advanced enough to tackle a play of Aristophanes; but if we could eliminate one or two notes of this character, we could not spare one of the more strictly illustrative and parallelistic notes. Into these Mr. Green generally contrives to throw a good share of life and gossiping interest. Thus, on the subject of Alcibiades's lisp (v. 46), by which Theorus became Theolus, and κόραξ, κόλαξ, he aptly quotes an epigram from the Anthology (Brunek's Anal. ii. 413) commencing—

Ῥῶ καὶ Λάμβδα μόνον κόρακας κολάκων διορίζει, κ.τ.λ.—

and vouchsafes a free imitation of the same, which is not without its humour and appropriateness:—

"Twixt fowls and fools, in northern tongue, small difference is heard:
There's chattering fowls and prating fools: the man's much like the bird.
And those who of this feather are, 'twere best, my friends, to shun.
Sure that for any useful end these fowls and fools are one."

Upon γ. 100, τὸν ἀλεκτρούνα δ', ὅς ᾗδ' ἄφ, ἰσπίρας, he very appositely quotes Racine's *Les Plaideurs* and the *Aulularia* of Plautus, iii. iv. 10; and as to ἄφ' ἰσπίρας, which is i.q. "de vespere," justly observes that the cock's crowing was in fault with the old man, because, though much earlier than the usual time, it did not wake him early enough. At γ. 191, he might have quoted a fable of Babrius (Fab. xc. part 2) ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ ὄνου σκιάς, but has not done so; and perhaps upon ἐπὶ τῇ κίχλιδι (γ. 124) it is a little odd that such a punster as Mr. Green evidently is, did not give way to some joke about the "cancelli" or railings dividing the dicasts from the suitors and general public. Mr. Rudd translates the line in question—

"But he appeared in Chancery with morning light."

Not that we can complain of his non-appreciation of Aristophanic puns, or of his lack of endeavour to reproduce them. In the first couple of hundred lines he tries his hand on δῆμον—βόειον δῆμόν, suggesting an equivalent in a pun on "John Bull" and "fat of bulls' flesh." At γ. 140, μυσπολεῖ, he remarks that if, as Liddell and Scott say, there is a reference to μυστιπολεῖν, we should render it, "is at his mouse-tricks," for "mysteries" (perhaps as "high strikes" is a slang equivalent for "hysterics"); and in γ. 185, οὗτις Ἰθακὸς Ἀποδρασσιππίδου, is represented by "Mr. Nobody, from the land of Go, son of Mr. Ready-to-run." It must have been a sore trial to Mr. Green to give up the attempt to make a pun out of πατὴρ Καπνίου, in γ. 151, a very rare case of self-repression.

The Introduction to this play, it may be remarked in conclusion, is creditably brief. To have said much more about it would have been to give it a rank which it does not deserve in the range of Aristophanic comedies. Probably very few readers of the *Wasps* will care to go through with it. The liveliest scenes come first. The later are too long-drawn-out, a fault which, by the way, attaches to other plays of Aristophanes also. But the most conscientious student, who perseveres to the end, will find an equally steadfast companion in Mr. Green, and we know no better nor more amusing guide to whom to recommend him.

J. D.

Demosthenes. With an English Commentary. By the Rev. ROBERT WHISTON, M.A. Vol. II. (Bibliotheca Classica.) London: Whittaker & Co.

THE first volume of Mr. Whiston's "Demosthenes," if we recollect aright, met with rather rough handling from the critics. "Ictus piscator sapit." The present volume will be found, in the main, cautiously and soundly edited; and there need be no fear of erring from the path of accurate scholarship in taking it for a guide. Mr. Whiston has been fortunate in having for the first "speech" in it that famous one of Demosthenes "On the Embassy" (περὶ τῆς παραπροσβείας), because in annotating that oration he had but to keep pretty close to the track of Mr. Shilleto to be not only safe, but eminently successful. A comparison of the two editions will show how complete a reliance, especially as regards verbal and grammatical criticism, Mr. Whiston has placed in his distinguished Cambridge predecessor; and we fancy we can discover in the rest of the volume, which contains the speech against Leptines, that against Meidias, the interesting and highly-finished speech against Androtion (which, delivered by Demosthenes at the age of twenty-seven, is as great an oratorical feat as Erskine's speech for Captain Baillie, when he was but twenty-eight, as Mr. Whiston notes in his Introduction, p. 353), and those against Aristocrates, Timocrates, and Aristogeiton, the signs of the little leaven of Shilleto leavening the whole lump, as it were. Not that there is any servility of following, or that Mr. Whiston, of all men in the world, lies under any imputation of dependence; but the tone is given to the notes of the first oration in the volume, and is carried on throughout it.

Of all these orations, we confess a chief attraction to that against Meidias, upon which Mr. Whiston has "eminent hands" before him as editors—Buttmann among the Germans, and Mr. Holmes among members of his own University. He has herein, however, contrived to do full justice to his powers as an annotator, and has enlivened his introduction and notes with interesting modern parallels. No one can read the speech against Meidias without connecting it in thought with "Cicero pro Milone;" or dream of going elsewhere, among the ancients, for a model of close argument and strict reasoning. The passage just before the peroration (§ 276—282), which Demosthenes addressed to the fears and interests of the community, contending that what was one day his case might be another's, and a weaker party's the next, is, as Mr. Whiston truly says, "a passage of singular force and eloquence—the eloquence of simple facts, and of reasoning plain to all." In a foot-note it is added that this passage might be cited to prove the justice of instituting a parallel between Lord Lyndhurst, in his best speeches, and Demosthenes; and readers of Lord Campbell's *Lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham* will be struck by the soundness of this estimate.

We have no space to go into a minute examination of Mr. Whiston's handling of difficult passages in these orations; but we may safely affirm of it that he has displayed therein the highest virtues of a commentator—pains and patience. At times these have led him to differ from high authorities—as, e.g., where, in Meidias, § 172, ἐπ' ἀστράβης δὲ ὀχοῦμενος ἐξ Ἀργούρας τῆς Εὐβοίας, he declines to accept Buttmann's emendation, ἐπ' ἀστράβης δὲ ὀχοῦμενος ἀργυρᾶς τῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας, although Bekker has done so, and, in defiance of scholiasts, commentators, and Liddell and Scott, prefers to interpret ἀστράβης of "a mule," rather than of "a mule's saddle." The passage is obscure and doubtful, and the reading corrupt; so that Mr. Whiston's excursus is entitled to candid consideration. In the midst of uncertainty, it would be both unwise and unjust to condemn it. In the "Speech on the Embassy," too, § 34, we find ourselves prepared to go in the same boat with him as to understanding ὅδε of Philip, and not of Æschines, although, in his second edition, Shilleto has changed his mind, and refers it to Æschines, because, had Philip been meant, Demosthenes would have used ἐκείνος. The passage runs,—

εἶτα καὶ Φωκίας ἀπολώλεκε μὲν οἶμαι, Φίλιππος.—τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ ὅσα τῆς Φωκίων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς βίαν ἦκε, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα ἀπώλεσαν οὗτοι καὶ διέφθειραν ἱκόντες, οὐχ ὡς ὅτε Φωκίας ἀπώλεσε καθ' αὐτόν.

Mr. Whiston's interpretation of this passage differs, indeed, from most of the commentators, and has with it only the earlier authority of Schäfer, and the (not invariably valuable) support of a French translator. Stiévenart, be it remarked, is generally pretty accurate. We are constrained, however, to think that ὅδε, if referred to Æschines, is of little force; whereas, in our editor's sense of the passage, all runs coherently and smoothly. He translates: "Then again, as I conceive, it is indeed Philip who has destroyed the Phocians; but these men co-operated with him; so that this is what you ought to consider and look at, whether or not all the chances for the preservation of the Phocians that depended on the embassy, have by these men been purposely ruined and lost—not that Philip hath destroyed the Phocians by himself: how could he?"

Occasionally Mr. Whiston has supplemented the information which he reproduces from Shilleto—e.g., where, in § 27, he adds to that scholar's quotation from the Greek in illustration of ὅχλος ἄλλως, a pertinent instance from the Latin—viz., Sallust, Jugurth. c. 25, "Tentatum antea bellum secus cesserat," where "secus" is tantamount to "unfortunately."

Our examination of this volume of Mr. Whiston's enables us to testify to the diligence with which he has consulted the histories of Grote and Thirlwall, the helpfulness of his introductions, the modesty of his preface, and the successful recourse he has had, so often, to Mr. C. R. Kennedy's translations. The volume has had the advantage, too, of Mr. George Long's revision, and may be recommended to the student of Demosthenes as well adapted for use and reference.

J. D.

III.—TRAVEL.

The Attractions of the Nile and its Banks. By Rev. A. C. SMITH, M.A.
Two Vols. post 8vo. London: Murray.

ANOTHER book on the Nile! Mr. Smith has been a bold man to make his *début* on so hackneyed a theme. Yet, whatever be the attractions of the Nile, there can be no question as to the attractions of these two charming volumes. Not that the author has anything new to tell us. With the exception of the very interesting but harrowing story of the Fellahin rebellion of 1865, there is perhaps no single fact recounted which was not already familiar to Oriental tourists. Yet we do not remember ever to have laid down a journal of travel with more regret that the tale was ended. The reason is not far to seek. Mr. Smith is one of the few who know what to observe and how to observe it. The benefits of a winter on the Nile (we speak not, of course, of its sanatory benefits) are lost to those who have not the requisite education in Egyptology and other matters, which alone insures a fascinating inland voyage on those antique waters.

We ourselves have met in Egypt too many travellers who were perpetually contrasting the temples with some stucco palace in Philadelphia or Chicago, or who came to the same conclusion as the young countryman whom Mr. Smith encountered, who "solemnly observed that he didn't think much of Egyptian temples, which were in reality nothing more than a lot of stones piled one on the top of t'other. Perhaps he would have passed the same verdict on the cathedrals of Strasburg and Milan" (vol. ii. p. 186). Now there are three subjects which ought to provide topics of unceasing interest to the voyager on the Nile: the manners, customs, religion, and ethnology of the inhabitants, Egyptian archaeology, and natural history,—most especially in the branch of ornithology. Mr. Smith had taken care to lay in a stock of information on all. An accomplished clergyman, already an archaeological writer in England, and a member, as he tells us, "of that most select and learned society, the British Ornithologists' Union," he must have been the very companion to charm the tedium, if tedium there could be, of that inland voyage.

Accompanied by his father and an old college friend, Mr. Smith spent six months in Egypt for the benefit of his health; and his volumes have all the freshness of journals written day by day, but bring into relief many points which escape the notice of an ordinary tourist. There are many interesting accounts of the Copts, and we heartily coincide with the author in his sympathy for that down-trodden race, which we feel with him has had scant justice done it at the hands of English travellers, who have reserved all their interest for the dominant Moslem race. The description of the interview and discussion with the Coptic patriarch (vol. i. pp. 126 *seqq.*) is well worth perusal by those who are ardently dreaming of an approaching reunion with the Eastern Churches.

The following is a sample of Mr. Smith's easy style, and his reflections may be studied with profit:—

"On calling to mind the impressions made upon us by our visits to the mosques, while in Cairo and other towns in Egypt, as well as from our constant intercourse with Muslims of all ranks during our stay in the country, we were from the first exceedingly struck with the conviction, and subsequent observation only corroborated our first impression on this point, that the Muslims as a body are in earnest in their religious duties, and are not ashamed to be thought so. There is no *mauvaise honte* in the matter of prayer; and that extraordinary fear of ridicule, and absolute terror lest he be seen to be devout, which beset the Englishman, would be quite incomprehensible to the ordinary Musselman. On this occasion, every worshipper, as he entered the mosque—taking off his slippers at the door, and advancing some way into the building, turning himself towards Mecca—was at once absorbed in the task before him; without looking to the right or left, with no eye to anything taking place around him, or to those who were constantly coming and going on all sides of him, not even to the European strangers, at other times no little objects of attention and wonder, his heart and soul were evidently thoroughly occupied with the business on which he had come, and though his prayers were muttered with inconceivable rapidity, and his prostrations—now with his forehead on the ground, now kneeling on his knees, now sitting on his heels—might seem to some to savour of formalism, I confess they spoke to my mind of reality and sincerity, and I came away much impressed with the manifest devotion which these Muslims showed; and I thought

they read us a lesson which we in England should do well to learn, ashamed as we undoubtedly as a nation are, above all other nations on the earth, with the most reprehensible of all false shame, shame of being found on our knees in our private devotions, pouring out our hearts, as we all confess we are bound to do every day, before God. I know not how it is that the Englishman has attained this unenviable shamefacedness, which common Christian manliness should dispel; but I fear it is too true that it is a national evil. It is not found in France, or Germany, or Italy, or Spain. In primitive Norway such shyness is unknown; in the Tyrol, I have seen the goatherds and cowherds in the mountains fall on their knees in the bleak hillside when the sound of the bell floated up from the distant valley, announcing the elevation of the Host. And on the Riviera I have remarked with satisfaction how those at work at their various trades in their shop doors, and those in the streets, have knelt in prayer when the Friday afternoon bell tolled the hour of our blessed Lord's death, '*le moment de la mort du bon Dieu*,' as it was explained by a peasant, and one of the most beautiful and touching customs I ever witnessed. But I am bound in candour to own that no Christians of any Church or creed with which I am acquainted equal the Muslims in their perfect indifference to the observation of others when the hour of prayer leads them to prostrate themselves before God in devotion."

Mr. Smith frequently directs attention to the illustrations of old patriarchal customs afforded by the life of modern Egypt.

"I have called attention to the daily food of our sailors, the pottage wherein they shred the red lentils, the very same identical mess for which Esau sold his birthright. I have also mentioned amongst the ornaments worn by the women of Upper Egypt and Nubia the nose-ring and bracelets, which are still the gifts of betrothal, as they were when Abraham's servant, Eliezar, placed them on the face and hands of Rebecca. And I have spoken of the huge sycamore-tree under which the Governor of Assouan held his court of justice, as in the days of the patriarchs, the terebinth of Abraham, and the oak of Jacob. . . . The traveller is still entertained with freshly-baked loaves and a kid from the flock, as in the days of Abraham. Messes are still sent to the favoured guest, as in the days of Joseph. Children are still carried, not in their mother's arms, but astride on her shoulder, as in the days of Hagar. Bricks are still made with stubble, when straw is not to be procured, as in the time of the Israelitish bondage. . . . Presents of fruit and sweetmeats are often made to superiors with a view to conciliate their good-will, as in the days of the sons of Israel. . . . He who desires to make an humble request of his superior kisses the skirts of his clothing. The lecturer sits down to teach, surrounded by his pupils on the floor around him." (Vol. ii. pp. 182-4.)

Mr. Smith's descriptions of the temples of course do not supersede, or in any way supplement, Sir G. Wilkinson and the other standard authors, but they are pleasantly written, and will well suffice for the first day's general view of an Egyptian ruin, reserving the details for more leisurely inspection.

Our author was (shall we say) fortunate enough to descend the Nile just at the moment of the rebellion of 1865, of which scarcely anything is known in England, and the harrowing details he recounts may give us some idea of the vengeance of an Eastern despot, and exhibit a summary mode of stamping out insurrection with which the suppression of the Indian mutiny may indeed favourably contrast. The story also gives him an opportunity of describing the chronic misery of the Egyptian peasantry, and the horrors of that system of forced labour, to which, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, every Egyptian sojourner knows too well the famous Suez Canal scheme is principally indebted for the progress it has made.

"We had heard that this worst kind of slavery had been abolished, but we were soon undeceived, and had been eye-witnesses" (as has also the reviewer) "to the fact that it exists in the most cruel form, and on a very large scale. And whatever M. St. Hilaire may say of the necessity of such *corvée*, or compulsory labour, and the alternative of leaving public works unaccomplished unless such external force compelled the fellaheen to work against their will, few Englishmen, I think, will be inclined to endorse his opinion, or refuse their sympathy to the poor labourers, who, torn from their homes and families, are hurried off to work *under the lash*, while M. St. Hilaire, interested though he naturally is in the accomplishment of the great ship canal, and looking upon the matter with the eyes of a Frenchman, to whom the somewhat similar conscription for soldiers is familiar, owns that 'the labour is generally great, and the wages small.'" (Vol. ii. p. 140.)

No wonder the *corvée* and the uncertain tenure of land, all being merely tenants-at-will of the Pasha, cause the ruler of Egypt to be looked on as a hated tyrant

by his people, and that the Arab mutters with clenched teeth the proverb he learnt from his fathers, that "Grass never grows in the footsteps of a Turk."

But the Pasha knows how to awe. The moment he heard of the rebellion above Thebes, he took the field, or rather the steamers, with his forces in person. On his arrival, no resistance was attempted. All he had to do was strike terror. Five hundred men were at once executed, as a warning—two hundred being shot, two hundred beheaded, and one hundred hanged. Then all the villages which had harboured the disaffected were burnt, with their palm-trees, and the passes from the desert guarded, that as hunger and thirst forced the fugitive wretches to return, they might be shot down like dogs; and for this the Pasha held the sheikhs responsible with their heads. For several days the author's party floated down the Nile with human corpses, while the vultures on the banks were gorging themselves on hundreds more.

One of the most attractive features of Mr. Smith's journal is the pleasant way in which natural-history notes are continually introduced—not after the butcher fashion in which too many Englishmen on the Nile, who are doing their utmost to exterminate its feathered visitors, boast of their hecatombs of slaughtered spoonbills, herons, or cranes; boasts which have justly drawn down the execration of gentlemen and men of humanity on the writers of some recent "sporting" voyages on the Nile—but in the spirit of the naturalist, whose rarest treat was to watch through his glass the proceedings of some bird whose acquaintance he had never before been able to make.

To the end of the work is appended a copious list, with full descriptions of the habits of all birds obtained or identified on the voyage, which, though far from complete, will be very useful to travellers who have not more scientific works on the birds of Egypt at hand. Some birds, which were watched but not obtained, the author was unable to identify; but from his descriptions three of them may be guessed at with tolerable accuracy. His "great brown Ibis" is, no doubt, *Ibis carunculata*, which we ourselves have seen in collections from Upper Egypt. The other (p. 276), with an extraordinary head, is the Bald Ibis, *Geronticus comatus*; and his "elegant grey-plumaged waders, with black heads, very long legs, and having very much the appearance of diminutive cranes" (p. 277), are unquestionably the well-known diminutive Crane, *Grus virgo*, called also *La Demoiselle de Numidie*. They are well known to occur in Egypt. Some of his birds we suspect he has determined wrongly—e.g., we shall be very much astonished to find the Maroccan Dusky Ixos (*Ixos obscurus*) in Egypt. Probably this is an error for *Ixos arsinoe*, an allied Egyptian bird. In giving the scientific names we regret that Mr. Smith has quoted, not the authority, the only safe index for the student, but merely the compilation which he happened to have at hand. It is to be remembered, also, that most of the birds of Egypt are merely seasonal visitors, and therefore it need cause no surprise that one traveller finds in abundance species which another never sees. Thus the Brown-necked Raven of Palestine is well known to be an inhabitant of Egypt, and we have seen the Peewit by tens of thousands in the Delta at the season of migration.

We are scarcely prepared to admit, with our author, that the Papyrus was never indigenous in Egypt, since we have discovered it by the Sea of Galilee, and covering many acres in the swamps of Huleh (Merom), in the far severer climate of Northern Palestine, where it is undoubtedly indigenous. Both plants and birds are far more easily extirpated in thickly-peopled countries than we are apt to suspect. We can only, in conclusion, join in Mr. Smith's aspiration, that some check may be put on the wanton butchery and extirpation by English so-called sportsmen on the Nile, and, we would add, on our own English coasts likewise.

If we may criticize a very minor detail, it is to be regretted that the ordinary English rendering of Arabic spelling is wholly disregarded; thus we have "woiran" for "waran," "hawager" for "howadji," which, by the way, is not "sir," but really "merchant" or "tradesman;" sir being "*sidi*," the "cid" of Spanish romance, a title which the Moslem never condescends to apply to a Christian dog.

H. B. T.

Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, formerly Russian America, now ceded to the United States, and in various other Parts of the North Pacific. By FREDERIC WHYMPER. London: John Murray.

THE amount of attainable information concerning the interior of Russian America (now ceded to the United States) was, prior to Mr. Whympers book, confined to Sir John Richardson's collection of facts at second-hand, and the travels of Zagoskin, of the Russian Imperial Navy, which are not popularly known, for the sufficient reason that though they were translated into German, the translation was never printed. The vast and desolate territory once called Russian America, and satirically named by the critics of Mr. Seward's taste for Arctic acquisitions, "Wal-russia," is henceforth to be known as Alaska Territory; and of this territory Mr. Whympers believes the United States are likely to make a very good thing, though by the process which Grattan described in the case of Napoleon's Russian *fiasco* as that of "making war on desolation." The extreme northern division of the country may be nearly valueless, but in the central portion of the territory furs are abundant, and the trade in them must fall into American hands. "The southern parts of the country are identical in character with the neighbouring British territory, and will probably be found to be as rich in mineral wealth, though of inferior growth, owing to the higher latitude, and will yet prove by no means worthless. The fisheries may become of great value. There are extensive cod banks off the Aleutian Isles, and on many other parts of the coast. Salmon is the commonest of common fish in all the rivers of the North Pacific, and is rated accordingly as food only fit for those who cannot get better. In Alaska the fish can be obtained in vast quantities simply at the expense of native labour. To this add the value of salt or vinegar, barrels and freight; and one sees the slight total cost in exporting to Europe what would be considered a luxury." In addition to these promising statistics of the mainland, we learn that the Aleutian Isles yield large numbers of skins of amphibious animals, and as on nearly all of them active or passive volcanoes exist, it is more than probable they may be Arctic editions of Sicily, rich in sulphur deposits. In so far as it is devoted to the elucidation of these points, and to the description of the wonderful region through which he travelled, as artist member of the Telegraph Expedition, afterwards recalled, on the abandonment of the project consequent on the success of the Atlantic cable, Mr. Whympers book has all the attraction of an entirely novel and a remarkably well-written narrative; but it might have been contracted with advantage. Though it is all pleasant reading, the real interest of the book begins only with the sixth chapter, and it ceases with the twenty-third. Vancouver's Island has been "done," not, indeed, so very exhaustively as California, which is quite the Spa or Baden-Baden of the New World for tempting people to write about it, fondly oblivious that everybody else has done the same—but very fully and satisfactorily, especially by Mr. Sproat; and the beginning and end of the book are occupied—the first with Vancouver's Island, the last with California. Not many writers could carry one so lightly and with so little weariness over such familiar ground, but still Mr. Whympers narrative would be a greater work if it were a smaller book.

The Yukon River is an object which, in old times, had any one known anything about it, would have been numbered among the distinctly-defined "Wonders of the World." But of late we have come to understand so well how wonderful all the earth is, that the old-established phenomena have sunk into insignificance.

The journey made by the Expedition was a deeply interesting one, and nothing is more remarkable in the book than the sustained good spirits, frequently reaching exhilaration, which the members seem to have enjoyed, doubtless a beneficent and compensating provision of Nature for the maintenance of life in regions where her rigour is so great and unsparing, where her manifestations are so august and awe-inspiring. A little despondency, a little faint-heartedness, some home-sickness, and it is impossible to believe that strength and life could last through the hardships of that land of ice, and winter, with its brief, beautiful burst of glorious summer, coming with magic suddenness, and passing away so sadly soon. The fairy tale of science which told children of a northern land—

"In which the sun rose redly up,
To shine for half a year,"

is out in its reckoning by two months. Winter has an eight months' reign, and is the healthier season; there are but two. Mr. Whympers passed the shortest night of the Arctic year *en route* for Porcupine River, and says concerning it—"The sun set it a few minutes after eleven, and rose it a quarter to twelve. How near we were to the arctic circle I leave to those who thoroughly understand the subject to tell; suffice it to say, the sun was absent from our gaze not over forty-five minutes." The 21st December was the shortest day, and then the sun rose at 10.40 p.m., and set soon after 12.30 p.m. These were two wonderful things to see, never to be forgotten, any more than the splendid sight which the heavens showed the travellers, in their log-house amidst the ice, at Nulato Fort, where they were keeping Christmas, after a fashion, which, if it had not luxury, seems to have embodied extreme content. "The log-building formed one side of the fort square. The windows of our room were of seal-gut, and as the days were now about two hours in length, our light inside was none of the best. We slept, wrapped up in fur-lined blankets and skins, on a platform raised two feet from the floor, which was caulked with moss, and covered with straw and skins. Even then the floor was intensely cold. Some hung up some damp cloth to dry; near the rafters it steamed, within a foot of the ground it froze firmly, with long icicles hanging therefrom. The air near the floor has shown a temperature of 4° when the upper part of the room was 60° or 65° Fahr." The cold was so intense at this time that the game purchased from the Indians lay untouched and perfectly fresh for a month together, the dried apples in their store were a mass of rock, and had to be smashed up with an axe, the molasses formed a thick black paste, and no knife they had would cut a slice of ham from the bone until it was well thawed in their warmer room. The author's account of the weather is very curious. To us it seems as if it must be almost impossible to endure such cold, as if, when it did not kill, the suffering must have made death preferable to existence. On the 5th December the thermometer fell to *ninety degrees below freezing*. "But," says Mr. Whympers, "the weather was lovely; no wind blew or snow fell during the time, and we did not feel the cold as much as at many other times." On the 27th they saw the wonderful spectacle represented in the frontispiece. "It was in the N.W., and was not the conventional arch, but a graceful, undulating, ever-changing "snake" of electric light, evanescent colours, pale as those of a sunset rainbow, ever and anon flitting through it, and long streamers and scintillations moving upward to the bright star, which distinctly shone through its hazy ethereal form." The fancy of the reader will naturally be caught by the strange, picturesque, and sublime features of the narrative, which takes the mind to so wonderful a region of the earth, and occupies it with the inscrutable "What does it all mean?" so fully. The life of the native tribes on the Yukon is truly wonderful to think of. Not so desperately, hopelessly miserable as those of the Innuits, described by the American explorer, Mr. Hall, and remarkably free from vice, cruelty, and disease, thanks to their being still preserved from contact with the white man; but still, in its conditions of ceaseless wrestling with Nature for scanty subsistence, and in its tremendous isolation, appalling to our fancy assisted by knowledge and contrast, and most pitiable. From point to point the narrative does but grow in interest, and the author's description of the first sight of the Yukon River will remain with his readers, like the stories told by Dr. Livingstone and Captain Burton. Away in the far North, like one of the beautiful creations of Hans Christian Andersen's fancy, the mighty ice-river lies, in an unknown country, the furred beasts know it, and the native hunters and *voyageurs*, trained to endurance of the dread solitude. Many days' journey before it can be reached, the traveller has lost sight of civilized man, and of everything in which there is any likeness to or remembrance of his home. A world in which there are green fields and running waters will be quite dream-like, and impossible to him by this time.

"At sundown," says the author, "we broke from the woods, shot down a steep bank, and stood on an immense snow-clad field of ice—the mighty Yukon! Let the reader think of a river 2,000 miles long, and anywhere, in this part of its course, from one to four or five miles wide, one unbroken mass of snow-covered ice, from its source to

its mouth, and he will then have pictured to himself the Yukon in winter. Neither pen nor pencil can give any idea of the dreary grandeur, the vast monotony, or the unlimited expanse we saw before us."

A large amount of general information is comprised in Mr. Whympers's entertaining and instructive volume, in which he exhibits himself at once traveller and artist, contriving with enviable dexterity to give his narrative the lifelike and continuous interest of a personal recital, without injuring it by the least touch of egotism.

F. M. H.

Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition, carried on by Order of the British Government, during the Years 1835, 1836, and 1837. By General FRANCIS RAWDON CHESNEY, Colonel Commandant 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., Commander of the Expedition. London: Longmans.

THE narrative offered, after so long a delay, to the public by General Chesney is that of the result of a Special Service which was undertaken by a vote of Parliament, whose nature the writer briefly describes in his dedication of the book to the Queen. In 1835, two armed steam-vessels, with a body of scientific officers, artillerymen, sappers, and seamen, were placed under the orders of the author, who was then Captain Chesney, to carry out the survey and navigation of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, with a view of effecting a more rapid overland communication with India, by the command of His late Majesty King William IV.; and, having successfully accomplished these objects, Captain Chesney laid the detailed maps and surveys of the two great Eastern rivers before both Houses of Parliament. In the interval nothing has been done; but the desire of the Government that the particulars of the once proposed route, and the detailed narrative of an expedition which was a far more onerous undertaking in those days than it would be at present, should be placed before the public, appear to indicate an intention of reviving the subject, and perhaps of carrying the long-abandoned project into operation. General Chesney is a firm believer in the advantages of the Euphrates route, and an ardent advocate of its merits. He has not relaxed his efforts for the accomplishment of the great project, whose feasibility his narrative renders perfectly clear, during all the years of its slumber in the official mind. He has twice made the journey to Constantinople, to obtain the Sultan's Firman for a railway from the mouth of the Orontes to the Persian Gulf, and once to Syria; to examine *de novo* the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. He found himself recognised and cordially welcomed by the Arabs, whose anxiety for the opening up of their country has much increased since 1837. In 1857 General Chesney brought the subject before Parliament, and many efforts have been made to organize a line of railway *via* Aleppo and the Euphrates, with such slight encouragement from Government as would give confidence and security to the shareholders. But all has been hitherto in vain. General Chesney asks why? and hopes that the publication of his narrative may at least procure him an answer to that question. To us, it seems plain that the public are satisfied with the overland route they have, though not ignorant that they might have a better one, and will not incur the expense, which would, however, be now almost inconceivable in comparison with the cost of the undertaking as at first proposed. The Indus having been opened up by lines of railway and steam flotillas, little more is needed to complete a working line of communication by railway through Mesopotamia, with steamers for the Persian Gulf, which would give the means of rapid intercourse between Great Britain and India, at an estimated cost of about £1,000,000. General Chesney does not argue in favour of the Euphrates route solely on the grounds of its great advantages to commerce and convenience. He is not in the least an alarmist; but, on the other hand, he is too wise, too experienced, to ignore or pooh pooh the growing aggrandisement of Russia, and the possible risk to us of her increasing power and ambition. "In 1851," he says, "the Caucasian tribes were still free and independent, as well as those lying to the westward of the Caspian Sea. Now the Caucasus is Russian territory, and the power of the Czar has spread rapidly to the westward. Persia remains passive, whilst the armies of Russia have not only occupied the distant city of Samarcand, but are gradually drawing nearer and nearer to Herat and Cabool. If we would not see her troops occupying the right bank of the Indus

let us fully realize the possibility of such an event; and it will then at once be found that we possess ample means for averting the dangerous moral effect of the advance of an enemy to the very boundary of our Indian Empire, in the consolidation and perfection of our overland communications between Great Britain and India."

As a book of travel, this narrative of so important, novel, and interesting an expedition as that which Captain Chesney undertook was, when he undertook it, is naturally out of date. It has the attraction which attaches to the recital of personal adventure and experience; and the style is fresh, clear, and unaffected, as General Chesney's style always is,—but it no longer possesses the charm of the unknown. Yet it may be read, with much pleasure and profit, by those who do not feel much interest in the question of one overland route to India rather than another. The author's enjoyment of his journeys is, even after all these years, quite infectious in its buoyancy and ardour; and his description of the wonder and awe with which he traced the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy, in the deserted cities which he explored, is full of touching interest. Seldom has a more amazing desert journey been made than his, never one which calls up more feeling in its perusal. The reader follows in his footsteps reverently; they are those of a Christian man, a humble and true believer, to whose mind, in this birthplace of his race, the Bible is ever present, who gathers rich spiritual fruits from a journey undertaken, not in the querulous spirit of the sceptic, but with the simple heart of faith. Among many remarkable passages concerning the desolate places, this, which succeeds an account of the general aspect of Babylon, is very interesting:—

"Here on the massive square buttresses of the hanging gardens, which have for centuries resisted the effects of time, and will continue to endure for ages to come,—being constructed of the finest yellow bricks, united by a peculiarly durable kind of cement,—a single tree of the cedar family still remains, and reminds the traveller by its loneliness that 'Babylon the Great has fallen.' To the west of these remains of the celebrated gardens is Mujellebeh, once Babel. A very remarkable feature in this portion of the ruins is a projecting work placed below the summit of each angle, in the form of three semicircular towers connected together, and giving what in modern times would be a flanking defence. Some apertures, leading into descending passages, appear here and there on the surface of this mound; one of which, near its northern face, is well known as the 'Lions' Den.' I had gone down this passage for some distance without any idea of danger, when the unmistakable odour of wild beasts made me retrace my steps with all speed, lest I should encounter a lion at close quarters. It is impossible to convey by any description an impression of the deep interest attaching to these ruins, which 'will never more be inhabited, neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there, but wild beasts and doleful creatures shall dwell there.' The present desolation of the spot, so faithfully pictured by the Prophet, when contrasted with the fertility of the surrounding country, fills the mind with solemn thoughts of the exact fulfilment of prophecy, which meets us so strikingly in many instances in the East, but nowhere so forcibly as when standing amidst the ruins of Babylon."

There is no book of Eastern travel, except the travels of Arminius Vámbéry, which gives the reader so vivid and impressive an idea of the charm, the loneliness, the fatigue, the strange imaginative delight, the desolation and endurance of a desert journey, as this thirty-years-old narrative of General Chesney. The book is doubly valuable, as the technical history of a great undertaking, which may yet prove to have been fraught with important consequences to mankind, and an exposition of some of the experiences, tastes, and feelings of a highly gifted and assiduously cultivated mind.

F. C. H.

Greater Britain: a Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867. By CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co.

REGARDED as a narrative of travel, this is, in our opinion, the best which our age—prolific in such literature—has produced. It possesses every quality, every charm, requisite for rendering such a book perfect according to a critical standard of taste. It is precise and intelligible, *suivi* and categorical, as though intended to serve as a handbook; it is picturesque, brilliant, graphic, and absorbingly interesting, as the most eager amateur of the essay or the novel could desire. No reader, with the most moderate distaste to the "heavy" in literature, could advance such a plea against this book, and however he loves

"light" reading, he must be so instructed by it, if even against his will, as to acknowledge the genius of the writer. Rapid and strange as the errant fancies of a fairy tale, vigorous and incisive in style to a degree so seldom found in books of travel that Mr. Dilke is likely to spoil his readers' taste for that class of literature for some time to come, the book is so entirely novel, so completely a thing of art, that first it creates intense surprise. Here is a writer with an absolutely new style. What is the trick of it? That there is no trick at all; that the book is written as the first book ever composed in this world may have been written, not "after" anybody, not to confute, or refute, or rival anybody, but out of the fulness of a highly-organized, richly-cultivated, powerful, but most philosophical intellect, untainted by egotism, undisfigured by any kind of affectation, adding to the eager intelligence of a keen observer the teachableness of the sincere and genuine learner. The quite unconscious modesty with which the writer relates such facts of travel as have rarely been accomplished, but when accomplished, have been "taken out in bragging" until the public became more irritated than edified by their recital, is one of the chief charms of this book, of which we think we do not err in predicting—as did Pope of Garrick—that it has never had an equal, and will never have a rival. The expansiveness and importance of the author's design, and the courage, consistency, and steady application of every faculty with which he carried it out, are deducible from his pages, but not announced by his professions. The most philosophical traveller in the Western World who has yet painted its strange pictures for us, he does not parade his philosophical intent, or mount any kind of platform. The pleasure of reading this book is increased by thinking of the appropriate, elevating, mind-enlarging training by which its author has qualified himself for public life.

To the reader who knows much of the countries of which he tells, and to the readers who know little, this narrative will be alike, if not equally, delightful. It appeals to the former by the novel point of view, by the freshness, the vivacity, the humour, and the strong, practical conclusiveness with which it handles topics of large importance to the future destinies—of deep significance in the present history—of mankind. It appeals to the latter by its wonderful mass of information, by its far-reaching scope, by its successive revelations of the world, and of them who dwell therein, so classified that, immense as is their extent, they are readily grasped and retained by the intelligence, and as luminous as a chain of diamonds. In the light of this brilliant mind and manner, the most familiar topic of the traveller is invested with a warm glow of life and suggestion which makes it far more interesting than it has ever before been.

The "thorough" nature of Mr. Dilke's investigations is no less remarkable than the width of their field. "The cedar of Lebanon, and the hyssop springing out of the wall," is a simile which may be applied to the range and the detail of his knowledge. From the awful problems of the development and the destiny of the men of those far lands which he has studied, to the varieties and the properties of the blossoms which carpet the prairies, and the minerals which lurk in the recesses of the earth; from the grandest physical features of the boundless continent, to the distinguishing traits of the least important of the tribes which tenant its wastes—this wide-reaching, well-balanced, quite impartial mind, applies itself. That comparison of Nasmyth's hammer, and the extremes of work which it does, is a hackneyed one, but it is of strict application here. Strong human sympathies, wide toleration, and an attachment to his own nationality, candid and proud, but which never tempts him into prejudice, into depreciating foreign merit, or justifying English national iniquity, are chief among the chief moral characteristics of the author, manifested in his work. The result is, that he inspires as much confidence as admiration, and that however extraordinary any of his statements may appear, his readers have no suspicion that they are exaggerated. There is no stage effect in his representation of the eccentricities and extravagances of the still somewhat chaotic social systems of the New World. He studies and reveals Mormonism without mountebank enthusiasm, and treats of the creeds of Brahma and Buddha without any of the familiar scorn whose point is supplied by complacent ignorance. The plan of this great feat of travel was simple. In his own simple words it is told:—

"I followed England round the world; everywhere I was in English-speaking, or in English-governed lands. If I remarked that climate, soil, manners of life, that

mixtures with other peoples had modified the blood, I saw, too, that in essentials the race was always one. The idea which in all the length of my travels has been at once my fellow and my guide—a key wherewith to unlock the hidden things of strange new lands—is a conception, however imperfect, of the grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth, which it is destined, perhaps, eventually to overspread."

The execution of the scheme involved such exertion of body and mind as few travellers have undergone. The contrast between this book and ordinary narratives of travel, in which the authors appear, in general, to give their minds as little to do as possible, makes that evident. How steadily, how unflaggingly, Mr. Dilke pursued this great purpose of his; the thorough study of the condition of men, in its every aspect, in every country wherein the Anglo-Saxon has set his foot, the reader watches with ever-increasing delight, as he follows him from Virginia to New York, New Hampshire, and the lakes of Maine; to Niagara, of which he gives, in a few lines, the best description within our knowledge; to Ohio, in his account of which State there occurs a passage which might be recorded as a type of the concise and the comprehensive style:—

"There is a charm in the park-like beauty of the Monongahola valley, dotted with vines and orchards, that nothing in Eastern America can rival. The absence of stumps in the corn-fields, and of untilled or unfenced land, gives the 'Buckeye State' a look of age that none of the 'old Eastern States' can show. In common meadow, in timberland, Ohio stands alone. Her Indian corn exceeds in richness that of any other State. She has ample stores of iron, and coal is worked upon the surface in every Alleghany valley. Wool, wine, hops, tobacco—all are raised; her Catawba has inspired poems. Every river-side is clothed with groves of oak, of hickory, of sugar maple, of sycamore, of poplar, and of buckeye. Yet the change to the Michigan prairie was full of a delightful relief: it was Holland after the Rhine, London after Paris."

The poetic power of the author's description of the great plains is very remarkable. He ushers in his narrative of that wonderful journey, thus:—

"No more sycamore, and white oak and honey-locust; no more of the rich deep green of the cottonwood groves; but yellow earth, yellow flowers, yellow grass, and here and there groves of giant sun-flowers, with yellow blooms, but no more trees. As the sun set, we came on a body of cavalry marching slowly from the plains towards the Fort. Before them, at some little distance, walked a sad-faced man, on foot, in sober riding-dress, with his repeating carbine slung across his back. It was Sherman, returning from his expedition to Santa Fé."

The letter from Denver is one of the finest chapters in the book; the chapter called "Red India" is a brilliant and exhaustive essay; "Colonists" is an amazing picture of the presence and the potentiality of Nature's wealth. And then come a series of inimitable social sketches—"Brigham Young," "Western Editors," "Utah," and others; and then the writer takes us to El Dorado, and shows us the beauty and the wealth of California as we have never been shown them before. Then, from the Golden City, and from Little China, to Mexico, and then we have some more profound and charming social essays, and the author carries us off to Polynesia. We cannot follow the course of this wonderful journey, which embraced all the colonies, and looked long at Ceylon, and whose details never flag in intense and varied interest. We are forced to take an abrupt leave of this book, after an insufficient glance at it; but we do so, feeling that no one book within the compass of our reading of books, contributes so much to the ingredients indispensable to a modern collection, in that practical sense of understanding the tides and currents of the great ocean of humanity, as "Greater Britain."

F. C. H.

IV.—POETRY, FICTION, AND ESSAY.

Clarendon Press Series. *Shakespeare. Select Plays. The Merchant of Venice.* Edited by W. G. CLARK, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and Public Orator, and W. A. WRIGHT, M.A., Librarian of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co.

WE desire to call the attention of such of our readers as take interest in accurate and cheap editions of the works of the great English writers to this

little book. Two competent scholars have here presented to students an excellent text of the *Merchant of Venice*, with a full introduction and useful body of notes, for a sum so small as to be within the reach of the poorest. We do not call this a condescension, because true scholars, "glad to learn and glad to teach," know of no inequalities in the commonwealth of learning. But it is unquestionably a labour of love, for works of this kind involve an amount of work of which the ordinary reader has very little notion, while there is little or no room for display of erudition, and no sale can do more than moderately remunerate the printer and publisher. Very little can fall to the share of the editors. In our own boyhood, if a bookseller attempted a publication of this kind at all, he put it into the hands of some literary hack, who blacked as much paper as he thought would satisfy his employer in return for the five or ten-pound note paid him, and cared nothing for the value or correctness of what he wrote. Now he can obtain the services of the most able English scholars of the day. We trust students will appreciate the change.

We note two omissions, which may as well be supplied in the next issue. No list is given of the other publications in the same series, and the price is nowhere mentioned.

T. M.

Aldersleigh. A Tale. By CHRISTOPHER JAMES RIETHMULLER, Author of "Teuton," a Poem, &c. 2 Vols. London: Bell and Dalby.

MR. RIETHMULLER'S "*Aldersleigh*" is, as he terms it, a tale rather than a novel, and it is not unpleasant. The manner is a little old-fashioned, and with too much of that *set-ness* or formality—though that is hardly the word—in introducing personages, and describing scenery, which makes a reader over-conscious that there is a wire-puller behind it all. This is not quite easy to describe, but it puts one in mind of the *reposada voz* of Don Quixote—which, perhaps, Mr. Riethmüller will take for a compliment. A French critic would, we think, describe his manner as *un peu rangée*. The story has for its hero Reginald Vaughan, a benevolent, chivalric Virginian, of what Mr. James Hannay calls "the real old tap," who comes to England, meets an elderly clergyman—also of the real old tap—at Malvern, falls in love with his daughter, sees London society, does generous work among the poor at Bethnal Green, recovers the family property, and at last settles down married to the clergyman's daughter. Mr. Strong, Jack Rough, and one or two other figures are not ill-sketched, but there is no particular attempt at character painting, and no exciting story. The only event in the work that startled us was the *embrace* which Reginald gave to one of the family niggers.

This incident, however, seems to have suggested the whole *animus* of the tale. We object to a story with an *animus*, and we particularly object to this. The Cavalier type, in its perfection, has all the virtues and graces which the author attributes to it, but it is grossly unfair to set this type up against *inferior* specimens of the Radical type, and draw morals from the contrast. A noble Roundhead and a noble Cavalier might fight to the death, but neither would depreciate the other. We object to a tale which sets up a working man like Jack Rough to maintain that the working-classes, with the exception of the gin-drinkers and the loafers, are Conservatives. Jack Rough sings, or sang, by-the-bye:—

"I sing the tree of Liberty,
Indeed, it is no joke, sirs;
The best o'er found on British ground,
I mean the British Oak, sirs!"

"The body fair I do compare
Unto our precious King, sirs,
The boughs so great to Lords of State,
If I'm allowed the thing, sirs;

"And while with grace each keeps his place,
His rank and eke his station,
In all the leaves my wit perceives
The people of this nation——"

Alas, we find our memory has forced us to quote bits of a song which, twenty or more years ago, we saw in a very old collection. Mr. Riethmüller ought to

have written his book in the days of George III., and, really, that absurd and impudent song is so like Jack Rough's that we shall not apologize for our mistake.

B. W.

The Legend of Tristan : its Origin in Myth, and its Development in Romance. By EDWARD TYRRELL LEITH, LL.B. Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay.

THIS interesting monograph, which has just reached us from India, throws some new, if rather speculative, light upon this famous legend. In its popular form it appears first in Cornwall; and Mr. Leith shows the various influences to which it has been subjected from that time to this, traces its history through the Arthurian legends until we find it transplanted into Brittany, and shows how it subsequently ran through France, Spain, and Germany. But the new light consists in bringing out so many points of resemblance between the Tristan legend and Hindu mythology, that Mr. Leith thinks himself justified in proclaiming the romance to be nothing but an European travestie of an Aryan myth. Notwithstanding a somewhat cumbrous machinery of learning, which exhibits a little too much of the workshop and not quite enough of the work, we may say that this pamphlet is a real addition to the literature of early romance, and it may be worth while to quote Mr. Leith's summary of his own conclusions in his own words:—

"From these facts I think we may conclude that the Tristan legend was originally an archaic Aryan myth; that it was carried westwards into Britain with the wave of Celtic migration; that it passed at a very early period from thence into Brittany, and that it owed its preservation there mainly to the fact of that province being the last resting-place of the Celtic language in France."

H. R. H.

Reading for Honours. A Tale. By U. N. O. London: A. W. Bennett.

IT would be a great pity if this slight, bashful book should miss its due, but we are disposed to fear that it will escape attention in too many quarters—having the misfortune to come from a house which appears rarely to publish original books except on authors' account. It is the brief story of some college friends, one of whom was disappointed in love, but worked faithfully in behalf of the man whom the lady preferred. Some day, the writer may, if he pleases, do more and better. In the meanwhile this is not bad:—

"Lord Lynton's ambition had cooled quickly. He had left Oxford, three weeks before, determined to distinguish himself in the class list next term. It is impossible to say how much over luggage he was charged for his boxes of books, and he insisted, the very first day of his arrival at Lee Cottage, on being called every morning at five o'clock. Two mornings he got up, but after that his zeal for early rising abated. He found, he said, that it was a good plan to make a short pencil abstract before rising in the morning, of the subjects he had been studying the day before. This abstract, after much pressing, he produced one day. It ran thus:—

ARISTOTELIS ETHICA.

ἔτιμια—'moral choice'—mean. of virtue—def. of happiness, highest energy—Solon's dictum (mem. old Dick, to get some more cigars from Croydeleigh).—*Πολλὰί γὰρ*, &c.—discrete (or discreet)—arith. proportion—ref. to Harrison.

HIST.

Ten 000—Retreat—battles of, and—who won them? (must look).

HOMER.

Ulysses—Calypso—Cyclops—thunderbolts—ate their tables (mem. what became of the sausages we ordered?) Juven—

LOGIC.

Terms—high or low? See Whately. Make Harr. expl. undistributed middle.

Major—minor.

Argument—

Ex. Some cows are red.

All cows are cows.

Therefore

All red cows are cows.—Q.E.D.

Must read Chap. VI. again. Read five hours to-day. Hot water."

We shall expect to hear of U. N. O. (but we assure him we do *not* know) again.

M. B.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Realities of Irish Life. By W. STEUART TRENCH, Land Agent to Marquis Lansdowne, Marquis of Bath, and Earl Digby. Illustrated by W. Townsend Trench. London: Longmans.

IRISHMEN who have read Edgeworth and Carleton, and who have been fed from their youth up with local traditions, will not find much novelty in Mr. Trench's landlord and tenant stories. Still his style is so clear, and his incidents are so thrilling, that it will be hard even for them to lay down the book till they have finished it. To the English public, for whom he professes to write, most of his details will be new; though, unhappily, the fact that the Irish peasant is prone to murder landlords and agents and obnoxious tenants, from the very best of motives, has been only too often impressed on the English mind. Some people excuse these murders because they suppose them to "temper an otherwise unbearable landlord system;" Mr. Trench, on the contrary, writing from the landlord point of view, has no sympathy even with the causes of the peasants' discontent; he likes large farms and plenty of emigration. We are glad that he does not, like some newspaper philosophers, cut his fingers with the two-edged argument from final causes:—"Ireland," says the *Times*, "was meant to be England's cattle farm and nothing else, because Solinus tells us that the grass grows so fast as to make up the day's consumption during the night. It is at least as reasonable to say: 'Ireland was meant to be a land of small farms, for God placed there the race which multiplies fastest, is most strongly attached to the soil, and deteriorates most rapidly when removed from it.'" Not that the two are incompatible. Flanders shows us a country of small stock-farmers, realizing perhaps more nearly than any other community, the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. But into these abstract questions Mr. Trench does not invite us to enter; nor does he note the connection, so well traced by the Ulsterman in the late *Chronicle*, between Ribbonism and the old tribal land system laid down in the Brehon code, and acted upon, even to Stuart times, wherever "the king's writ did not run." It must always be borne in mind that the Irishman, impulsive as he is called, is, nevertheless, of all men the fondest of precedent and "authority;" in resisting an eviction he constantly persuades himself that he is only setting at defiance the law of the stranger, while he has on his side the law by which he believes his race ought to be ruled.

Now it is of much more importance for Englishmen to grasp this truth, and to meditate on the folly of Procrustean legislation, than to learn ever so many details about that wretched Society whose outrages every now and then make Ireland's best friends almost despair. Mr. Trench, however, gives details and little else. The English public has heard of Ribbonmen; he shows them the shape and colour of the Ribbonman's collar, and belt, and scarf. They have heard of shooting from behind a hedge; he admits them to the secret deliberations of the shooting Society. How he learnt the very words spoken at such meetings is a puzzle; he is not a peasant, like Carleton; and conversations at third or fourth hand are apt to be shaped and trimmed, especially when an assassin who has turned king's evidence, and an Irish policeman are among the media of transmission. An Irish writer has always to fight hard against the tendency to write for his English readers, if he wishes to produce anything which sober politicians can take up without first striking off from it a very large discount. For centuries Ireland has been the prey of the literary showman; and the English, true to that national peculiarity which makes them "ready to give ten doits to see a dead Indian, while they will not give one to relieve a lame beggar," always want "something racy," even when they are most in earnest about righting Irish wrongs. Here, as in other cases, supply first created demand, and now demand perpetuates supply. We cannot but think that there are already too many books of this class. Mr. Trench's interesting work will be largely read, and the impression left by it on the "Philistine" mind will be that life is unsafe all Ireland over; an impression which not a score of pairs of white gloves handed

to the judge at a score of maiden assizes will be able to do away with. If all the cases of Sheffield "rattening" were embodied in sensation volumes and circulated in Russia, Russian readers would be likely to form a very unfair notion of the English working man; and the average Englishman knows less of the springs of Irish conduct, the principles at work in Irish minds, and the causes which have set them at work, than the Russian reading public knows of English manufacturing towns.

One truth Mr. Trench helps to prove—that the land and not the Church is the great Irish grievance; and, when we examine the system, so shamefully one-sided, so wholly unfit for a people with no manufacturing outlet, we cannot wonder that it is a capital grievance. As illustrating the feeling about land, Mr. Trench makes a great deal of a map published along with the "Annals of the Four Masters," and largely circulated in Smith O'Brien's time, containing the position of every sept and clan, and of the English families which came in before the Tudors. It is easy to exaggerate this feeling. No doubt many a peasant in Kerry and Donegal keeps his genealogy, and looks on himself as rightful lord of the land, the riches of which are yearly drawn off to be spent in England or on the Continent; but the mass of Irish farmers is not so sentimental; all they want is security and liberty of cultivation. The idea that any appreciable percentage of them wishes to escape paying rent is simply ridiculous. The great curse of the country has ever been insecurity,—of tenure always, of life sometimes; and this is wholly due to the character of the English colonization: it was neither thorough nor humane; it gradually destroyed the native nobility, and it replaced them by men who looked on the bulk of the people as "aliens." The new owners behaved as Englishmen are too apt to do when removed from the restraints of English usage and "public opinion;" they initiated a system which still lives in its results; and they turned a race, whose congeners in Wales and the Highlands are among the most orderly of British subjects, into discontented haters of the established order of things.

Another curse due to the peculiar way in which Ireland has been linked with England is agitation; the people and their interests have been the shuttlecock of rival parties. This is so grievous an evil as almost to counterbalance the good of the English connection. Fancy Norfolk, instead of being left to steady effort after improvement, on acknowledged principles and in legitimate ways, being kept in turmoil by so-called statesmen, each bidding for popularity with some new Utopian scheme. Why, under such conditions even quiet Norfolk would have become almost as restless as Tipperary. The very strongest proof, by the way, that the insecurity is not so much the fault of the native as of the dominant race, is found in Mr. Trench's account of his schoolboy days. Young gentlemen at Armagh College, in 1822, "barring out" their masters, peppering with "sparrow-hail" those who tried to break down their defences, and actually making the street impassable by firing on everyone who tried to get that way to market, were only acting on their fathers' principles—principles which the Englishman always adopts when he is set down amidst what he considers an inferior race. In addition to the story of the barring out, Mr. Trench gives us, to prove that he can describe other things besides landlord and tenant struggles, an account quite worthy of Captain Mayne Reid, of a seal hunt in a cave by Derrinane. His testimony to the daring skill of the Kerry boatmen disposes of the old fallacy, which grew up in the days when English trade was protected against Irish competition, that "the Celt hates the sea." Then there is a chapter on the famine—5,000 died of starvation in the Kenmare Union alone; the mismanagement was frightful; among the gentry there seemed no organizing power; an utter collapse, amid which the clergy nobly struggled with the terrible evil, regardless of comfort, nay, often of life itself. There is also a chapter on "the Exodus," the one-sidedness of which seems to show that Mr. Trench cannot be aware of the horrors of that "middle passage," and of the crowds who, landing plague-stricken, landed only to die, or of the fate worse than death which overtook, and alas! still overtakes, too many in the dens of New York. A chapter on the Ulster "revival" adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject. All the rest of the book bears directly on the landlord question. Mr. Trench's plan is never to evict a tenant without allowing him for his improvements and paying his passage to America; a plan more like that of the great Scotch landowners

than the usual practice of Irish proprietors. One fatal objection to the plan is that very few landlords are rich enough to act upon it. As to the emigration panacea, we think that, if Mr. Trench had let Eugene and Mary O'Shea (about whom he tells such a pathetic tale in connection with the famine) till their patch of Kerry mountain-side, he would have done far better than by sending them across the Atlantic; by such *petite culture* thousands of acres have been reclaimed in Ireland, as they were all over Europe, by the spade-husbandry of the monks; and Mr. Trench will find in Arthur Young repeated instances of how this was effected.

The third curse which has weighed heavily on Ireland is the bad example of those who (in the absence of manufacturing enterprise) have been the only people who could originate improvements. We are told *ad nauseam* that "the Celt is imitative;" what is the pattern which has been almost uniformly set before him ever since the Tudor "undertakers" began the "settlement" of the land? The proprietary has, with noble exceptions, wholly ignored its duties, and has striven to keep up, as nearly as possible, the bad old life at free quarters enjoyed by the conquering settlers. Hence superficial writers have stigmatized, and (as in recent reviews of this very work) go on stigmatizing, the Irish peasant—cousin to hard-working Jacques bonhomme, own brother of the no less hard-working Highlander—as indolent: he has too often become indolent; but then it has been in spite of himself, and because of the example of "his betters."

We have said nothing about Mr. Trench's hair-breadth escapes; his coolness and daring are such as we might expect from the stalwart hero who figures in Mr. Townsend Trench's clever lithographs. His exploits and those of his Ribbon adversaries we leave the reader to investigate for himself. The best story, as a story, is that of M'Key, which, while it does full credit to the author's courage and iron resolution, leaves a painful impression on the mind. Poor M'Key gets very hard lines (he is no Ribbonman), and the gratuitous insult to his mistress as she is kneeling by his dead body, is what we should hardly have expected a gentleman to put on record against himself.

The most remarkable passage in the book is this:—"Fixity of tenure, which has of late been so boldly demanded by the advocates of tenant-right, was then *only secretly proclaimed in the Ribbon lodges.*"—(P. 48.) Here is a decided change in public opinion on a very important subject; but it does seem hard that so many landlords and agents should have had to be shot, and so many assassins hanged, before men would begin to suspect that English land-law does not suit the genius of a wholly un-English race. But for Ribbonism the cottier would be extinct in many districts; and however we may detest the vile means adopted to carry it out, it is impossible not to admire the resolve, so unflinchingly persevered in, not to allow him to be degraded to the level of the English labourer.

The most fatal evil in this landlord and tenant struggle is that which has made Popery and patriotism, for the Irishman, almost synonymous terms. Mr. Trench's only charge against the priests is that by giving absolution to Ribbon murderers they prevent them from publicly confessing their guilt; it was not in his province to notice that the strength of Popery is just what gave the priests their best claim on the affections of the people—the fact that they have been the chief fosterers of national feeling.

H. S. F.

The Harvest of the Sea. A Contribution to the Natural and Economic History of the British Food-Fishes. With Sketches of Fisheries and Fisher-Folk. By JAMES G. BERTRAM. 8vo. Second Edition. London: John Murray.

WE have already had occasion to notice more than one recent publication on our fish and fisheries—a sign, we trust, of a growing interest in a subject which has been too long neglected by those who could have checked the reckless and ignorant waste which threatens not the least important of our national food-supplies. Mr. Bertram brings no ordinary qualifications to the task he has undertaken. Thoroughly master of his subject, he here gives us the results of years of practical study and observation of our various fisheries on the spot. Not content with having visited and examined the working and condition of our native sea and river harvests, he has carried out his researches with equal

perseverance in France, where much more attention is paid to scientific fish-farming than amongst ourselves; and his thick and closely-printed volume contains very full and minute accounts of everything relating to fish among our neighbours; legislation, breeding, catching, curing, markets, and transport being described at greater length than in any other English work. We trust that in another edition Mr. Bertram may also add further details on Irish fisheries and their capabilities, for we think that a fervid Hibernian, after reading his charming pages, would be too patriotic not to cry out for justice to Ireland.

When we say that "The Harvest of the Sea" is altogether a popular work, we would not be misunderstood as classing it with the shallow compilations, such as the "Ocean World," which have recently professed to enlighten the public on ichthyology. We only mean that there is no pretension whatever to the form and arrangement of a scientific treatise on fisheries. The book is evidently intended to be read by an unscientific public, and to bespeak their interest on a question of national importance; and, as such, it must succeed. There is no pretence at technical arrangement. Fishes are treated of generally as to their mode of life, their birth and growth, whether in the river or in the ocean; but so soon as they are sufficiently developed to be of service to man, they are treated of simply as things to be caught, cured, and eaten; and in this style Mr. Bertram pleasantly discourses of all the inhabitants of our waters—trout, pike, and perch; salmon, at the length which their importance and their excellence demand; herring, cod, haddock, and turbot; and then descending to the invertebrate molluscs, he is eloquent upon oysters, not forgetting the lobster and the humbler crab, while his disquisitions on "the fisher-folk," Scotch and French, would charm De Quincy and excite the envy of Dr. Doran. For instance, he traces the French oyster from the deposition of the spat on artificial tiles to its apotheosis in the stomach of heroes and philosophers.

"Louis XI., careful lest scholarship should become deficient in France, feasted the learned doctors of the Sorbonne once a year on oysters; and another Louis invested his cook with an order of nobility as a reward for his oyster-cookery. Napoleon also was an oyster lover; so was Rousseau; and Marshal Turgot used to eat a hundred or two just to whet his appetite for breakfast. Invitations to a dish of oysters were common in the literary and artistic circles of Paris at the latter end of the last century. The Encyclopedists were particularly fond of oysters. Helvetius, Diderot, the Abbé Raynal, Voltaire, and others, were confirmed oyster-men. Before the Revolution the violent politicians were in the habit of constantly frequenting the Parisian oyster-shops, and Danton, Robespierre, and others were fond of the oyster in their days of innocence." [Query, Did they forsake it as leaders of the Mountain?]. "The great Napoleon, on the eve of his battles, used to partake of the bivalves, and Cambacérès was famous for his shell-fish banquets."

We must not demand chapter and verse for every accusation of oyster-suppers which is brought against the great and the brilliant of a past age, but certainly we are not obscurely impressed with the fact, that from Pope to Christopher North oyster-suppers and wit have been indissoluble.

Let not the connoisseur of Finnan haddocks believe that he knows what he is eating for breakfast. Our author tells us very plainly that Finnan haddocks have often as little claim to the title as the pot of conserved turnips has to that of Seville orange marmalade; that they are innocent of peat, and are often merely undersized codlings.

We have recently heard much from Mr. Buckland on oyster-breeding. Let the sceptical take courage when they hear that the mud-flats of Ile de Ré are worth from six to eight millions of francs, the crop being at one time 378,000,000 of oysters, all artificially laid down.

Mr. Bertram touches on every produce of the life of the sea, even to the pearl mussel of Scotland. The chapters treating of the salmon are perhaps among the most important, *economically*, for of all fishes the salmon is most under the control of man as to its reproduction and increase. In one point we thoroughly coincide with the author, that it is comparatively easy to judiciously regulate our sea fisheries, from the now admitted fact, which he spares no pains to demonstrate, that fish are quite local, and are by no means the wandering migrants they were of old assumed to be.

His pleasant disquisitions on the fisher-folk of Scotland are not the least

charming portions of his work, in which, it is not too much to say, he has brought together the whole literature and gossip of the subject in an informal, attractive, and most readable shape, with well-executed illustrations of fishes and fishing scenes.

H. B. T.

Musical Sketches Abroad and at Home. By JOHN ELLA. London: Ridgway.

It would not be difficult to treat this book with a severity as amusing to the general reader as it would be unfair to the author. It has already received this treatment, having fallen into the hands of one clever *Pall Mall* reviewer at least, who seems to have been quite ignorant of its real value. The fact is, the book should only be read by musical people; to them it cannot fail to be interesting, for it consists of odds and ends about everything and everybody belonging to the musical world for the last fifty years. Mr. Ella has been himself one of the many centres of this strange and brilliant world, and his brief musings are often touched with a simple and affecting pathos. As he put together his scattered notes for publication, we can quite understand how the beloved forms of Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Spohr, Weber, Linley, Dragonetti, Lablache, Paganini, Persiani, Mahbran, Rubini, &c., &c., with all of whom he has been on intimate terms, must have risen before him once more to remind him that he had lived through, and perhaps seen the end of, one of the greatest epochs of musical history.

Mr. Ella is an able and experienced musician, and it would be difficult for him to publish any book about himself and his friends which would not contain something deserving of record. It is truly surprising that, with all his advantages, his book should be so full of very bad blemishes of every kind. There is no attempt at arrangement or selection, and the whole reads very much like what it really is, not musical sketches, but newspaper scraps. The want of balance and proportion is remarkable. The preface is written with an amount of inflation which leads us to expect a work at least as exhaustive and voluminous as Mr. Caxton's "History of Human Error," whilst the pages that follow turn out to be as fragmentary as Mr. Barnard's "Typical Developments." In the second page alone we are referred to Egypt, China, Troy, Homer's epic, Pascal, Voltaire, Xerxes, the Persian War, Herodotus, and Ancient Rome, and then we pass, by an easy and natural transition, to little bits about Mr. Ella and all sorts of people.

It must, however, be confessed that we close the book with a few very distinct impressions:—first, that Mr. Ella is the greatest of modern Impresarios, the idol of the profession, the friend and counsellor of princes, and at once the most humble and intelligent man alive. Secondly, that the Musical Union, in all its ways, is something too perfect for criticism; and lastly, that Lord Saltoun and the Earl of Westmoreland were about the most illustrious noblemen of the age.

Mr. Ella's recollections are often fresh and sparkling; something of this kind:—"The Duke of — once said to me at Lord —'s, 'Mr. Ella, how do you do?' I shall always remember with pleasure this affable remark." We need hardly say this is not the letter of any, but merely the spirit of several anecdotes condensed. Mr. Ella's fine writing has a tendency to become funny. Fancy, for example, Mr. Bernal, M.P., who appears to have fallen asleep at one of the Musical Union Concerts, being handed down to posterity as "a man of powerful intellect and keen sensibility, with a smile of 'divine humanity beneath tired eyelids upon tired eyes!'" How Mr. Ella could have seen the smile when it was beneath the "tired eyelids" it is impossible to say; but, passing this by, we are surprised to find some statements of a different kind, but not less remarkable.

Mr. Ella has evidently read Fétis on stringed instruments, and yet he affirms (p. 1) "that from the earliest period they have but little changed their shape." This is true in no sense and in no degree whatever. On page 59 we are told that "the one English musician whose compositions entitle him to distinction is Sterndale Bennett." This is a simple assumption; but we are still more startled to hear that Professor Bennett, and not the Vice-Chancellor, has the power of conferring musical degrees! Moreover, that until instrumental music became scientific it could rarely excite intense emotion (p. 1), and that

children brought up in musical families necessarily acquire a musical sense (p. 103), are both somewhat rash assertions.

But the worst fault, in a literary point of view, is the number of downright repetitions. The same statements are repeated, sometimes *verbatim*, and at considerable length, on pages 42 and 53, 1 and 62, 45 and 90, 98 and 309, 223 and 249; whilst on pages 27 and 144 we have twenty-six lines exactly the same; and on pages 13 and 129 the same anecdote about Beethoven stands in exactly the same words.

A large proportion of the book is not by Mr. Ella, but consists of quotations; they are generally very interesting quotations—*e.g.* (p. 161), a capital discussion by Mendelssohn on the meaning of new or original music; or, page 181, Baillot's remarks on precocious talent. The book is also enriched by a great many musical quotations, notably by Mozart's first love-song, never before printed, and three different versions of the first four bars of the well-known finale in Beethoven's quartett in G, Op. 18, showing the fastidious refinement of the great master. Mr. Ella has taken the trouble to note down several of the great sensation cadenzas introduced into their songs by Alboni, Persiani, and Clara Novello; and, still better, he has given us little side glimpses of many great musicians. When we read how Ernst played the Rasoumofski quartett at Mr. Ella's house in 1844, with Mendelssohn at his side, and Master Joachim turning over the leaves, and how, on another occasion, Mendelssohn improvised several bars in his trio whilst playing with Ernst and Hausmann, because Ernst could not turn over in time; and how Thalberg had his joke upon Ernst about *vollendo non subito*; and a banker present accused Mendelssohn "of putting more notes into circulation than allowed by printed authority;" or when we listen to fragments of poor Malibran's conversation, and hear old Lablache saying with a sigh, as he leaves her room only a few days before her death, "Ah, il y a trop d'esprit pour ce petit corps!"—we confess to a weakness for such details, and almost feel ourselves face to face with those who are now amongst the illustrious dead.

Whenever he gets a little clear of the princes and nobility, Mr. Ella entertains us with a fund of amusing anecdote. The jokes by Lablache are decidedly good, and numberless little traits about Rossini, Paganini, Dragonetti, Spohr, Weber, &c., are recorded with a truly Boswellian minuteness.

Our author's remarks on such prevalent follies as "encores," huge benefit concerts, and crowded musical *soirées* are full of point and justice; and his notes of foreign popular music in Italy, France, and Germany are highly interesting. He considers that the Conservatoire of Paris and M. Pasdeloup's band are the two finest orchestras in the world, and strongly advocates more frequent and cheaper orchestral performances in England for the people. We fancy he has the best of the Sunday band controversy when he says:—

"I hope no one will be shocked if I express a preference for hearing occasionally, after a morning religious service, two hours of sublime instrumental music, to seeing monkeys and hippopotami at the Zoological Gardens."

We cannot sufficiently admire the high tone of this book in all questions relating to Art. Mr. Ella really believes in the power of music to recreate and to elevate the people; and he can truly boast that through a long life he has devoted himself to bringing before the English public the noblest musicians and the finest music. He believes, as we believe, in a musical future for England, and he earnestly exhorts us to labour for the production of a national school of music. We quote, in conclusion, his own really weighty words:—

"The artistic and æsthetic experiences derived from frequent travels on the Continent compel me to admit that, so long as my country is without a national school of music, a public institute and library of music, a national opera, and that governmental support which furnishes an economic basis for cheap and classical performances, such as I have alluded to in Vienna, under the direction of learned and experienced Kapelmeisters, music in England will ever remain as it now is, a *métier*; in France it is an art, in Italy a necessity, and in Germany a religion."

H. R. H.

Word Gossip: a Series of Familiar Essays on Words and their Peculiarities. By the Rev. W. L. BLACKLEY, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1869.

"My little book pretends to no higher character than its title implies—gossip; if it succeed in conveying to my indulgent readers a little of the pleasure that ordinary gossip seems to do, I shall feel more than satisfied with the result of my labours." Mr. Blackley's modest preface must be taken (a thing which cannot be said of all seemingly modest prefaces) as sincere in disclaiming an ambitious purpose in his book. The readers of the *Churchman's Shilling Magazine* are already acquainted with these chapters on words, and their favourable reception as magazine articles induced their author to republish them in a collected form. The merits of the book are that it is trustworthy (which is a merit rare in popular books on language), and that it contains Mr. Blackley's own gleanings of words. Its faults are, not that it is popular in style, but that it is popular, we think, in excess; it would seem more amusing to us if it were less amusingly written; and, secondly, addressing, as he does, an unscholarly audience, we think Mr. Blackley might wisely, and quite fairly, have enriched his gossip by borrowings from recent philological literature—especially from Mr. Wedgwood's "Dictionary of English Etymology." Quite a new series of easy books on language is needed to render more generally accessible the results of philological inquiry during the last ten years—to popularize Wedgwood and Max Müller, Mätzner, Koch, Sachs and Fiedler, and others. Archbishop Trench's little books still remain the best of their kind, and the last edition of "English Past and Present," besides containing one entirely new lecture and several added paragraphs, shows traces everywhere of careful revision. Still one feels that "The Study of Words" and "English Past and Present" do not now satisfy the want which they so serviceably helped to create.

To Mr. Blackley's chapter on "Common Errors as to Derivation" might be added one on "Learned or Peculiar Errors," such as the mistaken derivation which led Spenser to call the poems of his "Shepherd's Calendar" *Aeglogues* instead of *Éclogues* ("as it were *aegon* or *aeginomon logi*, that is, gotelheardes tales"), and that which Mr. Carlyle loves to produce when preaching his political Cæsarism—"King, *Könning*, which means *Can-ning*, Ableman"—whereas the word is one which certainly belongs to political Liberals, if not Democrats, the "king" being no more than the *cyning*, the son of the kin or people, as in fact he was with our forefathers before the Conquest. E. D.

Our Unemployed. By ALSAGER HAY HILL, LL.B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Ridgway.

ANY suggestion which may help us to find labour for our unemployed without injury to our employed, or damage to the labour-market generally, should be welcome. We offer no apology for presenting our readers with an analysis and running commentary upon Mr. Hill's practical pamphlet.

We begin by setting aside those sections of the unemployed class which are already dealt with by the existing Poor-law. These are,

I. *Dock labourers.* Their work is of irregular duration and at irregular intervals; they cannot undertake, even could they find, regular employment of another kind and still be dock-labourers, and their employers cannot give them enough to keep them out of distress all through the year. The Poor-law must relieve them.

II. *Handloom weavers* and other only partially remunerative because bygone trades, until the present generation dies out, must be dealt with by the Poor-law.

III. The *Incompetent* from desultory habits and education. The class who, in confinement, are our casual paupers, and, when at large, become the votaries of Mr. Finlen and the rabble on the outskirts of our London mobs. The Poor-law can only partially deal with these; they should be treated as semi-criminals, and brought under some system of compulsory labour; but Mr. Hill dismisses them without saying *what*.

IV. *Vagrants* are especially provided for by the law.

The notion of exporting the "Incompetent" and "Vagrants" is very properly scouted; the question of emigration, however, is not here discussed.

We have then to provide labour and the means of obtaining it for "a large

residuum of honest, thrifty, and industrious men, who, from the variation of trade, inevitable losses, and other causes, are out of employment for long periods of time." At the outset it is necessary to bear in mind that any scheme for employing labour involving increased taxation or even local rating of any kind whatever, must show *either* that such labour is distinctly productive (as in the case of land-cultivation, where the proceeds not only pay the original outlay of purchase, or, in the case of waste lands, of reclamation, but in addition to this support the cultivators); *or* that such labour is calculated to yield a benefit of some kind to those taxed equivalent to the tax paid. Otherwise the scheme for employing labour simply involves to each taxed person the loss of his tax-money; the tax-money being given to one labourer for what the tax-payer does not want, instead of to another for something he does want.

With this proviso we approach Mr. Hill's schemes for the "unemployed."

I. *The reclamation of waste lands* offers a field for labour. Little has been done in this department, and that little, e.g., the cultivation of Dartmoor and Exmoor, has not been attended with very encouraging results. This, it is thought, is owing to exceptional circumstances, and it is suggested that a royal commission should be appointed to ascertain what waste lands there are to reclaim, and further to decide whether it would be expedient to expend the public money on their reclamation.

II. Mr. Torrens's Act for the demolition of houses unfit for habitation, and such-like improvements in our over-crowded districts, offer another opportunity for the "unemployed." Mr. Hill recommends a more stringent enforcement and general application of this Act, and points out in detail the great scope it affords for the most rude and unskilled labour.

III. The construction of uniform casual-wards throughout the country. The want is acknowledged, and it is thought that to supply it would be to check vagrancy and imposture, and confer lasting benefits upon society.

IV. National drainage and sewerage works. The present system is admitted to be most wasteful. Recent experiments have established the high value of sewerage, and it is thought, apart from all sanitary considerations, that the plan would be sufficiently remunerative to attract private capitalists, besides being a boon to agriculturalists by greatly increasing the fertility of their land.

V. Bringing all crossing sweepers under one regular system, and recruiting them from the unemployed classes. We must observe that unless Mr. Hill means largely to increase their number, it is not easy to see how his plan here would help the unemployed. As it is, it is that class already who are in possession of the crossings. Of course we heartily desire with him a better system of street sweeping, and one more immediately under the parish superintendence.

But the most valuable part of the pamphlet before us is Mr. Hill's system of registration. Men's time at present is wasted often fruitlessly by seeking for labour. Let there, says Mr. Hill, be a system of registration co-extensive with the entire country. Take the Post-office savings banks as your centres of operation; add to each of these institutions a register-office for labourers of every class, and let one central office publish a list weekly. For the benefit of employers, let the workmen be able to file there certificates of competence signed by well-known and respectable authorities. In country places let the registration lists for the district or county be published on market-days at a low price to encourage the most extensive circulation. Mr. Hill is evidently prepared with the details of his scheme, which we commend to the attentive consideration of those who are able to promote it, assuring them that the little pamphlet, of which we have given a scanty analysis, will repay a careful perusal.

H. B. H.

The Handbook of Heraldry; with Instructions for tracing Pedigrees and deciphering Ancient MSS.; also, Rules for the Appointment of Liveries, &c. &c. Illustrated with Three Hundred and Fifty Plates and Woodcuts. By JOHN E. CUSSANS, Author of "The Grammar of Heraldry," &c. London: John Camden Hotten.

To judge by the numerous works that have been published during the last quarter of a century, both at home and abroad, Heraldry must be a study of growing popularity; and considering the many bearings of the subject, it is

indeed hardly creditable for any one pretending to culture not to know a *quantum sufficit* of it.

Mr. Cussan's volume expounds the science in a most alluring way, taking us from the beginning to the end as a patient, painstaking, and trustworthy guide; with a luxury of paper, printing, binding, and plates, some of the latter having the most imposing array of colours and gold, the Canterbury effigy of the Black Prince, for instance, (with no "black" however), in the dazzling splendour of the original manufacture. If any one desires to amuse his leisure in becoming adept in all the ingenious symbolism of the mediæval shield and coat, here he will learn how, with full directions for constructing and colouring with his own hand. If any one fond of history has yet no suspicions how heraldry adds a charm to that study, here he will get enlightened. If our future Nelsons, Pellews, and Harrises would avoid the danger of perpetuating their great achievements in such bastard heraldry as gives nothing but pain to all true armorists, here they may be fore-armed. If any uninformed lady should be on the point of putting her crest on her servants' buttons instead of the right and orthodox thing, here she will be saved from an error that would distress her to recollect unto her latest day, and she will learn likewise that there is a right and a wrong in regulating the colours of her livery, a rule that has been most unaccountably neglected in the traditions of many a family. If any imagine that our Transatlantic cousins despise heraldic glory, here he will be undeceived, and at the same time be amused at the hash they sometimes make of it. Finally, if any one desires to learn the true art of reading old writings and determining their dates, or to be put in the way of tracing up his pedigree to one durst not say what antiquity (only short of "the Conqueror") and then of charting it out like a real genealogist, Mr. Cussans is the teacher, for he teaches not armory alone but much of kindred lore.

And now if we ourselves may diffidently presume to suggest to a professor of so much mystery, we would first frankly inquire whether on full consideration he deems it wise, logical, Euclid-like, or strictly considerate towards his pupil, to employ the "Ordinaries" in his definition (p. 41) while that term itself remains as yet undefined? Is he sufficiently explicit in quartering his shield (p. 45) as to which are the first, second, third, or fourth quarters? Is "king-at-arms" the true phraseology of the Herald's College, rather than king of arms? We suspect some confusion with "man-at-arms." Would not a reader gather from a sentence in p. 37 that Sir Edward Pellew and Lord Exmouth were different persons? And is Mr. Cussans quite certain (p. 28) of the scallop shells commemorating a pilgrimage to Rome? Because we remember that our old friend Erasmus makes Ogygius exclaim "Quid istuc ornatus est? Obsitus es conchis imbricatis," &c. Whereat Menedemus replies, "Visi divum Jacobum Compostellanum," &c., but nothing about St. Peter or Rome. We also venture to think that Mr. Cussans has expressed himself incautiously at p. 30:—

"A knight was also permitted to adopt for his arms those of a vanquished enemy. The badge and motto of the King of Bohemia adopted by Edward Prince of Wales after the Battle of Cressy, furnishes a familiar example of armorial bearings obtained in this manner."

Now the badge and motto (*i.e.* in this instance the motto of the badge) are no part of armorial bearings but entirely distinct from them. The ostrich plume does not appear in the elaborate shield constructed for the Prince (p. 223) exhibiting all that he is entitled to bear; nor yet is described among the accompaniments of it,—although "Ich Dien" is. Perhaps Mr. Cussans in his explorations has never fallen in with some very searching papers on this subject read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London, and printed in their "*Archæologia*," vols. xxix., xxxi., xxxii. We venture to recommend them to his perusal, and especially not to miss the paper read by Sir Harris Nicolas on May 13, 1847 at p. 332 of the last-named volume. C. H.

Characteristics of Charitable Foundations in England. By ARTHUR HOBHOUSE, Q.C. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

PROBABLY there was never a time when the value of money was better understood than it is now, and therefore the announcement that about three millions are annually wasted or to some extent misapplied in England by so-called

charitable foundations is calculated to create some sensation; and yet this is practically Mr. Hobhouse's view of about the forty thousand such foundations existing in England at the present time. The aim of his very lucid pamphlet is to show the legal position of these charities, and the moral bearings of the law under which they exist.

In analyzing his remarks, we have not strictly adhered to his method of arrangement, as our brief statement has required so much more compression.

Charity, we are told at the outset, in a legal sense has nothing to do with "the motive of the donor; the destination of the gift is everything." The gift need not be almsgiving, need not be for any useful purpose, may be pure waste, or indirectly calculated to corrupt and demoralize. It must, of course, not be something on which the law has set its mark as being contrary to good morals, and it must be for a *public* use. A few years ago some money was left for the purpose of propagating the writings of Joanna Southcote. The last of her adherents is probably dead; but by the law such money would have to be applied, as above stated, under the name of charity. Thomas Seckford, in 1587, gave some property in Clerkenwell to found an almshouse in Suffolk. The income has long been beyond the abilities of the almshouse to absorb, as the charity is confined to a small town; yet no one knows what to do with the money, and this state of dead-lock is charity. In Canterbury there is a foundation called "Lovejoy's Charity," part of which is directed to be applied "to poor ancient and sick people not receiving parochial relief." The Commissioners of Education say there are 500 persons receiving relief from this charity, about 113 of whom nothing could be ascertained, 51 did not want relief, 36 were paupers who by the Statute are expressly excluded from relief, 18 were occasional paupers, 18 were drunkards, 17 bad characters, 4 brothel-keepers, and 1 convicted felon. This, again, is charity. When such cases arise we are apt to inquire, What right have persons to dictate to posterity the objects on which money, once their own, must be expended? What natural right could bind us to reprint the silly, if not immoral, views of Joanna Southcote? or, in the next case, what had Seckford done that he is allowed at this moment to sway the destinies of a large property? or, lastly, what natural right can belong to any one to confine the distribution of his money to a system which, in the lapse of ages, may become a source of degradation to the morals, and a reproach to the intelligence, of the community? The principle which Mr. Hobhouse emphatically announces is, that no natural right can be pleaded in the above cases, and that "property is not the property of the dead, but of the living."

How comes it, then, that the donor claims these posthumous rights, and that the State has ever been induced to allow the claim? The motives of the donor are not far to seek. As regards private estates, love of power and love of family have been the main motives. As regards foundations, Mr. Hobhouse remarks that "the desire to dictate as long as possible to posterity to connect property with his own name, and to retain it in a sense as his own after death, seems to be one of the strongest and most universal passions in the breast of man." Another cause is superstition. The donor either gives his property to charity as a good action atoning for former misdeeds, or as payment for the prayers of priests or the remission of pains in purgatory. Another motive proceeds from patriotism or public spirit. The donor fondly imagines that he is giving his wealth for the good of his country—an imagination usually founded on what Mr. Hobhouse calls "a slender basis of knowledge and a large one of conceit." Another motive is spite. Perhaps the donor has been half-worried into his grave by his impatient legatees. What more godly or tempting revenge could be devised than to give the money to charity, and rest in the sweet conviction "that the faces of the hungry expectants will look very blank when the will is read?"

But what interest has the State in these various motives? It is replied, that the State has motives of her own. By a reference to history we shall see that the State has dealt very differently with the different objects of these posthumous rights; and that whilst on the one hand she has greatly curtailed the power of donors to dispose of their property in private estates, and as gifts to religious bodies, she has greatly favoured gifts to charities. The attempt on the part of the donor to impose his will upon future generations has not indeed been defeated by direct legislation, but it has been and is

constantly defeated by the action of judges. The impossibility of retaining *in perpetuum* the funds left for their use has been notably experienced by the great religious bodies in England. One after another, as they became unpopular, or unnecessary, the reigning monarchs hastened to confiscate their possessions.

"The two first Edwards found it easy and convenient to strip the Templars. Henry V. dissolved all the alien priories, and seized their lands, to the great contentment of his subjects. Cardinal Wolsey found no difficulty in suppressing upwards of thirty religious houses to found his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, and Henry VIII. swallowed up the rest."

If such, then, has been the fate of private settlements of estates upon private families, or upon religious bodies, what motive has the State had for dealing otherwise with gifts to charities? First, it must be remembered that at the time when many of our laws were made the influence of the clergy upon legislation was very considerable. Down to the close of the wars of the Roses the clergy were the most enlightened section of the community. Not, indeed, as Mr. Hobhouse carefully remarks, wiser than the whole community, but the wisest part of it; and the clergy were in favour of charitable foundations. Why, then, were not monastic as well as charitable foundations respected? The answer is, that the clergy were divided among themselves on the monastic question, but were unanimously in favour of charitable institutions.

When the monasteries came to be suppressed, the importance of some poor law was immediately felt. The monks had been the great almoners of the country. That duty now devolved upon the State; and although Mr. Hallam does not attribute the rise of the poor laws directly to the dissolution of the monasteries, Mr. Hobhouse ventures to think that the poor laws were at all events greatly accelerated by the immense pressure brought to bear upon the State by the crowds of unsatisfied beggars. It is obvious that charitable foundations, such as hospitals, almshouses, and schools, help the State to deal with pauperism; and accordingly we find that the State placed charitable foundations in an exceptional position; and, indeed, "since the year 1601 there has been only one attempt to modify the power which the law gives of settling property for ever to charitable uses." If this be not an unmixed evil, enough has been said to show that it is at least a very mixed good. Each age has its own wants, and every age ought to be allowed to modify the decisions of the past—a right which private foundations interfere with if they do not entirely destroy.

In speaking of the endowments of the Church, Mr. Hobhouse draws a distinction between national and private foundations.

"If," he says, "some strong external power had interposed some six, eight, or ten centuries ago to keep the beliefs and the knowledge of the clergy from change, and, at the same time, to preserve their possessions from the fate which has overtaken monastic possessions, I should say, without hesitation, that such an establishment would be no blessing, but a curse." He says to the clergy, "You hold your property by the most secure and honourable tenure. It is because it is national property, and is operated on and moulded from time to time by the national will, and is held to support public officers holding a definite and important legal position, and so kept in sympathy with the heart of the nation that it is still preserved as a valuable possession, and prized by many of the most diverse thinkers of the day, and so," he adds, indicating the remedy, which he does not pause to elaborate, "private foundations, if they are made really national, instead of being left to the sport of 40,000 chance medley wills, may become really precious."

We need only add that the pamphlet is carefully illustrated by notes, and that the notes are as well worthy of study as the rest of the pamphlet.

H. R. H.

Llave de Oro, ó série de Reflexiones que, para abrir el corazon cerrado de los poñres pecadores, ofrece á los Confesores nuevos el Excmo é Ilmo Sr. D. ANTONIO MARIA CLARET, Arzobispo de Cuba. 1857.

THIS is a kind of guide to the confessional. It is published by a house enjoying the special favour of the prelate of Spain.* It has received the approbation

* "Varios Prelados de España han concedido 2320 dias de indulgencia para todas las publicaciones de la *Líbreria Religiosa*."

of the Ordinary. It is written by the ex-Queen of Spain's confessor. In it he teaches the young priest to put to men and women, boys and girls,* questions regarding crimes fearful, indescribable, far exceeding in horror anything that ever entered into even Juvenal's imagination. And be it remembered that this is the inevitable tendency of the confessional. Careful as the High Church (as they are called) clergy are, some of them have let fall words which show this pretty clearly. We say without reserve that it is better for a boy or girl never to go near a church, never to receive either of the sacraments—in short, to be trained up in downright infidelity, than to be taught to confess to a priest armed with such a manual of damnation as this accursed book.

Let Dr. Manning or Sir George Bowyer defend it if they can. It concerns them to do so, for what is good for Spanish is good for English papists.

THOMAS MARKBY.

* This is literally true. Indeed the two most revolting passages in the whole book are especially addressed to the priest confessing young mothers or girls.

INDEX.

- Attenuation of Science and Art in History. *The*. 285.
 Austria Domini: Thoughts on Christian Art. 178.
Apology of Newman. 39: the Oriel School and dry for deep influence. 40.
 Apostolic Authority in Church of England. 179.
 Arnold's "Essays in Criticism" reviewed. 177.
 Arnold's "From the Levant" reviewed. 464.
 Art in History. *The Attenuation of Science and*. 285.
 Arminius, Marcus, and the Talmud. 51.
 Bagnall's "Cassandra" reviewed. 141.
 Basil, John, Bishop of Chertsey. 37.
 Baynes's Mr. "Manual of Family Prayer" 200.
 Bell's "Great Parliamentary Bore" reviewed. 463.
 Bertram's "Harvest of the Sea" reviewed. 521.
 Bickmore's "Travels in the East India Archipelago" reviewed. 498.
 Bishops and their powers. 172.
 Blackley's "Word Group" reviewed. 436.
 Black's "Reformation in the Church of England" reviewed. 128.
 Boulton, Henry St. John, Lord. 405.
 Bunsen's "Life of John Milton" reviewed. 456.
 Bunsen's "Light and Truth" reviewed. 126, 208.
 Bonney's "Alpine Legends" reviewed. 517.
 Brett's "Indian Tribes of Indiana" reviewed. 450.
 Brown's "Phrenology" reviewed. 149.
 Bruce's "Visitations of Families" reviewed. 511.
 Campbell's "Napoleon at Fontenoy" reviewed. 511.
 Capetown's Bishop of. "Inquiries" 1.
 Canon's "Fundamental Principles of Phrenology" reviewed. 149.
 Carleton, The Doctor of the Bachelor in the 423.
 Chassey's "Indian Policy" reviewed. 146.
 Chassey's "Narrative of the Egyptian Expedition" reviewed. 426.
 Chassey's "Dutch Bore" reviewed. 478.
 Charner's "Lacordaire" reviewed. 454.
 Chobert. 114.
 Christian Age. *The Early*. 500.
 Christian Knowledge. *The Society for Promoting*. 1: the two parties. 3; "Organize" the one watch-word. 6.
 Chamber's "Travels of a Hindu" reviewed. 463.
 Churchman's View of Irish Politics. An Irish M. a State-Church not national to be condemned. 54.
 Church of England. *The*. 141: an institution created by the law. 141: Convocation's deliberations merely powers. 163: How the Church of England was created. 166: Apostolic authority. 179: Bishops and their powers. 172: the Titularism Act and its effects. 174.
 "Clarendon Press Series—Shakespeare" reviewed. 527.
 Clark's "Lays in Clay" reviewed. 449.
 Clark's "Practical International Law" reviewed. 473.
 Clergy and Science. *The*. 74.
 Coghlan's "St. George's Key" reviewed. 146.
 Cox's "Recollections of India" reviewed. 140.
 Cox's "Wing and Dry Administrations" reviewed. 401.
 Cultivation of the Speaking Voice. *The*. 145.
 Cusson's "Himal-Deuk of Humanity" reviewed. 437.
 "Dancers of France. Memoirs of Louis Charles" reviewed. 110.
 Ferns's "Oliver Varney" reviewed. 141.
 Fildes, Charles. 393: a moralist as well as a storyteller. 394: an idealist rather than realist. 395: the gospel of gentility. 396.
 Fildes's "Greater Britain" reviewed. 428.
 Fildes. *The*. of the Bachelor in the 423.
 Fildes's "Illustrated History of Ireland" reviewed. 429.
 Frew's "Rail and the Company" reviewed. 508.
 Early Christian Age. *The*. 500.
 Fildes's "Himal-Deuk" reviewed. 141.
 Fildes's "Himal-Deuk" reviewed. 428.
 Fildes's Church of. Why it is a con-

- posite body, 323; Definition of 'true Church, 337; High Anglican objections, 338.
- England, The Church of, 161.
- English's "Light on the History of Crowland Abbey" reviewed, 130.
- Episcopal Votes in the Irish Parliament, 263, 355.
- Escott's "Satires of Juvenal" reviewed, 615.
- Eucharist, in the Catechism, The Doctrine of the, 423.
- Evangelical party must make sacrifices, 7.
- FAMILY Prayer, Manuals of, 196.
- Father's, Mr., precipitancy, 76.
- Ffoulkes, Mr., Letter, 481; his aim to bring up the Roman Church to his ideal, 482; what constitutes the one True Church, 494; his principle, Protestant or Spiritual, 496.
- Fitzgibbon's "Ireland" reviewed, 448.
- French Literature, 156.
- GERMAN Literature, 151.
- Goulburn's, Dr., "Prayers," 197.
- Green's "Aristophanes's Wasps" reviewed, 616.
- HANDEL, 504.
- Helps' "Life of Columbus" reviewed, 130.
- Helps' "Realma" reviewed, 475.
- High Churchmen, their anomalous position, 6.
- High Churchmen, position of, respecting the Church, 501.
- Hill's "Our Unemployed" reviewed, 636.
- "History of Grammar, Sketch of the," reviewed, 480.
- Hobhouse's "Characteristics of Charitable Foundations in England" reviewed, 638.
- Holt's "Elfrida" reviewed, 314.
- Huntington's "Human Society" reviewed, 319.
- Huss, The Writings of John, 532.
- Hutchinson's "Paraná" reviewed, 138.
- "IRENICUM," Edward Stillingfleet and his, 226.
- Irish education, What needed in, 60.
- Irish Parliament, Vice-regal Speeches and Episcopal Votes in the, 263.
- Irish Politics, An Irish Churchman's View of, 53.
- JELLETT's "Examination of some Difficulties of the Old Testament" reviewed, 122.
- "KATHLEEN" reviewed, 144.
- Ker's "Sermons" reviewed, 298.
- Kreisale's "Life of Franz Schubert," reviewed, 614.
- LA LANTERNE, 11.
- Landscape, Poetry of, 179.
- Lange's "Genesis" reviewed, 124.
- Law's, Dean, Family Prayers, 199.
- Leith's "Legend of Tristan" reviewed, 629.
- Logan's "Words of Comfort" reviewed, 124.
- Longman's "Life and Times of Edward the Third" reviewed, 609.
- Low-Churchmen and their tendencies, 325; their view of the Sacraments, 328; shrink from application of their own principles, 330.
- Lynch's "Rivulet" reviewed, 142.
- MALAN's "Plea for the Revised Greek Text," &c., reviewed, 296.
- Manning, Archbishop, Why Mr. Ffoulkes addresses him, 483.
- Manuals of Family Prayer, 196.
- Marcus Aurelius and the Talmud, 81.
- Miller, Dr., at S. P. C. K. Meeting, 4.
- Milman's "Annals of St. Paul's" reviewed, 302.
- Moore's "The Power of the Soul over the Body" reviewed, 460.
- Morley's "King and the Commons" reviewed, 140.
- NEWMAN, J. H., as preacher, 37; *Apologia* dispelled a suspicion, 39; his sermons essentially sermons, 39; he spoke in the language of common life, 42; Tractarian party, the, 39; Newman's power, 49; his theory of justification, 51.
- Next Step, The, 1.
- "Old Times and the New, The," reviewed, 453.
- "Oriel" School, The, too dry for deep influence, 41.
- Ossory, John Bale, Bishop of, 97.
- PAGET's "Lucretia" reviewed, 143.
- Paley's "Odes of Pindar" reviewed, 134.
- Palgrave's "Five Days' Entertainment at Wentworth Grange," 476.
- Physique of the Rural Population, 255.
- Plumptre, Professor, on the Poet and his Creed, 556.
- Plumptre's "Tragedies of Æschylus" reviewed, 311.
- Poetry of Landscape, 179.
- Polko's "Reminiscences of Mendelssohn" reviewed, 612.
- RALSTON's "Krilof's Fables" reviewed, 477.
- "Reading for Honours" reviewed, 629.
- Reithmüller's "Aldersleigh" reviewed, 628.
- Religion of the Bible and the Religion of the Church, 321; England contrasts with Scotland, 322.
- Robinson's "Iona" reviewed, 473.
- Roman Church, Mr. Ffoulkes' aim to bring it up to his ideal, 482; cannot amend her faith, 485—487; not the full Catholic Church, 488.
- Rural Population, Physique of the, 255.

- SANDYS' "Isocrates" reviewed, 132.
 Science and Art in History, The Alterna-
 tion of, 285.
 Science by Women, On the Study of, 386.
 Science, The Clergy and, 74.
 Scotland, England contrasted with, in
 oneness of religious belief, 322.
 Smedley's "Poems" reviewed, 475.
 Smith's "Attractions of the Nile" review-
 ed, 619.
 Speaking Voice, Cultivation of the, 345.
 State-education in Ireland, 61.
 Steinmetz's "Romance of Duelling" re-
 viewed, 449.
 "Steward, Memoir of George," reviewed,
 305.
 Stillingfleet, Edward, and his "Irenicum,"
 226.
 Stokes's "Life of George Petrie, LL.D.,"
 reviewed, 307.
 Strickland's "Lives of the Tudor Prin-
 cesses" reviewed, 446.
 Study of Science by Women, On the, 386.
 Swete's "England *versus* Rome" re-
 viewed, 298.
 TAINÉ's "Philosophie de l'Art dans le
 Pays-Bas" reviewed, 462.
 Talmud, Marcus Aurelius and the, 81.
 Tindal, Matthew, 565.
 Toleration Act, The, and its effects, 174.
 Trench's "Realities of Irish Life" re-
 viewed, 630.
 "Tricotrin" reviewed, 315.
 Tristram's "Seven Churches of Asia" re-
 viewed, 307.
 Two Religions, The: The Religion of the
 Bible and the Religion of the Church,
 321; what they have in common, 325;
 centre of difference the Lord's Supper,
 326.
 VICE-REGAL Speeches and Episcopal Votes
 in the Irish Parliament, 263, 355.
 Voice, Cultivation of the Speaking, 345.
 WESTCOTT's "General View of the History
 of the English Bible" reviewed, 299.
 Whiston's "Demosthenes" reviewed, 617.
 Williams's "Twilight Hours" reviewed,
 469.
 Wiltsch's "Handbook of the History of
 the Church" reviewed, 148.
 Whymper's "Travel and Adventure in the
 Territory of Alaska" reviewed, 622.
 Women, On the Study of Science by, 386.
 YONGE's "Life of Lord Liverpool" re-
 viewed, 308.
 York's, The Archbishop of, position in
 S. P. C. K. Meeting, 3.

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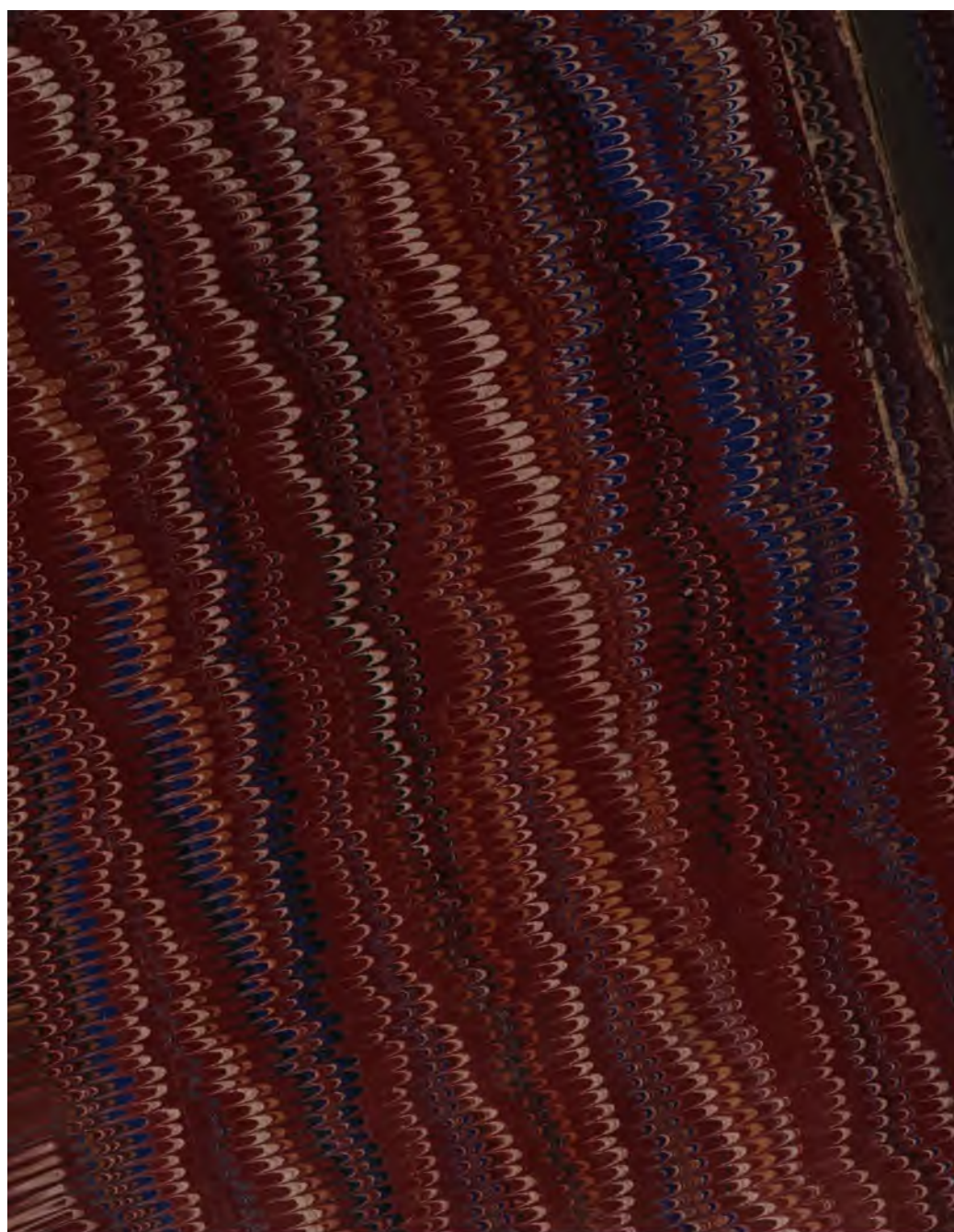
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